GREATER CENTRAL ASIA AND THE EVOLUTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN
ISLAMIC MILITANCY: AN ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL APPROACHES IN
CENTRAL ASIAN SECURITY

A THESIS SUBMITTED TO
THE GRADUATE SCHOOL OF SOCIAL SCIENCES
OF
MIDDLE EAST TECHNICAL UNIVERSITY

BY

HÜSEYİN UMUT KAYHAN

IN PARTIAL FULFILLMENT OF THE REQUIREMENTS
FOR
THE DEGREE OF MASTER OF ARTS
IN
THE DEPARTMENT OF EURASIAN STUDIES

JULY 2017

Approval of the Graduate School of Social Sciences

_____

Prof. Dr. Tülin Gençöz
Director

I certify that this thesis satisfies all the requirements as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal
Head of Department

This is to certify that we have read this thesis and that in our opinion it is fully adequate, in scope and quality, as a thesis for the degree of Master of Arts.

_____

Prof. Dr. Süha Bölükbaşıoğlu
Supervisor

Examining Committee Members

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Pınar Köksal (METU, PA)   _____

Prof. Dr. Süha Bölükbaşıoğlu (METU, IR)   _____

Prof. Dr. Hasan Ali Karasar   (Atılım University, IR) _____

I hereby declare that all information in this document has been obtained and presented in accordance with academic rules and ethical conduct. I also declare that, as required by these rules and conduct, I have fully cited and referenced all material and results that are not original to this work.

Name, Last name :   Hüseyin Umut Kayhan

Signature   :

ABSTRACT

GREATER CENTRAL ASIA AND THE EVOLUTION OF CENTRAL ASIAN
ISLAMIC MILITANCY: AN ANALYSIS OF REGIONAL APPROACHES IN
CENTRAL ASIAN SECURITY

Kayhan, Hüseyin Umut

MA, Department of Eurasian Studies
Supervisor: Süha Bölükbaşıoğlu

The biggest foundational crisis Central Asia is facing today is stemming from the question of how the political system can accommodate the rise of political Islam. This thesis explores both violent and non-violent streams of political Islam in Central Asia and highlights the *metanarrative* expressions of Islamism in the region, therefore tries to show the false binary opposition that permeates Central Asian politics, between secular authoritarianism and Islamist groups with civilizational aspirations. Although 'securitized' to some degree, this work understands radical Islamic organizations operating in the region as manifestations of this foundational problem and as a real threat that is being posed to security and stability in the greater region. Since evolution of violent extremism shows us that the problem has a greater regional focus, including Afghanistan and Federally Administered Tribal Areas in Pakistan, this thesis investigates the applicability of regional frameworks, Regional Security Complex Theory and Greater Central Asia Partnership, to counter this threat.

Keywords: Central Asia, Islamism, Metanarrative, Regional Approaches, Security

ÖZ

GENİŞLETİLMİŞ ORTA ASYA VE ORTA ASYA İSLAMİ ÖRGÜTLERİ: ORTA ASYA GÜVENLİĞİNDE BÖLGESEL YÖNTEMLERİN ANALİZİ

Kayhan, Hüseyin Umut

Yüksek Lisans, Avrasya Çalışmaları

Tez Yöneticisi: Süha Bölükbaşıoğlu

Temmuz 2017, 114 sayfa

Orta Asya'nın günümüzde karşılaştığı en temel sorun Orta Asya politik sisteminin İslamizmin yükselişine nasıl tepki vereceği sorunudur. Bu tez, hem silahlı hem silahsız İslamist grupların gelişimini inceleyerek, Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren İslamist grupların üst anlatısal yönüne odaklanmak suretiyle Orta Asya siyasetindeki seküler otoriter yönetimler ve İslamist gruplar arasındaki ikili ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışır. Her ne kadar politize edilmiş olsa da bu tez Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren silahlı terör örgütlerini İslamist üst anlatının ve İslamizmle seküler otoriter rejimler arasındaki bu politik çekişmenin bir tezahürü olarak görür. Bu problemin tarihi gelişiminin incelenmesi coğrafi ve politik olarak Orta Asya'yı aşan bir seyir gösterdiğinden bu tez bölgesel işbirliğinin bu tehdide karşı geliştirilecek stratejilerdeki önemini ve bölgesel işbirliğinin olasılığını inceler.

Anahtar Kelimeler: Orta Asya, İslamizm, Üst Anlatı, Bölgesel Yöntemler, Güvenlik

To my family

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

TABLE OF CONTENTS

LIST OF FIGURES

FIGURES

LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

AfPak	Afghanistan-Pakistan
AKP	Justice and Development Party
ANF	al-Nusra Front
AQI	al-Qaeda in Iraq
CENTCOM	United States Central Command
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
ETIM	East Turkestan Islamic Movement
EU	European Union
FARC	Revolutionary Armed Forces of Colombia – People's Army
FATA	Federally Administered Tribal Areas
GCA	Greater Central Asia
GCAP	Greater Central Asia Partnership
HuT	Hizb ut-Tahrir
IBJ	Imam Bukhari Jamaat
ICG	International Crisis Group
ICSR	International Centr for the Study of Radicalisation and Political Violence
IJU	Islamic Jihad Union
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRP	Islamic Renaissance Party
IRPT	Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan
ISAF	International Security Assistance Force
ISI	Inter-Services Intelligence
ISIS	Islamic State of Iraq and Syria
JAN/JN	Jabhat al-Nusra
JMWA	Jaish Muhajireen wal-Ansar
JTJ	Jamaat al-Tawhid wal-Jihad

KIB	Imam Bukhari Katibasi
K2	Karshi-Khanabad
MOD	Ministry of Defence
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NGO	Non-governmental Organization
NWFP	North-West Frontier Province
OEF-A	Operation Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan
PKK	Kurdistan Workers' Party
RSC	Regional Security Complex
RSCT	Regional Security Complex Theory
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SNB	National Security Service
TIP	Turkestan Islamic Party
TTP	Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan
U.S.	United States
UTO	United Tajik Opposition
VEO	Violent Extremist Organization

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Since independence, Central Asian countries have found themselves facing with new and unique challenges about nation and state-building processes. These challenges varied from establishing new political and economical systems along with the making of the necessary national identity to understand the changing factors and new multivector nature of the international engagement in the region i.e. involvement of U.S., EU and China. However, none of these challenges have been bigger and deeper than the question of "accommodating the rise of Islam in Eurasia".[1] As if this was not enough by itself, inception of Central Asian VEOs (violent extremist organizations) and "Global War on Terror" narrative has deeply "securitized" this mostly philosophical and political question and served as an excuse for secular authoritarian leaders to impede democracy-building process in the region. Nearly rooting out of secular opposition in Central Asian countries pave the way for polarization in politics where secular authoritarian leaders established themselves as the only protectors of secular way of life against the Islamist groups such as IRP and HuT[2] operating in the region. Symbiotic relationship of these two groups are highlighted in this work.

This thesis acknowledges the real and region-wide nature of danger that violent extremist organizations are posing however does not take this threat as an existential one for the region. To counter this threat on a regional basis, this thesis investigates two

---

1 Charles William Maynes, "America Discovers Central Asia" Foreign Affairs (2003) last accessed June 23, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2003-03-01/america-discovers-central-asia.

2 This thesis concentrates on HuT and to lesser extent IRP/IRPT as the most prominent manifestations of political Islam in the region.

regional frameworks, namely Regional Security Complex Theory and Greater Central Asian Partnership along with the prospect of their application in the region.

At the same time, Lyotard's notion of *metanarrative*[3] has been applied when investigating the Islamist groups in the region.[4] This thesis argues that Islamist groups operating in the region constitute different set of values independent from the current political system, however application of Islamic *metanarrative* comes up with the historical baggage of values that is not necessarily democratic and falling short to take into account the unique history of the region as well as answering its needs. This process mostly takes place by importing mainstream Islamist ideology and system of values whose compatibility with democratic norms and ideals is quite murky.[5]

As Lyotard argues "If a metanarrative (…) is used to legitimate knowledge, questions are raised concerning the validity of the institutions governing the social bond: these must be legitimated as well."[6] In this light, Islamist organizations operating in the region creates different set of values, independent of secular-nationalistic one, therefore actively cast doubt and undermine the validity of institutions that currently governing the social bond in the region.

---

3 See: Jean-François Lyotard, *A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester University Press, 1984).

4 It should be noted that this thesis does not deal with postmodernity as a philosophical phenomena per se but investigates the utilization of *metanarratives* as a form of political activism.

5 This trend is most clear in IRPT where it literally imports common keywords that Islamist organizations use. As Olivier Roy argues: "In short, the slogans, programs, and terminology of the IRP were essentially identical to those of other Sunni Islamist movements, with no visible Iranian influence." See: Olivier Roy, "The Foreign Policy of the Central Asian Islamic Renaissance Party" *Council on Foreign Relations* (2000):3, Pinar Akcali, "Islam as a 'common bond' in Central Asia: Islamic Renaissance Party and the Afghan Mujahidin" *Central Asian Survey* 17(2), (1998): 271.

6 Jean-François Lyotard, *A Report on Knowledge* (Manchester University Press, 1984): xxiv.

Clash between these two different value systems (secular-nationalistic and Islamic-supranational) creates the main faultline in Central Asian politics today with core question being: how is it possible to legitimize the social bond which necessitates utilizing Islamic and nationalistic elements yet control political manifestations of Islam at the same time?

1.1. THESIS OUTLINE

This thesis is divided into five chapters. Chapter 2 outlines the evolution of Central Asian Islamic militancy, from its early inception in Uzbekistan to this day. This chapter also includes a new wave of Central Asian fighters operating not only in broader region but also in places like Syria and Iraq under new names, therefore highlights the internationalization of Central Asian Islamic militancy problem. Chapter 3 investigates the doctrines of HuT and to a lesser extent IRP, which does not have much of a unique ideology of its own and imports classical Sunni Islamist messages. By doing so, this chapter questions the *metanarrative* expressions of most prominent Islamist organizations in the region and compatibility of their messages with concepts like democracy and universal human rights. Chapter 4 examines the regional approaches and tries to answer the question of why regional cooperation is necessary to tackle the Islamic extremism problem in the region. Chapter 4 also highlights the conflicting interests of powers interacting with the region and applicability of regional frameworks that has been investigated in the chapter. Chapter 5 summarizes the findings of this thesis and its ramifications for the broader region.

CHAPTER II

INCEPTION OF RADICAL ISLAM IN CENTRAL ASIA

Very first questions when it comes to Islam and Central Asia arise from its relationship with the Soviet past. Most prominent argument on the issue has been the "revival" argument where the main assumption is that there is an "Islamic revival" in Central Asia that either started during *perestroika* (restructuring) years and/or after the collapse of Soviet Union.[7] Different names such as 'Islamization', 're-Islamization', 'Islamic renaissance' and 'secondary Islamization' also has been applied in order to define this process.[8] However, opponents of this argument posit that it is problematic to use the term since it implies that Islam was previously dead or passive force in the region. Therefore, they tend to see more of a continuum regarding Islam and politics in Central Asia rather than a sudden revival which implies a sharp break from the past.[9]

---

7 See, for example, Lopamudra Bandyopadhyay, "Islamic Revivalism in Central Asia and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" last accessed May 8, 2016, http://www.globalindiafoundation.org/worldpolitics.html, Jamshid Gaziev, "Islamic Revival in Post-Independence Uzbekistan" *The Fletcher Journal of Development Studies* 16, (2000), 1-15. Saodat Olimova, "Confronting or Engaging Islam: Are There Different Approaches in Central Asian Countries?" *Barcelona Centre for International Affairs* 26, (2011), 2-9.

8 Saodat Olimova, "Confronting or Engaging Islam: Are There Different Approaches in Central Asian Countries?" *Barcelona Centre for International Affairs* 26, (2011): 2.

9 See, for example, John Heathershaw and David W. Montgomery, "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics" *Chatham House*, (2014), 1-18. Ghoncheh Tazmini, "The Islamic Revival in Central Asia: A Potent Force or a Misconception?" *Central Asian Survey* 20(1), (2010), 63-83.

The first Islamist networks appeared as early as 1960s in Central Asia such as Jamaat-e Tabligh which began to work via exchange students from India.[10] Muslim Brotherhood networks, using the same method, also started to operate clandestinely in the region by recruiting local students from regional universities in the 1970s.[11] Another example being Islamic Revival Party of Tajikistan, a branch of all-Union Islamic Revival Party in 1990, charts its origins as early as 1973.[12] There were also several other groups operating in Central Asia that were already existing during Soviet times but emerged with *perestroika*, such as Adolat (Justice), Baraka (Blessing), Tauba (Repentance), and Islam Lashkarlari (Warriors of Islam).[13]

Although there were several established Islamist networks in Central Asia during the Soviet times, the collapse of the Soviet Union opened up new possibilities for any kind of political – religious networks, not necessarily limited with Islamist groups. What was most peculiar in Central Asia when it comes to   Islamist networks was spreading of Salafi Islam by means of Islamic charities, building mosques and *madrassas* throughout the region.[14] Saudi Arabia was particularly important in this process for simply two reasons: (1) most of the finance came directly from Saudi Arabia, (2) significant Uzbek

---

10 John Heathershaw and David W. Montgomery, "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics" *Chatham House*, (2014): 5.

11 Zeyno Baran et al., "Islamic Radicalism in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Implications for the EU" *C*entral Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Program, (2006): 17

12 Heathershaw and Montgomery, 5.

13 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 41.

14 Rena Salayeva and Michael J. Baranick, "Addressing Terrorist Threats in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan: Winning the Hearts and Minds" last accessed May 9, 2016, http://www.ismor.com/cornwallis/cornwallis_2005/CX_2005_11-Baranick-CX-July%2012.pdf.

population in Saudi Arabia most of whom are descendants of *basmachis* (armed rebels fighting against the Soviet rule).[15]

Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) was another group of importance that made its first appearance in the Central Asian stage after the collapse of Soviet Union.[16] Nevertheless, Salafi branch of Islam was by no means the only form of Islam that has entered the Central Asian stage after the collapse of Soviet Union. Fall of Soviet ideological barrier opened up Central Asian stage, as a cultural and historical part of Islamic world, also to the more 'moderate' forms of Islam.[17]

To conclude with what we began, there are mainly two reasons for why revival argument can and should be applied into the Central Asian case: Firstly, the loss of Soviet metanarrative necessitated newly independent Central Asian states to come up with new narratives of legitimization. The concept of religion in general, specifically Islam in the case of Central Asia, became one of the essential legitimation tools and an important part of nation-building process in post-Soviet geography, albeit in varying degrees even in the same region. Although religion was not a totally latent and passive force in the

---

15 Vitaly V. Naumkin, "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series, (2003): 16.

16 Zeyno Baran et al., "Islamic Radicalism in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Implications for the EU" *C*entral Asia-Caucasus Institute and Silk Road Program, (2006): 23

17 For further detail, see: Bayram Balci, "Turkey's Religious Outreach in Central Asia and the Caucasus" *Hudson Institute* (2014) last accessed May 10, 2016, http://carnegieendowment.org/2014/01/27/turkey-s-religious-outreach-in-central-asia-and-caucasus, Bayram Balci, "What Future for the Fethullah Gulen Movement in Central Asia and the Caucasus?", *CACI Analyst* (2014), last accessed May 10, 2016, http://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13006-what-future-for-the-fethullah-g%C3%Bclen-movement-in-central-asia-and-the-caucasus?.html, Samantha Brletich, "Tajikistan, Turkey and the Gulen Movement", *The Diplomat*, (2015), last accessed May 10, 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/tajikistan-turkey-and-the-gulen-movement/.

pre-Soviet period as proponents of revival argument would argue,[18] I do think that it would not be accurate to assume that things just continued as they were in Soviet times. Assuming such degree of continuation between pre and post independence eras essentially downplays how Islamic networks both diversified and had increased in terms of numbers after independence. This approach also fails to explain how Islam was being utilized during nation-building process which manifested itself in subtle gestures such as venerating the tombs of famous saints and *sheiks* and even performing hajj duty in order to gain legitimacy in the eyes of Central Asian Muslims.[19]

Secondly, I do argue that Central Asia as a region has witnessed not only an increasing activity and diversification on behalf of Islamist networks which is the basis of the revival argument, but also met with totally new forms of Islamic militancy. Pre-existing groups not only became more and more globalized and better entrenched with wider Islamic world but some of them (such as Adolat) evolved from simple local Salafi groups to violent extremist organizations (VEO) that are connected with wider jihadi-scene in Afghanistan and Pakistan (AfPak) and now in Syria and Iraq.

2.1. ADOLAT MOVEMENT

Adolat (Justice) is the most glaring example of the evolution of early Islamist groups in Central Asia. Adolat movement started as an offshoot of another Islamist group *Islam*

---

18 For further detail, see: John Heathershaw and David W. Montgomery, "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics" *Chatham House*, (2014), 1-18.

19 Maria E. Low, *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia* (New York: Routledge, 2007), 47.

Lashkarlari (Warriors of Islam) in early 1990s.[20] Adolat was comprised of mostly young men who organized as *mahalla* (neighborhood) militias.[21] Adolat movement initially was formed in response to rampant racketeering and loss of social order following the collapse of the Soviet Union, by small and medium-sized business owners that also started out around 1989-1990.[22] What is unique in Adolat case is that they actually managed to successfully challenge the system and took over what should be the domain and responsibility of the state apparatus and the law enforcement.

As an Islamist organization, Adolat based its activities on Islamic law, *sharia*, and enforced it strictly throughout Ferghana Valley.[23] Strict enforcement of these laws, including ordering women not to appear on the streets without properly veiled, have made them gain particular admiration especially among elder generation.[24]

The turning point of Adolat movement started with their takeover of headquarters of Communist Party of Uzbekistan in Namangan in December 1991. By this time, Adolat also tried to extend its activities to the capital, although the Uzbek government at that time was not so keen on direct confrontation with Islamic opposition, they managed to prevent Adolat to gain a foothold in the capital.

---

20 Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), last accessed May 11, 2016,
https://csis.org/files/publication/100825_Hahn_IIPER_22.pdf

21 Vitaly V. Naumkin, "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series, (2003): 21.

22 Matthew Stein, "The Goals of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Its Impact on Central Asia and the United States", Foreign Military Studies Office, last accessed May 11, 2016,
http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/IMU-Goals.pdf

23 Naumkin, 21.

24 Naumkin, 21.

Year of 1992 has witnessed the inevitable direct confrontation with Adolat group and central authorities. There were two prominent characters in Adolat movement whom in later years would form the first Central Asian VEO in the region: Tahir Yuldashev and Juma Namangani. Yuldashev was an underground imam, prominent speaker and organizer. On the other hand, Namangani was more of a charismatic leader and a military man, a Soviet paratrooper who served in Afghanistan in 1988. Adolat's final ultimatum-like demands announced by Tahir Yoldashev were as follows: "We set five conditions which must be fulfilled by the authorities. First, Islam Karimov must come here. Second, he must swear his faithfulness to Islam on the Koran and here and now proclaim an Islamic state. Third, visiting mosques must become compulsory for all Muslims including leaders of the state who must pray together with the people. Fourth, Friday should be announced as a day off and fifth to open religious schools immediately."[25]

Having consolidated his power, Karimov severely cracked down on the Adolat movement by the help of local law enforcement agency that was still loyal to him. However, this event had been a turning point for Uzbekistan and Karimov's policies. Following the crackdown, all foreign missionaries were immediately expelled from country, many supporters of Islamic and democratic opposition (political parties such as Erk and Birlik which is comprised of a mixture of Islamic and democratic elements) were arrested and leaders of these groups fled the country. Among early Islamist groups, only Tawba (Repentance) continued to operate until 1995 when it disappeared like its predecessors.[26]

---

[25] See: Oleg Yakubov, *The Pack of Wolves: The Blood Trail of Terror* (Moscow: Veche, 2000) and Ahmed Rashid, *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia* (New Haven, Yale University Press, 2002), 255-256.

[26] Vitaly V. Naumkin, "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series, (2003): 24.

This event made Karimov to understand that local clergy was not in charge of the Muslim community and his efforts to politicize religion for electoral gain could easily backfire.[27]

2.2. FORMATION OF ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN

Crackdown on the Adolat movement in Uzbekistan followed by the civil war in Tajikistan that helped to shape first radical Islamist VEO originated from Central Asia. To understand the origins of the group we have to look into the actions of Juma Namangani and Tahir Yuldashev, leaders of the Adolat and later what would become the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan. Tahir Yuldashev after the crackdown went on what can only be described as a political career. He traveled extensively and got into contact with several intelligence agencies most notably of Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and Turkey.[28] He also established a wide network and raised funds among other radical groups and Islamic charities he got into contact with during his travels.[29] Juma Namangani, on the other hand, being an ex-Soviet military man, formed a "Namangan Battalion" consisting of Uzbek radicals and some Arabs who were serving as emissaries to Adolat from Saudi

---

27 Valdas Dambrauskas, "The Effectiveness of Counterterrorist Policies in Uzbekistan" (Masters diss., Naval Postgraduate School, 2012), 42.

28 Michael Fredholm, "Islamic Extremism as a Political Force: A Comparative Study of Central Asian Extremist Movements", Asian Cultures and Modernity Research Report No: 12 (2006), 20.

29 Fredholm, 20.

Islamic charities.[30] With additional recruits and help of some Afghan Arabs, soon the Namangan Battalion came close to some two hundreds. Later on, Namangani embedded himself to the IRPT (Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan) and supported the UTO (United Tajik Opposition) during the Tajik civil war. In return, IRPT attached several Tajiks to the Namangani Battalion and gave him a camp in Tavildara Valley which would later became Namangani's base after 1993.[31]

Following years witnessed an increasing networking efforts for Namangani where he came into contact with several intelligence agencies and Islamic groups and befriended influential people, mostly within IRPT. He visited several camps throughout the region, such as the one operated by Jamiat-e Islami in Takhar, Afghanistan, Badar-2 near Peshawar, Pakistan and Miram Shah again in Pakistan operating under the protection of Pakistani intelligence.[32] These camps were part of a network that was meant to support the Tajik opposition during the Tajik civil war. In 1996, Namangani also visited Saudi Arabia to get religious education.[33] He got into contact with Mirzo Zioyev, IRPT's army chief of staff and nephew of Said Abdullo Nuri who was then head of the IRPT. Zioyev later became minister of emergency situations in the new government. Namangani then started a transport company which made him quite wealthy, most probably through

---

30 See: Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), last accessed May 11, 2016, https://csis.org/files/publication/100825_Hahn_IIPER_22.pdf, Vitaly V. Naumkin, "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series, (2003).

31 Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond", 7.

32 Poonam Mann, "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan: Will It Strike Back?" *Strategic Analysis*, (2002): 295.

33 Mann, 296.

smuggling of heroin from Afghanistan to Tajikistan from there to Russia and Europe, and his compound in Tajikistan became a refuge for people who fled from Uzbekistan. [34]

Neither Namangani nor Yuldashev was pleased to see the end of the Tajik civil war which they considered as a *jihad*. In 1997, they met in Hoit, Tajikistan to form a new group that would continue jihad against Uzbekistan and Central Asia. At that point, Yuldashev who was mostly in Afghanistan during the Tajik civil war, had already secured Taliban's approval and a base of operations in Afghanistan. [35]

The group also got substantial amount of funding from al-Qaeda[36] and from Osama bin Laden who was at that time considering Central Asia as a prime source of recruitment. [37] After securing political offices and bases in Afghanistan, in cooperation with Taliban, Namangani moved some 600 men from Tajikistan to Afghanistan to these bases.[38] Later in 1999, Namangani and Yuldashev formally announced the creation of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and issued a declaration of jihad against governments of Uzbekistan and Krygyzstan. In this official declaration of jihad, IMU leaders were

---

34 Einer Wigen, "Islamic Jihad Union: Al-Qaidas Key to the Turkic World?" Norwegian Defence Research Establishment, (2009): 10.

35 David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011): 1.

36 The term "al-Qaeda" refers to al-Qaeda Central in this work unless otherwise mentioned.

37 U.S. Library of Congress, Federal Research Division, *A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups*, by Rex A. Hudson, (2002): 90., Ahmed Rashid, "Why Militant Islamicist in Central Asia Arent Going to Go Away", *The New Yorker*, (2002), last accessed May 13, 2016, http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/01/14/theyre-only-sleeping.

38 David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011): 1.

reiterating much of the aims of Adolat in a more violent manner and highlighting their combat experience in Tajik civil war.[39]

In their official declaration of jihad, they also declared that they did not have any foreign fighters in their ranks however that situation was going to change very rapidly due to IMU's relationship with Taliban. In a short period of time, IMU entrenched itself within the situation of Afghanistan and networks of both Taliban and al-Qaeda. In addition to their original base in Mazar-i Sharif, they quickly opened several other offices in Kabul and Kandahar all provided by the Taliban regime.[40] IMU provided Taliban with a plausible deniability against pressuring of states such as China and Russia about foreign fighters in their command. Although IMU grew stronger in number, including both Uyghurs, Chechens and some Pakistani elements along with Central Asians, this was more coincidental rather than a result of a careful planning on behalf of IMU.

Between 1999 to 2002, IMU presence became much more visible throughout the region. It was this time when IMU's operations were mostly concentrated on Central Asia. During this period, some high profile attacks against Central Asian targets has been first committed such as the 1999 bombings in Tashkent, Osh and Batken incursions in Kyrgyzstan, kidnapping several tourists and even a major general of the Kyrgyzstani Interior Ministry. During this time, until his death in 2001, one of the founders of the IMU, Juma Namangani, also served as a *de facto* defense minister for the Taliban.[41]

---

39 Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), last accessed May 13, 2016, https://csis.org/files/publication/100825_Hahn_IIPER_22.pdf, Michael Fredholm, "Islamic Extremism as a Political Force: A Comparative Study of Central Asian Extremist Movements", Asian Cultures and Modernity Research Report No: 12 (2006), 1-51.

40 Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond", 13.

41 Fredholm, "Islamic Extremism as a Political Force: A Comparative Study of Central Asian Extremist Movements", 28.

Aside from investigating each individual attack, I do think that it is much more important to understand and investigate the nature of these attacks, what enabled them and what was the response of states in the region to these attacks. First of all, I do argue that there are several important enablers of these terrorist activities in the region during this time: (1) network of terrorist camps throughout Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan, presence of ungoverned territories.[42] This network of bases throughout greater Central Asia (GCA)[43] enabled terrorist organizations to easily conduct attacks to any Central Asian country. Taliban control in Afghanistan, emergence of warlords (mostly affiliated with IRPT) in Tajikistan after the civil war, and cooperation of Pakistani intelligence services with these groups greatly destabilized the region, (2) successfully established drug routes and drug trafficking that nearly went unhindered. This was a major source of income for terrorist groups such as Taliban and IMU, especially in greater Central Asia region. Nearly 70 percent of opium that is passing through Central Asia originates from Afghanistan.[44] To fully understand the early phase of IMU, we cannot discard the role of drug trafficking. IMU during this time not only successfully embedded itself to the Taliban and wider radical Islamic networks but also embedded itself to the drug money and illicit economy that supports these entities. Namangani's friendship with IRPT's Mirzo Ziyoev, Namangani's transport company that he set up after the war, and even infamous incursions into Batken and Osh might be considered in

---

42 See: Guilain Denoeux and Lynn Carter, "Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism" USAID (2009), Noah Tucker, "Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Uzbekistan: A Risk Assessment" USAID (2013).

43 Greater Central Asia, in this work, is the term that is going to be used for a region that comprises of core Central Asia along with Afghanistan and FATA-Pakistan. For works on "Greater Central Asia" concept, see: S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors, Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005), S. Frederick Starr, "In Defense of Greater Central Asia" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2008), Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011).

44 Rena Salayeva and Michael J. Baranick, "Addressing Terrorist Threats in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan: Winning the Hearts and Minds" last accessed May 9, 2016, http://www.ismor.com/cornwallis/cornwallis_2005/CX_2005_11-Baranick-CX-July%2012.pdf.

this context. Raids being in the vicinity of known smuggling routes better explain why IMU directly target Kyrgyzstan rather than Uzbekistan. Ralf Mutschke of the Criminal Intelligence Directorate of Interpol describes IMU as "a hybrid organization in which criminal interest often take priority over "political goals" adding that "IMU leaders have a vested interest in ongoing unrest and instability in their area in order to secure the routes they use for the transportation of drugs."[45] Therefore, IMU under Namangani was more of a narcoterror organization reminiscent to PKK and FARC.[46]

I argue that what was more concerning about early years of IMU was not IMU's activities itself but the response of states in the greater region (plus Russia and Pakistan) to them. Especially Uzbekistan's arbitrary actions against the perceived IMU threat, air raids conducted both in Kyrgyz and Tajik territory, strained the relationship between Central Asian countries. On the other hand, Pakistan and Russia accused each other for helping and abetting IMU elements in the region.[47] Although it was beyond doubt that radical Islamist networks operating throughout the region were connected with both Pakistani intelligence and Saudi groups, Pakistan accused Russia of helping IMU so that it would assert its status as a military guarantor in the region.[48] I also do argue that sense of rivalry, lack of coordination and distrust among states acted as a force multiplier for

---

45 Svante E. Cornell, "Narcotics, Radicalism, and Armed Conflict in Central Asia: The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" *Terrorism and Political Violence*, (2005): 589.

46 Svante E. Cornell, 583.

47 Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010): 18.

48 For more information on Russian strategy to aid Islamic extremist organizations to assert itself as a military guarantor in the region, see: Hasan Ali Karasar, "Bağımsızlıklar Sonrası Turkistan'da Rus Siyaseti" (Russian Policy in Turkestan after the Disintegration of the Soviet Union) *Avrasya Dosyası* 6(2), (2001): 244.

violent extremist elements operating in the region and open up possibilities to exploit this situation.

2.3. SECOND PHASE OF CENTRAL ASIAN ISLAMIC MILITANCY

Course of events in the greater Central Asian region has been changed by 9/11 and following Operation Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan (OEF-A). OEF-A was a total blow at least to two of the abovementioned enablers of terrorism in the region. Firstly, it effectively destroyed much of command and control structure of Taliban in Afghanistan and the network of terrorist camps in the country. Secondly, it significantly disrupted the drug trafficking business these terrorist entities control.

Having suffered a terrible blow from the NATO forces, Taliban, al-Qaeda and IMU moved its remaining forces to the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) in Pakistan. Having lost one of its leaders, Juma Namangani, during OEF-A, IMU now found itself in a totally new paradigm and a new geography they were not familiar with. I do consider this as a second phase of Central Asian Islamic militancy due to the fact that now, in order to survive, Central Asian militants had to navigate their way in extremely complex FATA politics, tribal relations and part of Pakistan's wider geopolitical interests vis-a-vis Afghanistan and India.

2.3.1 CENTRAL ASIAN ISLAMIC MILITANCY AND TRIBAL POLITICS: IMU IN AFPAK REGION

The semi-autonomous FATA comprises of seven districts (a.k.a. agencies) and it is a rough terrain with inhospitable environment. These agencies are the Bajaur Agency, Mohmand Agency, Khyber Agency, Orakzai Agency, Kurram Agency, North and South Waziristan Agencies and several adjacent frontier regions such as Kohat, Lakki Marwat, Tank, Dera Ismail Khan. Tribesman value their independence highly and they are historically resistant towards Pakistani central authority and government influence in the region.[49] They are religiously conservative, however, they also have a separate pre-Islamic tribal code which is called *pashtunwali* that includes hospitality to guests (melmastia), generosity when asked for pardon and protection and obligation to avenge any slights.[50]

It was South Waziristan in FATA that Taliban, al-Qaeda and IMU forces eventually retreated after Afghanistan operation conducted by NATO forces. There are two key tribes in South Waziristan that helped these terrorist networks to settle there during this period. These tribes were Ahmadzai Wazirs and Mehsuds.[51] Relationship between Central Asian militants and local tribes is especially complex and follows differing patterns that is connected to several variables. Between 2002-2005, Central Asian elements enjoyed hospitality of local tribes in South Waziristan, however things started to change after this period.

---

49 Robert C. Martinage, "The Global War on Terrorism: An Assessment", Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, (2008): 221.

50 See: Martinage, 221, David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistan's Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011): 2.

51 David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistan's Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011): 2.

Figure 1. Example of Militant Networks in FATA[52]

Years between 2002-2005 is also very crucial for understanding the second phase of Central Asian Islamic militancy since these years has witnessed the reformation and reorganization of Central Asian entities in AfPak region. In 2002, forces that broke away from IMU has established IJU (Islamic Jihad Union). I do argue in this thesis that

---

52 Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan" RAND Corp., (2010): 26.

formation of IJU was indicating differing alliances and aspirations about the jihad among Central Asian groups. Therefore Central Asian Islamic militant groups during this time should not be considered as a monolithic entity since they differ about their perception of jihad and their main alliances and targets.

Started with 2005, Uzbek presence in South Waziristan started to cause resentment among local population and divided Wazir tribe, that were protecting the IMU elements since 2002, into several factions: Haji Omar[53] and the Yargulkhel tribe which is the most powerful and influential tribe in South Waziristan, fought alongside with the IMU whereas Darikhel and Kakakhel (being less influential and powerful) – led by Maulvi Nazir – aligned themselves against the IMU with Pakistani authorities' help. [54] Nazir is an important figure in order to understand the inter-tribal rivalries and Pakistani government's complex relationship with Taliban factions and tribes in FATA. Although affiliated with Taliban and al-Qaeda and vying for the al-Qaeda money that started to flow in FATA with al-Qaeda militants themselves, Nazir surrendered to Pakistani authorities in 2004 and shortly cleared of all charges and released. [55] Being a Kakakhel himself, Pakistani government considered Nazir as a counterbalance against Yargulkhel tribe in South Waziristan and its affiliates IMU. And lesser tribes were considering to gain more prominence in the region by allying themselves with the Pakistani government. Violence between Maulvi Nazir and pro-government tribes and IMU broke

---

53 For more information about key players in the region, see: "Interview with Haji Omar", PBS, last accessed 17 May, 2016, http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/taliban/militants/omar.html, "Who is Who in Pakistani Taliban: A Sampling of Insurgent Personalities in Seven Operational Zones in Pakistans Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North Western Frontier Province" Naval Postgraduate School Program for Culture and Conflict Studies, last accessed May 18, 2016, http://www.nps.edu/Programs/CCS/Docs/Pakistan/Pakistan_Taliban_Bios.pdf.

54 David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011): 5.

55 See: Hasan Abbas, "South Waziristans Maulvi Nazir: The New Face of the Taliban" *Terrorism Monitor* 5 (2007), last accessed May 18, 2016. http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews %5Btt_news%5D=4147&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=182&no_cache=1. Witter, 5.

out around 2007 when IMU elements were implicated by the death of well-respected Saudi sheikh who was a primary distributor of al-Qaeda finances in the region and several tribal elders who were affiliated with Nazir.[56] Although being with a lesser clan, by the help of Pakistani government authorities and "Punjabi Taliban" that was moved to area by Pakistani authorities to assist Nazir, he was able to push IMU forces from South Waziristan to North Waziristan.

There were several reasons why lesser clans of South Waziristan were willing to fight against the IMU which was affiliated with most powerful Yargulkhel tribe of the region. This fight itself was the culmination of several events that started with Pakistani government's economic blockade on South Waziristan for harboring the IMU elements.[57] This greatly damaged farmers' (both local farmers and IMU elements that set up farms in the region) income and started to turn population away from the IMU. As a response, some Central Asian militants started to hit Pakistani army and government targets in late 2006.[58] Killing of a Saudi distributor of al-Qaeda finances in the region by the IMU forces was an indicator of economic hardship that IMU was experiencing due to government's economic blockade.

It is no coincidence that Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan (TTP) a.k.a. Pakistani Taliban was officially established in 2007 by 40 senior Taliban commanders with the leadership of Baitullah Mehsud. It is important to remember that Mehsud tribe was one of the tribes that harbored Central Asian elements and al-Qaeda when they first came to South Waziristan and 2007 was the year when the IMU expelled from South Waziristan. Stated

---

56 Andrew R. Feitt, "Countering IMU in Afghanistan" *Small Wars Journal* (2010), last accessed May 18, 2016. smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/386-feitt.pdf.

57 See: Robert C. Martinage, "The Global War on Terrorism: An Assessment", 221, Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region", 4.

58 Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistan" SISA Report 1 (2013): 6

aims of Pakistani Taliban was more or less the same with the Afghan Taliban when it comes to fighting against NATO forces in Afghanistan, but further include: (1) performing defensive jihad against the Pakistani army along with establishing sharia, (2) demanding abolishment of all military checkpoints in FATA, (3) and refusing future peace deals with the government of Pakistan.[59] According to some reports, TTP has been operating in the country under different guises and names since 2003.[60]

Considering this, I do argue in this thesis that the separation of Central Asian Islamic militants between the IMU and IJU is related with the differing perceptions of main targets and the course of jihad and alliances that has been formed by these perceptions. Although official formation of IJU is in 2002, the group has become active first in 2004 with terror attacks in Uzbekistan that claimed nearly 50 lives. Therefore, the split between Central Asian elements coincides with the early formation of TTP and different alliances that has become more concrete in FATA. Thus, I think that this split between "good Uzbeks and bad Uzbeks"[61] is only a minor manifestation of more wider phenomena that is plaguing the counterterrorism efforts in AfPak region that is the Pakistani government's categorization of "good Taliban" and the "bad Taliban".[62]

---

59 Hasan Abbas, "A Profile of Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan" *CTC Sentinel* 1 (2008): 2.

60 Qandeel Siddique, "Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan" Danish Institute for International Studies Report 12 (2010): 7.

61 "Good Uzbeks" the group of Uzbek militants – that is mostly IJU- who sides with al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban concentrating their attacks solely on Afghanistan and ISAF forces, while "bad Uzbeks" - that is mostly the IMU- are those who sides with Pakistani Taliban/TTP that is attacking also Pakistani government forces along with NATO-ISAF forces.

62 On divide between "good and bad Taliban", see: Syed Manzar Abbas Zaidi, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistan" SISA Report No. 1, (2013), David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region" *Backgrounder*, (2011), Guido Steinberg, "A Turkish al-Qaeda: The Islamic Jihad Union and the Internationalization of Uzbek Jihadism" *Strategic Insights* (2008).

2.3.2. PAKISTANI MILITARY RESPONSE TO THE SITUATION IN FATA

Since 2002 onwards, there have been seven major operations in FATA, either followed each other or undertaken simultaneously. These operations were al-Mizan, Zalzala, Sher Dil, Rah-e-Rast, Rah-e-Haq, Rah-e-Nijat and latest Zarb-e-Azb. Although they were continuous and consistent, there were serious shortcomings to all of these operations and therefore they were mostly ineffective.

These shortcomings of Pakistani military operations in the region can be summarized as follows: Firstly, they do not (and most probably) will not address the root causes of the problem until Pakistan changed its perceived geopolitical interests in the region. Taliban problem is very much related with the Pakistani state's wider geopolitical goals such as controlling Afghanistan and using jihadi elements as a strategic leverage in the Kashmir issue.

RAND MG982-3.1

Figure 2: Pakistani Military Operations in FATA and North West Frontier Provinces (NWFP) now called Khyber Pakhtunkhwa.[63]

Jalaluddin Haqqani of the Haqqani Network[64] summarizes Pakistani's strategy as follows: "On Pakistan's Eastern border is India – Pakistan's perennial enemy. With the Taliban government in Afghanistan, Pakistan has an unbeatable 2, 300 km strategic

---

63 Seth G. Jones and C. Christine Fair, "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan" RAND Corporation (2010): 35.

64 Haqqani Network is a terrorist-business organization that originally founded to fight against Soviet forces in Afghanistan. They never considered themselves outside of Taliban however their actions are mostly controlled by Pakistani ISI. They acted as mitigators among several tribes in FATA and foreign terrorist groups such as the IMU as they intervened in the rift between Maulvi Nazir and the IMU elements in 2007. They been indicted in attacks in Afghanistan such as the one against Indian embassy in 2008. See: Anand Gopal et al. "The Battle for Pakistan: Militancy and Conflict in North Waziristan" Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper (2010), Robert C. Martinage, "The Global War on Terrorism: An Assessment", Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments, (2008), Jozef Lang, "The Radical Islamic Militants of Central Asia" OSW Report (2013).

depth, which even President Pervez Musharraf has proudly proclaimed. Does Pakistan really want a new government, which will include pro-India people in it, thereby wiping out this strategic depth?"[65] Thus, it is not a coincidence that early plans of al-Qaeda about recruiting from Central Asia has been abandoned and replaced by increasing mentions on what they call as *Ghazwa-e Hind* (War on India).[66] It is important to notice that India has the second biggest Muslim population in the world and jihadi groups' targeting of India is in line with Pakistan's wider geopolitical strategy about the region.

Second problem with Pakistan's "war on terror" is also related with the Pakistani state's geopolitical ambitions on Afghanistan. According to former Afghan president Hamid Karzai, Pakistan wants complete control over foreign policy of Afghanistan.[67]

Due to Pakistan's perceived interest on Afghanistan, military operations of Pakistan against jihadi elements on its own soil is lacking cooperation with Afghan state. This, in return, simply allows terrorist groups to retreat back to Afghanistan before each military

---

65 Anand Gopal et al. "The Battle for Pakistan: Militancy and Conflict in North Waziristan" *Counterterrorism Strategy Initiative Policy Paper* (2010):13.

66 See: Husain Haqqani, "Prophecy & the Jihad in the Indian Subcontinent" *Hudson Institute* (2015), last accessed 20 May, 2016, http://www.hudson.org/research/11167-prophecy-the-jihad-in-the-indian-subcontinent, Abishek Bhalla, "Al-Qaeda Plans Final Jihad for India: Intel Report Points to Terror Recruitment Drive Targeting Nations Muslims" *Daily Mail* (2014) last accessed 20 May, 2016, http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2694949/Al-Qaeda-plans-final-jihad-India-Intel-report-points-terror-recruitment-drive-targeting-nations-Muslims.html, Animesh Roul, "Ansar-ut Tawhid and the Transnational Jihadist Threat to India" *Terrorism Monitor* 12 (2004).

67 Walidullah Rahmani, "Taliban Devise New Strategy in Afghanistan: Territorial Control and War on Afghan Intelligence Headquarters" *Terrorism Monitor* 12 (2004): 9.

operation, only to return after operations finished.[68] This explains why successive operations that has been undertaken by Pakistani military could not even take down one high-profile leader of these terrorist entities and nearly all of them has been taken down by American drone strikes.

The main problem with Pakistan's counterterrorism efforts is not the lack of capability but lack of political will to pursue an effective counterterrorism policy that does not have distinctions such as "good Taliban" and "bad Taliban". Pakistan's current counterterrorism strategy is deeply connected with its wider geopolitical goals in the region which, in turn, make Pakistan a destabilizing factor in the greater region, especially for Afghanistan. Using jihadi organizations for political gain also inadvertently led to the creation of groups such as TTP that targets Pakistan itself. This phenomena also have detrimental societal effects such as *talibanization* of Pakistan.[69] Since Pakistani *madrasas* still recruiting young people for jihad, ungoverned FATA and NWFP is still *de facto* sanctuaries for nearly all jihadist groups operating in wider AfPak region, situation in Pakistan has the utmost importance for security and stability in the greater region.

---

68 See: International Crisis Group, "Tajikistan Early Warning: Internal Pressures, External Threats" Crisis Group Europe and Central Asia Briefing 78 (2016), Sanderson et al. "From the Ferghana Valley to South Waziristan: The Evolving Threat of Central Asian Jihadists" *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (2010), Farhan Zahid, "The Successes and Failures of Pakistans Operation Zarb-e-Azb" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015), Farhan Zahid, "Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Evolves Under Pressure" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015).

69 Robert C. Martinage, "The Global War on Terrorism: An Assessment" Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (2008): 210.

2.4. ISLAMIC JIHAD UNION AND INTERNATIONALIZATION OF CENTRAL ASIAN JIHAD

If we consider the IMU in AfPak region as a second phase of Central Asian Islamic militancy, cornerstone of this phase was the split that has taken place during this time. According to terrorism analyst Ronald Sandee of Nefa Foundation, split between the IMU and what later became the IJU was the direct result of 2002 IMU *Shura* (leadership council) decision.[70] As I have pointed out in the previous chapter, 2002 was the beginning when the IMU started to become embroiled into the tribal structures and rivalries in the FATA, specifically in South Waziristan. Thus, their strategic planning was about Pakistan and FATA and not about Central Asia which was the original goal of the IMU. Some elements within the IMU disagreed and formed a breakaway faction called "Islamic Jihad Group" in 2002 which later became the "Islamic Jihad Union".[71]

Under the leadership of Najmiddin Jalolov and Suhail Buranov, the IJU aligned itself with ISI-supported Haqqani Network and Afghan Taliban. They also relocated themselves in North Waziristan where Haqqani Network is also based.

As I have argued in the previous chapter, alliances that have been formed between 2002-2005 are crucial to understand the situation we have today. The split between Central Asian elements was a manifestation of a wider phenomena that took place during this time which is the split between Afghan Taliban and the Pakistani Taliban/TTP. This explains why the IJU elements aligned themselves with the Haqqani Network, Afghan Taliban and al-Qaeda while the IMU remained aligned with people like Haji Omar and

---

70 Einar Wigen, "Islamic Jihad Union: al-Qaidas Key to the Turkic World?" Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (2009): 13

71 Wigen, 13.

Baitullah Mesud which later formed the TTP. Split between "good Uzbeks" and "bad Uzbeks" was in the line of the split between "good Taliban" and the "bad Taliban". [72]

Najmiddin Kamolitdinovich Jalolov (born in 1972 in Andijan; alias Abu Yahya Muhammad Fatih,[73] Muhammed Foteh Bukhoriy) was a member of IMU since late 1990s and trained at an al-Qaeda camps in Afghanistan.[74] He was sentenced to death by Uzbekistan government for his role in the 1999 Tashkent bombing but never apprehended. He appointed Buranov who was also trained at an al-Qaeda camp in Khost, Afghanistan, (alias Sohail Mansur, Abu Huzaifa) as his deputy. Buranov was also a member of the IMU.

From its inception, the IJU concentrated on waging jihad in Afghanistan and Central Asia, a goal they consider that the IMU has given up. Presence of NATO-ISAF forces in Afghanistan also let them use this more global jihadi narrative, akin to al-Qaeda. This global jihadi narrative became more clear with very first attacks they conducted in

---

72 Although, there is a split between good and bad Taliban this split is by no means concrete and there is a high degree of fluidity and change of loyalties between them. Best example of this was the case of Maulvi Nazir who back in 2007 drove the IMU elements which is aligned with early TTP elements, from South Waziristan, later after the death of Yoldashev in 2009, reconciled with the IMU. Another example is the Haqqani Network, associated with Pakistani-ISI and Afghan Taliban which acted as a mitigator between Maulvi Nazir and the IMU. However, some also argue that this split was more about personal rivalries (Yuldashev being a weak leader) within the IMU and financial hardships that the IMU was experiencing during this period. See: Jacob Zenn, "The Indigenization of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" *Terrorism Monitor* 10 (2012), Didier Chaudet, "The Original Threat: Uzbek Islamism and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Ifri (2008) last accessed May 21, 2016, https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifriuzbekjihadismchaudetengdecember2008.pdf

73 The name Muhammed Fatih itself is a clear indication of the IJUs aims to recruit among Turkish-speaking population (both in Turkey and in Europe) since it is a reference to Mehmed II the "Conqueror" the Ottoman Sultan who conquered Constantinople.

74 See: Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), last accessed May 21, 2016, https://csis.org/files/publication/100825_Hahn_IIPER_22.pdf, U.S. Departmant of Treasury, "Treasury Designates Leadership of the IJU Terrorist Group", last accessed May 21, 2016, https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp1035.aspx

Central Asia which they targeted Uzbekistan along with American and Israeli embassies in the country by using both male and female suicide bombers which was a novelty in the region. However, these efforts crystallized with IJU's outreach to Germany and more generally Turkish-speaking population living in Europe and in Turkey. This was a pioneering effort on behalf of Central Asian Islamic militancy. These efforts came into spotlight in 2007 with the discovery of "Sauerland Cell" in Germany. In September 2007, the German police arrested four men for their roles in the attempted bombing of U.S. Air force base in Ramstein. Two of these men were German converts of Islam (Fritz Gelowicz and Daniel Schneider) and two of them were of Turkish descent (Adem Yılmaz and Attila Selek). German police discovered that Sauerland Cell had planned to detonate several car bombs by using total of 730 kilograms of hydrogen peroxide, a chemical that is explosive at highly concentrated levels.[75] The amount of explosives within European borders were indicating high levels of organizational capacity and preparedness on behalf of the IJU and also was an indicator of earlier aspirations of the group about being a player among global jihadi movements. German authorities later found out that these men have been radicalized in Multikulturhaus in Neu-Ulm which was operating as a front for jihadi organizations in Germany.[76]

Debate about the IJU mostly revolves around whether the IJU is the al-Qaeda's key to the Turkic world or a Turkish al-Qaeda or a new phase of internationalization of Central Asian jihadism.[77] I argue that it is clear that very first intentions of the IJU was to

---

75 For more information on Sauerland Cell, see: David Witter, "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region" *Backgrounder* (2011), Jozef Lang, "The Radical Islamic Militants of Central Asia" Centre for Eastern Studies (2013), Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), Einar Wigen, "Islamic Jihad Union: al-Qaidas Key to the Turkic World?" Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (2009).

76 See: Guido Steinberg, "A Turkish al-Qaeda: The Islamic Jihad Union and the Internationalization of Uzbek Jihadism" *Strategic Insights* (2008), Einar Wigen, "Islamic Jihad Union: al-Qaidas Key to the Turkic World?" Norwegian Defense Research Establishment (2009).

77 See: Steinberg (2008), Wigen (2009), Sanderson et al. (2010), Lang (2013). Chaudet (2008).

become more involved with the jihad in Afghanistan and to be more globally-oriented group like al-Qaeda. Earlier attacks of IJU (such as 2004 Uzbekistan attacks and 2007 foiled attempts in Germany) clearly indicate this. However, it is evident that the IJU's earlier goals were surpassing its capabilities as a violent extremist group. That's why from 2007 onwards, there has not been any attempt in European soil such as foiled Sauerland Cell plans and the IJU concentrated mainly on Afghanistan and targeted NATO-ISAF forces in the country. Nevertheless, the IJU managed to secure consistent Turkish and German recruits to its ranks up to this day.[78]

It is also important to notice that the IJU's actions and its narrative of a global jihad also had effects on IMU's own narrative and how it portrayed itself as a jihadi organization. In 2006, the leader of the IMU Yuldashev issued a statement in Uzbek language, denouncing the IJU of March and April 2004 attacks on Uzbekistan.[79] In March 2007, he stated that IMU's goals were no longer regional but global by saying that: "the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan used to fight Karimov alone once. No more. We are going to war on all enemies of Islam worldwide. […] The jihad is the only means of dealing with

---

78 Although there is a peculiar interview surfaced in 2008 complaining about the quality of Turkish recruits and accuse them of being quitters and faint-hearted and not committed to jihadi ideology, there are consistent reports about Turkish members of the IJU operating in Afghanistan along with their German counterparts. See: Ebu Yasir et-Turki ile Turkiye Mucahidleri Uzerine Soylesi (2008), last accessed 22 May, 2016 http://www.islam-tr.net/forum/konu/ebu-yasir-et-turk%C3%8E-ile-turkiye-mucahidleri-uzerine-soylesi.35965/, Bill Roggio and Caleb Wess, "Islamic Jihad Union details its involvement in Taliban's Azm offensive" *The Long War Journal* (2015), last accessed 22 May, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/07/islamic-jihad-union-details-its-involvement-in-talibans-azm-offensive.php, Bill Roggio and Thomas Joscelyn, "Central Asian groups split over leadership of global jihad" *The Long War Journal* (2015), last accessed May 22, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/08/central-asian-groups-split-over-leadership-of-global-jihad.php, Karen Hodgson, "Turkish fighters in the Islamic Jihad Union" *The Long War Journal* (2012), last accessed 22 May, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/08/_several_turks_have.php.

79 Michael Fredholm, "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond" Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report, (2010), 22.

the Jews and Christians who demean Islam."[80] This statement clearly show us that the formation of IJU had an impact on IMU, both on its actions and how it portrays itself as a violent extremist organization. The dates of these statements also coincides with IMU's clashes with Pakistan-backed Maulvi Nazir (April 2007) and can be read in the framework of "good Uzbeks" and "bad Uzbeks" which I argue was a manifestation of "good Taliban" and "bad Taliban" phenomena.[81]

To understand why Germany was a specific target, aside from having a significant Turkish population, one must look at the situation in Afghanistan. Steinberg and Wörmer divides insurgency in Afghanistan into three main phases: (1) Building phase (2006-2007): when first Taliban elements started to reorganize in Afghanistan followed by the flow of IJU and IMU elements. (2) Escalation phase (2008-2009): increasing flow of insurgents into Afghanistan with greater quantities of fighters and equipment, (3) American phase (2010): last effort of American forces to curb insurgency in Afghanistan with additional soldiers and special forces, killing and capturing of several influential commanders and shadow governors of Taliban in Afghanistan.[82] Nevertheless, these efforts were unable to effectively stop the escalation that started out in 2008-2009 period. Al-Qaeda, Taliban and Central Asian elements (IMU-IJU) considered Germany as the weakest link among the major troop providers in Afghanistan, therefore Germany draw particular interest for these violent extremist organizations.

---

80 Didier Chaudet, "The Original Threat: Uzbek Islamism and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan" Ifri (2008): 14, last accessed May 21, 2016,
https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifriuzbekjihadismchaudetengdecember2008.pdf

81 Split between "good Taliban" and "bad Taliban" also became official later that year in December 2007 with the formation of TTP, although networks that later would form TTP was operating in the region under different forms and guises as early as 2003.

82 Guido Steinberg and Nils Wörmer, "Escalation in the Kunduz Region" German Institute for International and Security Affairs (2010): 3.

Situation in Afghanistan remains to be troublesome and will be the biggest challenge for security and stability in the greater Central Asia region. Since 2001, the United States alone has spent nearly $650 billion to Afghanistan operation.[83] Although coalition forces have been able to effectively disrupt and destroy the Taliban and al-Qaeda elements in the country with the beginning of OEF-A, they could not sustain this early success in following years. There are several reasons why situation in Afghanistan has deteriorated and will continue to do so in the near future. First, as long as Pakistan has perceived geopolitical interests in Afghanistan and Kashmir, it will continue to impede peace and stability in the region. Pakistan will most probably continue to support and assist Taliban forces in Afghanistan against India. Doing so will destabilize already fragile Afghanistan and have detrimental effects for broader region. Second, U.S. seems to have an ambiguous position considering American troops in Afghanistan. Although, President Obama was calling for pulling out American troops in Afghanistan, it seems that U.S. has taken a new position for Afghanistan since the capture of Kunduz by Taliban forces.[84] Even though presidential candidates seem to agree on continuing commitment in Afghanistan[85], there is no clear long-term strategy neither for Afghanistan nor for greater region.

---

83 Seth G. Jones and Keith Crane, "Afghanistan After the Drawdown" *Council on Foreign Relations* (2013): vii.

84 Matthew Rosenberg and Michael D. Shear, "In Reversal, Obama Says U.S. Soldiers Will Stay in Afghanistan to 2017" *The New York Times* (2015) last accessed 25 May, 2016, http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/16/world/asia/obama-troop-withdrawal-afghanistan.html?_r=0, Greg Jaffe and Miss Ryan, "The U.S. was supposed to leave Afghanistan by 2017. Now it might take decades" *The Washington Post* (2016) last accessed 25 May, 2016, https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/01/26/the-u-s-was-supposed-to-leave-afghanistan-by-2017-now-it-might-take-decades/.

85 Akhilesh Pillalamarri, "Do US Presidential Candidates Care About South Asia?" *The Diplomat* (2015) last accessed 25 May, 2016, http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/do-us-presidential-candidates-care-about-south-asia/

2.5. JIHAD 2.0 – SYRIAN CIVIL WAR

If al-Qaeda was the first phase of global jihadi movements, the year of 2014 has witnessed the second phase of global jihadi movements. Formation of Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS)[86] revolutionized the jihadi scene and became prominent with the establishment of so-called "Caliphate" in the region. However, it was not the establishment of caliphate in the region what makes ISIS unique, but it was the use of technology as a recruitment and propaganda tool. Use of internet, social media, and high-quality videos of jihad is what differentiate ISIS from its predecessors and indicates a new phase in global jihadi movements.[87] Formation of Syria[88] theater also indicates a new and interesting split for the Central Asian militancy. If the creation of IJU is to be considered as the beginning of internationalization of Central Asian Islamic militants, embedding themselves with the broader goals of the truly global networks such as

86 As in the case of TTP, formation of ISIS also can be traced back to first Iraqi insurgency under Abu Musab al-Zarqawi and what later became al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQ-I).

87 For more information on Jihad 2.0 and use of social media and communication technologies, see: Hearing before the Senate Committee on Homeland Security & Governmental Affairs, David Gartenstein-Ross, "Jihad 2.0: Social Media in the Next Evolution of Terrorist Recruitment" Foundation for Defense of Democracies (2015) last accessed May 27, 2016, http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/Gartenstein_Ross_HSGAC_Testimony_Jihad2.0.pdf, Charlie Winter, "The Virtual Caliphate: Understanding Islamic States Propaganda Strategy" Quilliam (2015), Steven Stalinsky and R. Sosnow, "From Al-Qaeda to the Islamic State (ISIS), Jihadi Groups Engage in Cyber Jihad: Beginning with 1980s Promotion of Use of Electronic Technologies up to Todays Embrace of Social Media to Attract a New Jihadi Generation" MEMRI (2014), last accessed 27 May, 2016, http://cjlab.memri.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/cyber-jihad-2.pdf, Monica Maggioni and Paolo Magri, ed., "Twitter and Jihad: The Communication Strategy of ISIS" ISPI (2015), Yannick Veilleux-Lepage, "Paradigmatic Shifts in Jihadism in Cyberspace: The Emerging Role of Unaffiliated Sympathizers in Islamic States Social Media Strategy" *Journal of Terrorism Research* (2016), last accessed 27 May, 2016, http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1183/, Aaron Y. Zelin, "The State of Global Jihad Online" New America Foundation (2013), last accessed 27 May, 2016, http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Zelin20130201-NewAmericaFoundation.pdf.

88 Syria in this thesis refers to Syria and Iraq where insurgency is still taking place. It refers to the geographic area which ISIS calls "bilad al-Sham" (Syria and its neighborhood). "Iraq-Syria" also refers the same area.

al-Qaeda, affiliation of Central Asian elements in Syria theater has surpassed these earlier attempts. However, this thesis also argues that there are also significant similarities in alliance patterns and interconnectedness between Central Asian Islamic militancy in Iraq-Syria and AfPak.

One of the most striking elements of Central Asian Islamic militancy in Iraq-Syria region is its numbers. There are varying numbers given for Central Asian fighters in the region. According to ICSR (International Centre for the Radicalization and Political Violence) there are 1, 400 Central Asians fighting in Syria since last year.[89] ICG (International Crisis Group) on the other hand, put this number up to between 2, 000 and 4, 000.[90] While Western officials put the figure somewhere along 2, 000, Russian officials put it higher, closer to 4, 000.[91] A Turkey-based non-governmental organization (NGO) that works with Uzbek migrants in Turkey however put this figure up to 3, 000 – 3, 500 for Uzbekistan alone.[92] CENTCOM sponsored publication "Central Asia Online" claimed in February 2015 that 900 Uzbeks have already been killed while fighting for

89 Noah Tucker, "Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses" USAID (2015): 4.

90 International Crisis Group, "Syria Calling: Radicalisation in Central Asia" (2015): 3.

91 International Crisis Group, 3. However, this report is highly criticized by Montgomery and Heathershaw for lack of transparency and arbitrariness, see: John Heathershaw and David W. Montgomery, "Who Says Syrias Calling?" CEDAR (2015) last accessed 28 May, 2016, http://www.cedarnetwork.org/2015/02/17/who-says-syrias-calling-why-it-is-sometimes-better-to-admit-that-we-just-do-not-know-by-john-heathershaw-and-david-w-montgomery/.

92 See: *Ozodlik Radiosi,* "Suriyaga oilasi bilan borayotgan jihodchi ozbeklar kopaymoqda" (2014) last accessed 28 May, 2016, http://www.ozodlik.mobi/a/25308969.html. This Turkey-based NGO call itself "Ozbeklar birligi" (Uzbekler Birligi – Uzbeks Union) and cooperating with another group called "Turkistan Birligi" (Turkestan Union). These groups are led by individuals named Adem Cevik and Alibey Yolyahsi and working alongside with leading Islamist intellectuals and NGOs (such as IHH and R4bia Platform) in Turkey (See: https://www.facebook.com/uzbekunion/, http://www.turkistanbirligi.org/, http://www.adaletplatformu.com/, https://www.facebook.com/pages/Adalet-Platformu/1554904941469224).

ISIS.[93] However, numbers coming from official bodies also should not be taken at a face value.[94] This difference in numbers also reflects into numbers of broader insurgency force in Syria.[95] Although truth about numbers are probably lies somewhere in between, this does not change the fact that Central Asians are now a significant fighting force in Syrian insurgency.

2.5.1. ALLIANCE PATTERNS BETWEEN MIDDLE EASTERN AND AFPAK THEATERS

Another significant issue that warrants attention is that the alliance patterns that took place in Syrian theater and its effects on AfPak region or vice versa. Central Asians that are participating Syrian insurgency broadly fall under two categories: those who are fighting for al-Qaeda affiliate Jabhat al-Nusra (JaN or JN, a.k.a. al-Nusra Front-ANF) and those who are fighting for ISIS. Uzbeks first came into prominence in Syria when they organized under JaN in a group called "Seyfuddin Uzbek Jamaat" which was led by a former IMU militant, an Uzbek named Abu Hussein.[96] This *jamaat* (religious unit) later

---

93 Ryskeldi Satke et al. "The Islamic State Threat in Central Asia: Reality or Spin?" *Terrorism Monitor* 13, (2015): 4.

94 Jim Miklaszewski and Courtney Kube, "CENTCOM May Have 'Manipulated' ISIS Intel, Officials Say" *NBC News* (2015), last accessed 28 May, 2016, http://www.nbcnews.com/news/us-news/officials-nbc-news-centcom-may-have-manipulated-isis-intel-n468386.

95 Satke et al., 3.

96 Jacob Zenn, "Al-Qaeda-Aligned Central Asian Militants in Syria Separate from Islamic State-Aligned IMU in Afghanistan" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 9.

formed what today known as "Imam Bukhari Jamaat" (IBJ, Imam al-Bukhoriy Brigade or Imam Buxoriy Katibasi-KIB).[97]

Although what later evolved into IBJ (Seyfuddin Uzbek Jamaat) founded by former IMU militant Abu Hussein, IBJ's leader is an individual called as "Sheikh Salahuddin" since Abu Hussein has joined the ranks of ISIS.[98] IBJ under his rule not only swore loyalty to Taliban in Afghanistan but in a propaganda video he claimed that his group is created by "authorization of the Islamic Emirate of Afghanistan".[99] Aside from IBJ, there are also several other Central Asian groups operating in Syria such as another Uzbek brigade in JaN call itself "Tavhid va Jihad Katibasi" (Tawhid and Jihad Brigade), Seyfullah Shishani Jamaat, and a group consist of Russian-speaking militants from Caucasia alongside with Central Asians that call itself "Jaysh Muhajireen Wal Ansar" (JMWA) which later split alongside those loyal to JaN and ISIS.[100] Another prominent group in Syria was the Uyghur-led "Turkestan Islamic Party" (TIP, formerly known as East Turkestan Islamic Party-ETIM). It was officially established in 1997 although started to carry out attacks against Chinese government in Xinjiang region in early 1990s. Until 2006, it was operating under the IMU with sanctions from al-Qaeda and Afghan Taliban. What is peculiar with TIP is that although it was a minor organization in AfPak region, since they announced their involvement in the Syrian insurgency in 2013,

---

97 Different analysts use different abbreviations for Imam Bukhari Jamaat such as IBJ or KIB coming from Uzbek version. IBJ version will be used in this work. See, Zenn, (2015), Tucker, (2015).

98 Joanna Paraszczuk, "Leave Nusra, Join IS, Uzbek Militant Urges in New IS Video" *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (2015), last accessed 30 May, 2016, http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-video-urges-uzbeks-others-to-leave-al-nusra-front/27082876.html.

99 Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty, "Main Uzbek Militant Faction in Syria Swears Loyalty to Taliban" (2014), last accessed 30 May, 2016, http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-uzbek-militant-faction-syria-taliban/26686992.html.

100 Noah Tucker, "Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses" USAID (2015): 5.

their numbers increased more than threefold (from 300 in AfPak to 1, 000 in Syria).[101] This is a disturbing trend for China which has its own reservations about the Xinjiang region.[102]

Second category of fighters operating in Syria theater is those of ISIS. ISIS has its roots in Iraqi insurgency, started out as Jamaat al-Tawhid wal-Jihad (JTJ) later became al-Qaeda in Iraq (AQI). Almost since its inception, AQI found itself at odds with al-Qaeda Central, especially when it was under Zarqawi's rule.[103] However, when Emir of the Islamic State of Iraq, Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi unilaterally declared his authority over Iraq and Syria, conflict between Baghdadi's group and al-Qaeda became apparent and descent into open warfare between JaN and ISIS. Al-Qaeda under Zawahiri also rejected to acknowledge Baghdadi's claims of formation of a caliphate when his group captured Mosul. I argue that effects of this rivalry is not restricted to Iraq-Syria theater but it is very much alive and shaping the future of insurgency in AfPak region today, especially for the Central Asian militants.

101 Jacob Zenn, "Al-Qaeda-Aligned Central Asian Militants in Syria Separate from Islamic State-Aligned IMU in Afghanistan" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 8.

102 Xinjiang issue started to become more and more visible in the radical Islamic scene since 2009, see: Jacob Zenn, "China Claims Uyghur Militants Trained in Syria" *Terrorism Monitor* 11 (2013).

103 See: Noah Tucker, "Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses" USAID (2015), Aaron Y. Zelin, "The War between ISIS and al-Qaeda for Supremacy of Global Jihadist Movement" The Washington Institute for Near East Policy 20 (2014).

2.6. INTERNATIONALIZATION ACCOMPLISHED? PRESENT AND FUTURE OF CENTRAL ASIAN ISLAMIC MILITANCY

Chain of events in AfPak region has started with IMU's amir Usman Gazi's statements about whereabouts of Afghan Taliban's leader Mullah Muhammad Omar in September 2014.[104] This is followed by TTP spokeperson Shahidullah Shadid's public announcement of allegiance to ISIS alongside with several TTP regional commanders from Orakzai, Khyber, Peshawar, Hangu, and Kurram agencies.[105] These TTP factions enabled ISIS to establish a foothold in AfPak region and ISIS announced the establishment of what they call "Wilayat Khorasan" (Khorasan Province) in January, 2015. Although IMU declared its support to ISIS as early as September 2014, its leader officially announced his allegiance to ISIS in August 2015.[106]

2.6.1. DOWNFALL OF IMU "BRAND" AND ALLIANCE WITH ISIS

There are several underlying reasons for why IMU choose to side with ISIS in AfPak region where ISIS, unlike Taliban and al-Qaeda, is not an established force. With start of Syrian insurgency, it became apparent that the IMU is no longer "the brand" of Central Asian jihadism. New groups emerged and gained much more support and prominence than IMU has ever done in its history. Roehrs argues several reasons in general why

---

104 Jacob Zenn, "Al-Qaeda-Aligned Central Asian Militants in Syria Separate from Islamic State-Aligned IMU in Afghanistan" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 9.

105 Harleen Gamhir, "ISIS in Afghanistan" *Institute for the Study of War* (2015): 4.

106 *Site Intelligence,* "IMU Pledges Allegiance to IS Leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi" (2015), last accessed 31 May, 2016, https://ent.siteintelgroup.com/Jihadist-News/imu-pledges-allegiance-to-is-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi.html

Central Asian jihadis seem to neglect their neighbor and going for Syria: (1) At least between 2014-2015, ISIS and other rebel groups in Syria seemed to be winning (This situation has changed now and regime forces and Kurdish groups gained significant territories while ISIS and other groups seem to be retreating); (2) Prestige of Arab world. This indicates the difference between "Afghan Jihad" and the "Syrian Jihad". Syria has much more global religious significance than AfPak region which seems to be highly nationalistic – locally oriented jihad; (3) ISIS is a new brand. This reason is connected with other reasons she argues such as use of social media.[107]

In order to answer specifically why IMU is loosing blood, we have to look at the choices that IMU leadership has made and alliances they have been formed since 2002. I argue that IMU's early alliance with the elements that would later form TTP was one of the causes of the rift between the Taliban and IMU. This rift caused periodic skirmishes that sometimes get more bloodier (such 2007 expulsion of Uzbeks from South Waziristan by Maulvi Nazir) and sometimes less, however it was still manageable and under the control of more senior figures that would act as intermediaries between these two camps (such as Haqqani Network). 2007 onwards with the official establishment of TTP, IMU found itself more and more entrenched within the TTP structure and politics of AfPak region. Although deaths of Tahir Yuldashev in 2009 and Abu Usman Adil in 2012 in drone strikes further weakened the position of IMU, during this time IMU continued to play a significant role within TTP, only to found itself in the position of being "bad Uzbek" as well as "bad Taliban" in the region.

After the death of TTP leader Hakimullah Mehsud in 2013, disagreements over leadership and peace negotiations with Pakistani government arose and cause a split

---

107 She also argues several other reasons why Central Asians neglect jihad in AfPak region, such as higher jihadi living standards in Syria, collective memory of the Soviet-Afghan war, linguistic familiarity, ease of recruitment and travel to Syria, and framing of the war in Syria and Iraq as a fight against Shia Islam, see: Christine Roehrs, "To Syria, not Afghanistan: Central Asian jihadis 'neglect' their neighbour" Afghanistan Analysts Network (2014), last accessed 31 May, 2016, https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/to-syria-not-afghanistan-central-asian-jihadis-neglect-their-neighbour/.

within TTP.[108] Following the same fashion, IMU followed the suit of defected factions which formed ISIS-Khorasan in the region. I argue that this decision most clearly illustrates the frustration in the IMU ranks. By pledging allegiance to ISIS, IMU leaders probably hoping for funds and recruits which they were losing to Central Asian groups operating in Syria. Nevertheless, this decision was the last strategic mistake of IMU where after having found themselves in "bad Uzbek" and "bad Taliban" position, now they have also lost the main TTP support which was necessary for IMU to survive in the region. IMU in AfPak region has found itself in an increasingly marginalized position and having lost its alliances one by one.

This course of events, not so surprisingly, followed by the near extinction of IMU by Taliban forces. Final blow to IMU forces has taken place in December 2015, where Taliban forces has laid siege to Uzbek bases in Zabul, Afghanistan and slaughtered hundreds of IMU forces. A jihadist named "Tahir Jan" is giving following accounts about what happened in Zabul: "The former Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan has almost been completely destroyed unfortunately, and maybe less than 10 percent of those who were in the fronts or on other assignments remain after the events in Zabul (…) What America and its agents could not do in 14 years, the Taliban did in 24 hours"[109]

---

108 Harleen Gamhir, "ISIS in Afghanistan" *Institute for the Study of War* (2015): 4.

109 Margaret Foster, "2015 Retrospective: How the Fall of the IMU Reveals the Limits of IS Expansion" *Site Intelligence* (2016), last accessed 2 June, 2016, https://news.siteintelgroup.com/blog/index.php/categories/jihad/entry/408-2015-retrospective-how-the-fall-of-the-imu-reveals-the-limits-of-is%E2%80%99-expansion.

There are conflicting accounts about the fate of group's leader Usman Ghazi. Those include that he has either been captured or killed by the Taliban forces.[110]

By all means, we can say that the IMU as "the brand" of Central Asian Islamic extremism no longer exists. The question is what will future show for Central Asian Islamic militancy? Surviving IMU elements, albeit few, might probably continue to operate under the banner of ISIS-Khorasan without continuing to exist as an entity called IMU. Even though, their future would be very much connected with ISIS-Khorasan's existence in AfPak region which is also very dubious. Main reason for that is that ISIS-Khorasan actually managed to create an albeit loose 'consortium' between U.S., Afghan, Pakistani governments as well as Taliban, al-Qaeda, and TTP. To elaborate on that, every actor in the region sees its own interest on preventing the rise of ISIS-Khorasan in AfPak region.[111]

On the other hand, end of IMU by no means should be translated as the end of Central Asian jihadi phenomena in AfPak region since IMU itself was only a part of a more complex equation. Unlike IMU, IJU is still very much active in Afghanistan and keeping

---

110 Jacob Zenn, "The IMU is extinct: what next for Central Asias jihadis?" *The CACI Analyst* (2016), last accessed 2 June, 2016, http://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13357-the-imu-is-extinct-what-new-for-central-asias-jihadis?.html, Margaret Foster, "2015 Retrospective: How the Fall of the IMU Reveals the Limits of IS Expansion" *Site Intelligence* (2016), last accessed 2 June, 2016, https://news.siteintelgroup.com/blog/index.php/categories/jihad/entry/408-2015-retrospective-how-the-fall-of-the-imu-reveals-the-limits-of-is%E2%80%99-expansion, *Site Intelligence*, "Jihadists Gives Account of Afghan Taliban Nearly Eliminating IMU, Demands IS Address Happenings" (2015), last accessed June 2, 2016, https://news.siteintelgroup.com/Jihadist-News/jihadist-gives-account-of-afghan-taliban-nearly-eliminating-imu-demands-is-address-happenings.html.

111 This, on the other hand, has a potential to serve as a strong narrative for ISIS-Khorasan to use for recruitment purposes. However, it is questionable if they have capabilities and networks to do so since they mostly rely on TTP-defectors personal networks.

its traditional allies such as Taliban and al-Qaeda.[112] Besides, unprecedented Central Asian presence in Syria region also proves that Central Asian Islamic militancy phenomena is not going to end with the downfall of IMU but it will transform itself to something new.

---

112 Bill Roggio and Thomas Joscelyn, "Central Asian groups split over leadership of global jihad" *The Long War Journal* (2015), last accessed 2 June, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/08/central-asian-groups-split-over-leadership-of-global-jihad.php, Bill Roggio and Caleb Weiss, "Islamic Jihad Union details its involvement in Talibans Azm offensive" *The Long War Journal* (2015), last accessed 2 June, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/07/islamic-jihad-union-details-its-involvement-in-talibans-azm-offensive.php.

CHAPTER III

HIZB UT-TAHRIR AND NON-VIOLENT ISLAMIC MILITANCY IN CENTRAL
ASIA

Violent Islamic groups are not the sole manifestation of Islamism in the region. There are other sets of organizations that represent a significant current in the region, and global Islamist scene in general, with their rather dubious claims of commitment to non-violence. Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) is the most well-known example of such groups and the most effective one in Central Asia. Therefore, I do think that it is important to understand their interactions with Central Asian states and societies to better understand the Islamism phenomena in the region.

Hizb ut-Tahrir was founded in 1953 by Taqiuddin al-Nabhani, an Islamic scholar and judge (qadi) at the *sharia* court in East Jerusalem. Since it was founded in East Jerusalem, initial members were mostly Palestinians and Jordanians. However, the group spread quickly in most Arab countries. Hizb ut-Tahrir was one of the organizations that came to Central Asian scene with the fall of Soviet Union, most possibly through Jordanian missionaries that came to preach Islam in Central Asia.[113] Baran consider this as a second wave of HuT in Central Asia and argues that the first wave started as early as 1970s with Jordanian and Palestinian students who were studying in region's higher education institutions.[114]

---

113 Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam in Uzbekistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (2006): 264.

114 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 42.

HuT founder Al-Nabhani died in 1977 and was succeeded by Abu Yusuf Abdul Qadim Zallum, another Palestinian cleric, who later succeeded by Ata Ibnu Khaleel Abu Rashta in 2003. Rashta is also a Palestinian and was serving as the party's official spokesman in Jordan. Since Rashta's appointment as the head of HuT, which also coincided with the Iraqi war, increasing radicalization can be observed in HuT's messages.[115] Nevertheless, the group continue to operate today with its official headquarters in Jordan and main "nerve center" in London.

There are varying estimates about the numbers of HuT members in Central Asia. Baran claims that there were 7, 000 to 60, 000 members of HuT in Uzbekistan in 2005 where they were strongest numerically.[116] Salayeva and Baranick put that number somewhere between several thousands to 15, 000 in Uzbekistan.[117] Uzbekistan is being followed by Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan where membership to HuT is around 3, 000 to 5, 000.[118] Weitz, in 2004, was putting that number in Uzbekistan to somewhere around 10, 000.[119] However, by the year 2010, those numbers in Kyrgyzstan alone said to ranged from 20, 000 to 100, 000.[120] These numbers show us that HuT is increasing its membership and becoming a formidable real political opposition in Central Asia.

---

115 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 42.

116 Baran, 46.

117 Rena Salayeva and Michael J. Baranick, "Addressing Terrorist Threats in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan: Winning the Hearts and Minds" last accessed June 4, 2016, http://www.ismor.com/cornwallis/cornwallis_2005/CX_2005_11-Baranick-CX-July%2012.pdf.

118 Baran, 46.

119 Richard Weitz, "Storm Clouds over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)?" *Studies of Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (2004): 507.

120 The Jamestown Foundation, "Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Central Asia" A Compendium of Recent Jamestown Analysis (2013): 10.

There are several theories about what foster the appeal of HuT in the region. Very first reason is the government's oppression of Islamism, even of its 'moderate' forms, which led people to embrace more radical views such as those represented by the HuT.[121] This is supported by the fact that although there is an undeniable trend towards HuT, majority of Central Asians do not support radical Islam.[122] However, at the same time, we should not ignore the growing trend among especially young people towards more outward expressions of religiosity and religious observance.[123] This trend might be related with the identity questions especially young generations are facing in post-Soviet era. Another reason that people turn their support towards groups like HuT is their frustration with the post-Soviet period. This is and has been a major source for radical Islamic groups to exploit even in the early days of independence. People in Central Asia turn to radical Islamic groups such as HuT not because they necessarily agree with their broader agenda but they are tired of rampant corruption, nepotism, clanship and general lack of security and order in the streets. And some people see *sharia* as a system of law that can solve this problem. As an Uzbek man explains: "Maybe we should establish an Islamic state based on the *sharia*, where there will be no corruption, clanship, theft, prostitution, drugs and other maladies of the modern life."[124] This message is classical, nearly typical and when we remember the rise of first *Adolat* movement in Ferghana Valley, we see the same themes were resonating and exploited by radical Islamic groups.

---

[121] Tiffany Petros, "Islam in Central Asia: The Emergence and Growth of Radicalism in the Post-Communist Era" in *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asias Path to the 21st Century*, ed. Dan Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, (Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 2004): 139.

[122] See: Petros, 139, Yaacov Roi and Alon Wainer, "Muslim Identity and Islamic Practice in Post-Soviet Central Asia" *Central Asian Survey* 28 (2009).

[123] Yaacov Roi and Alon Wainer, "Muslim Identity and Islamic Practice in Post-Soviet Central Asia" *Central Asian Survey* 28 (2009):318.

[124] Dina Lisnyanski, "Jihad Strategies in Central Asia" The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy Institute for Policy and Strategy (2008), last accessed 6 June, 2016, http://www.herzliyaconference.org/_Uploads/2813DinaLisnyansky.pdf.

Karagiannis also argues that the HuT successfully capitalized the widespread nostalgia for Soviet Union where Central Asians were be able to feel themselves as a part of superpower that shaped the world and now HuT trying to tap into this nostalgia by promoting the idea of an Islamic state and *ummah* that transcend the boundaries of nation states.[125] Before delving into the ideology of HuT, I would like to say that these are not, and cannot be considered the sole reasons why HuT's message is appealing to Central Asian people and I think that we should not fall into this mistake of assigning reasons short of excuse to explain why people are joining groups like HuT. I argue that it should not be discarded that some people are joining groups like HuT because its message, by itself, is appealing to them for various reasons -not because they are experiencing material or political depravity-.

Since they are the most prominent manifestation of 'non-violent' political Islam in the region, it is important to understand what exactly HuT is propagating and how they operate to achieve their goals. Baran argues that the HuT is the only organization that lays out a coherent ideological framework for violent extremist organizations such as Taliban and al-Qaeda etc.[126] They have one master narrative (master frame)[127] that is the "clash of civilizations" which they built everything on. According to their thesis, there is an ongoing struggle, be it economic, political, or military, between "the West" and the

125 Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam in Uzbekistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (2006): 276.

126 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 42.

127 Karagiannis describes the term master frame as follows: "Successful frames resonate not only with cultural values and beliefs, but also with a 'master frame'. A master frame is a set of meanings that enjoys even broader popular resonance" Emmanuel Karagiannis, "Political Islam in Uzbekistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami" *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (2006): 274.

"Muslim world".[128] Some might argue that this is akin to what Samuel Huntington has argued before, however there are clear differences between the "clash of civilizations" thesis of Huntington[129] and the one that HuT adhere to. First of all, HuT does not consider Christianity as the source of Western civilization. They argue that Christianity is not a capable source to create a civilization since according to them, unlike Islam, it does not regulate civil life.[130] Therefore, they equate what they call Western civilization with the capitalist system which they argue has nothing to do with Christianity. They also translate differences between civilizations in a hierarchical manner[131] which is also alien to the Huntington's idea of clash of civilizations. Moreover, they are vocally against the concepts such as democracy, human rights, civil society, religious dialogue, pluralism, freedom of belief, expression and ownership.[132] Ideology of HuT is similar to Bolshevik movement; intense dislike for liberal democracy and disregard of basic human rights, system of capitalism and the idea of ownership, and having a secretive cell system like early Bolsheviks under Lenin.[133]

---

128 It should be noted that similar themes were resonating in all-Union IRP's political agenda. See: Pinar Akcali, "Islam as a 'common bond' in Central Asia: Islamic Renaissance Party and the Afghan mujahidin" *Central Asian Survey* 17(2) (1998): 271.

129 See: Samuel P. Huntington, "The Clash of Civilizations?" *Foreign Affairs* (1993), last accessed 7 June, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations.

130 Hizb ut-Tahrir, *The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilizations* (London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 2002): 8, last accessed June 7, 2016, http://www.khilafah.com/images/images/PDF/Books/clashcivi.pdf.

131 HuT, *The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilizations*, 17.

132 See, HuT, *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam* (London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1996), last accessed 7 June, 2016, http://www.ht-bangladesh.info/sites/default/files/books/uscampaign.pdf, HuT, *The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilizations*, HuT, *Democracy is a System of Kufr: It is Forbidden to Adopt, Implement or Call for It* (London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1995), last accessed 7 June, 2016, http://www.hizb-ut-tahrir.info/info/files/Books-eng/21_Democracy.pdf.

133 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 43.

HuT claims to be non-violent organization and therefore is not recognized as a terrorist organization per se. However, it is banned in all Central Asian countries and in Russia. In Europe, Germany is the only example where HuT is barred from public activities most probably because of its fiercely antisemitic rhetoric. Ambiguous thing in HuT message is that it lays out three steps to take-over the government: (1) the stage of culturing; finding and cultivating individuals, getting the message out to the people, (2) stage of interaction, encourage people to establish Islam in life, state and society, (3) and finally the stage of "taking the government and implementing Islam completely and totally".[134] Yet, since HuT consider participation of democracy is forbidden to those who identify themselves as Muslims,[135] it is not clear how this 'taking-over' process could take place without resorting violence and disrupting democratic process in the mean time.

Whatever the case may be, I argue that this does not change the fact that HuT is sharing the same ideological framework with violent Islamic groups, be it IMU, IJU, Taliban, al-Qaeda or ISIS. However, we have to be clear that there is no clear cut evidence that HuT is actively operating alongside with these organizations as Uzbek government and Russian media regularly accused them to do.[136] On the other hand, this does not simply negate the fact that HuT is sharing the same ideological ground and vision with these organizations.

---

134 HuT, *The Methodology for Change* (London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1999), 33, last accessed 7 June, 2016, http://hizb-ut-tahrir.se/images/Books/The-Methodology-Of-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-for-Change.pdf.

135 HuT, *The Methodology for Change* (London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1999), 33, last accessed 7 June, 2016, http://hizb-ut-tahrir.se/images/Books/The-Methodology-Of-Hizb-ut-Tahrir-for-Change.pdf.

136 Noah Tucker, "Public and State Responses to ISIS Messaging: Uzbekistan" CERIA Brief 12 (2016):4.

3.1. AKRAMIYA, ANDIJAN AND FEAR OF COLORED REVOLUTIONS?

Events that took place in Andijan in May, 2005 was significant not only for Uzbekistan but also had broader implications about particularly Uzbek foreign policy and American involvement in Central Asia. These events also can be read as second showdown between Karimov regime and Islamic groups (first being *Adolat* movement).

Akramiya group was little known before Andijan events and it still is not clear what happened in Andijan or what was the motive of Akramiya even if we can speak of a coherent group of people who call themselves Akramiya. What is undeniable is that Andijan events had broader implications and change the foreign policy courses of individual countries most specifically Uzbekistan and U.S. Therefore, I argue that it is crucial to understand Andijan events to make sense of Western interaction with Central Asian governments, particularly with Uzbekistan after 2005.

Akramiya (Akromiya, Akramiylar) was a group that is formed by Akram Yuldashev. However the name Akramiya is given by outsider observers to the specific group of people based on Andijan. Yuldashev is believed to be a member of HuT before leaving the group due to disagreements.[137]   It is believed that he founded the group in 1996 and started preaching among the youth in the Andijan area. He was arrested in 1998 for narcotic possession however received amnesty later that year. In February 1999, he was rearrested and sentenced to 17 years in prison. Yuldashev known by a theological pamphlet titled "Yimonga Yol" (The Path to Faith). "The Path to Faith" very much resembles the HuT's "The Methodology of Change" and lays out several steps to establish Islamic state. Yuldashev also supports rather eccentric ideas in this pamphlet

---

137 Zeyno Baran, "Radical Islamists in Central Asia" in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, ed. Hillel Fradkin et al. (Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005), 47.

such as Muslims are not obligated to pray five times in a day and certain Islamic rules cannot be applied to Muslims nowadays because they are living in period of ignorance comparable to pre-Islamic period.[138] Akramiya is also a unique movement in how they organize. According to reports, wealthier Akramiya members set up small businesses and start hiring among the young male population. Those that are hired later obligated to attend "study groups" after working hours.[139]

It may seem ironic that Akramiya movement was once in very friendly terms with Uzbekistani state. Even president Karimov himself have once visited one of their charitable causes in Kokand for a public relations event and, on various occasions, referred Akramiya as "the pride", "the stars" and "the sons of Uzbekistan."[140] However, this friendly term had come to an abrupt end with the appointment of a new governor in Andijan. Even though details are unknown, impeachment of previous governor (hokim) Kobil Obidov was strange in terms of its publicity. He ordered the arrest of 23 Akramiya businessmen who were the heart of the economy in the province. It is still not clearly known whether he was acting on his behalf or by the orders of

138 Bakhtiyar Babadjanov et al. "Akramia" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2006), last accessed 10 June, 2016, http://carnegieendowment.org/2006/05/02/akramia/5wz. Period of ignorance, *jahiliyyah*, is a specific term to denote pre-Islamic period. I argue that application of this concept should be understood in the following context: "Islamists differ from non-Islamist Muslims in that they preach their own interpretation of Islam as a political program and equate the positions of those who are of a different opinion with unbelief -at least implicitly." See: Arne C. Seifert, "Political Islam in Central Asia – Opponent or Democratic Partner?" CORE Working Paper 25 (2012): 6.

139 Shirin Akiner, "Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 29.

140 Jeffry W. Hartman, "The May 2005 Andijan Uprising: What We Know" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 14, 22.

Tashkent. Yet they were still arrested on the basis of their "separatist and Islamist aims" and links to terror organizations.[141]

Security situation in Uzbekistan was tense even before the uprising. Series of IJU suicide bombings and other attacks claimed 47 lives in spring 2004.[142] In July, there were another series of IJU attacks in Uzbekistan to the U.S., British and Israeli embassies, killing two and wounding at least nine.[143] These events, coincided with the Tulip Revolution and in the end have affected how Andijan events took place.

Confrontation that led to Andijan events, started in early hours of May 13, instigated by a group of 50-100 armed men by attacking, first, a police station and then military barracks No. 34 of the Ministry of Defense, resulting with the killing of a dozen personnel.[144] Attackers later seized more weaponry, including AK-47 rifles, grenades, and up to 100 submachine guns, along with a significant amount ammunition.[145]

141 Farangis Najibullah, "Unanswered Questions Five Years After Andijan" ETHZürich Center for Security Studies, last accessed 8 June, 2017, http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digital library/articles/article.html/116232/pdf.

142 Gulnoza Saidazimova, "Uzbekistan: Effects of Tashkent Explosion Still Felt Two Years Later" *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty* (2006), last accessed 29 June, 2017, https://www.rferl.org/a/1067140.html.

143 Susan B. Glasser, "U.S., Israeli Embassies Hit In Uzbek Bomb Attacks" *Washington Post* (2004), last accessed 29 June, 2017, http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A26869-2004Jul30.html.

144 John C. K. Daly, "Rush to Judgment: Western Media and the 2005 Andijan Violence" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 13.

145 Daly, 13.

Insurgents then moved to their main target, Andijan Prison UJa-64/T-1 after midnight, broke down the gates with military trucks and according to reports, freed close to 500 prisoners inside.[146]

Leader of this insurgency was Kabul Parpiyev, long time devotee of Akram Yuldashev, and like the most of the Akramiya members, he was former Hizb ut-Tahrir member.[147] Instead of fleeing to Kyrgyzstan via porous Uzbek-Kyrgyz border, insurgents instigated an attack to SNB building in the vicinity yet they were unsuccessful and pushed back. This, and continuous attempts to start a broader rally in the area proves that Akramiya members had greater intentions. In order to start a protest and gain wider attraction, they burned down two theater buildings one of which nearly century old.[148] This strategy partly worked since people started to gather around to see the commotion. However, it also contributed to the higher death toll since some of the victims were these very bystanders.[149]

Another factor that worsened the situation was confusion and panic of the Uzbek government and unprofessionalism of the armed personnel.[150] Unlike SNB forces who successfully fought back against Akramiya, Ministry of Defense (MOD) forces had no

---

146 John C. K. Daly, "Rush to Judgment: Western Media and the 2005 Andijan Violence" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 14.

147 Jeffry W. Hartman, "The May 2005 Andijan Uprising: What We Know" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 17.

148 Hartman, 32.

149 According to reports use of human shields by Akramiya members was another factor that played a role in higher death toll. See: Shirin Akiner, "Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005), Human Rights Watch, ""Bullets Were Falling Like Rain" The Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005", 17 (2005), last accessed 12 June, 2016, https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/uzbekistan0605/index.htm.

150 Hartman, 36.

idea who they were fighting and possibly due to expected IJU attacks and already tense security situation described previously, thinking that they are fighting against IJU and/or al-Qaeda forces.[151]

Confrontation between government forces and Akramiya members continued in contested areas later that day until after 8:00-9:00 pm.[152] It was this confrontation between Akramiya members and Uzbek security forces that caused international criticism about use of excessive force. Around 6:00 am on May 14, Parpiyev and his followers managed to make their escape from porous Kyrgyz border.[153]

There are two different narratives regarding government's use of force on May 13: first narrative argues that government used excessive force and indiscriminately shoot at peaceful protesters therefore caused the death of more than thousand people.[154] Second narrative of the events, on the other hand, argues that Andijan was an insurgency and the "peaceful protesters" were not that much peaceful since they were armed and death toll is closer to what actually government of Uzbekistan has announced.[155]

151 Jeffry W. Hartman, "The May 2005 Andijan Uprising: What We Know" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 38.

152 Hartman, 51.

153 Parpiyev later captured in Shymkent, Kazakhstan in 2005 by joint operation between Uzbek and Kazakh intelligence agencies. See: Hartman, 52.

154 Human Rights Watch, "Bullets Were Falling Like Rain" The Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005, 17 (2005), last accessed 12 June, 2016, https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/uzbekistan0605/index.htm.

155 Shirin Akiner, "Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005).

Although 'truth' of what happened in Andijan was ambiguous,[156] what happened after Andijan events was much more clear. Uzbekistan's relations with U.S. and EU significantly deteriorated after Andijan. In the Summer 2005, Uzbekistan demanded that U.S. remove its K2 (Karshi-Khanabad) base within 180 days.[157] It is worth noticing that this decision has been made following July 2005 Shanghai Cooooperation Organization (SCO) summit in Astana. Moreover, Uzbekistan also rejoined Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) in June 2006.[158] This was mostly due to Andijan events and common ground Russia and Uzbekistan has found to prevent "colored revolutions" in the region. Uzbek government have read the events as a part of colored revolutions since Kyrgyzstan has experienced so-called "Tulip Revolution" just months before. Therefore, it is not surprising that in 2005, government of Uzbekistan mandated the re-registration for NGOs which led to a significant reduction of NGOs operating in the country.[159] To

---

156 Some even argued that there is no such entity called Akramiya and this was created by Uzbek security services (see: Sarah Kendzior, "Inventing Akromiya: The Role of Uzbek Propagandists in the Andijon Massacre" (2006), last accessed 12 June, 2016, https://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratiz%20archive/GWASHU_DEMO_14_4/U357612644663169/U357612644663169.pdf). These claims remarkably similar to what former U.K. ambassador to Uzbekistan Craig Murray (and some other pundits) has said about IJU. According to Murray IJU was simply an 'invention' of Uzbek security services to further legitimize their heavy-handed tactics against any opposition (see: Craig Murray, "The Mysterious Islamic Jihad Union" (2007) last accessed 12 June, 2016, https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2007/09/the_mysterious/. Craig Murray, "German Bomb Plot: Islamic Jihad Union" (2007) last accessed 12 June, 2016, https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2007/09/islamic_jihad_u/, Joshua Frost, "Are Terror Groups Faked? Does the IJU Even Exist?" *The Registan* (2009) last accessed 12 June, 2016, http://registan.net/2009/06/20/are-terror-groups-faked-does the-iju-even-exist/). There is, unfortunately, a body of scholarship on Central Asian affairs that is inherently dismissive of anything coming out of Central Asian governments and therefore biased and sometimes downright erroneous.

157 Rustam Burnashev and Irina Chernykh, "Changes in Uzbekistans Military Policy after the Andijan Events" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2007): 72.

158 Uzbekistan withdraw from CSTO in 2012 for a second time. This shows us that Uzbekistan, seeing itself as the regional leader in Central Asia, is taking an independently-driven foreign policy approach and is not an inherent part of neither Russian nor Chinese led international organizations.

159 International Center for Not-for-Profit Law, "NGO Law Monitor: Uzbekistan" (2015), last accessed 12 June, 2016, http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/uzbekistan.html.

summarize, biased reading of Andijan events caused an erroneous policy on behalf of especially U.S. and EU which led Uzbekistan to take more defensive approach. This turn of events exploited by the Russian-Chinese led regional organizations (such as CSTO and SCO) where Uzbekistan found support.

3.2. ISLAM, DEMOCRACY AND FUTURE SCENARIOS FOR CENTRAL ASIA

Islamic militancy problem, whether it be violent or non-violent, stems from Central Asia's new challenges about Islam, politics, democracy and secularism. Figuring out the borderlines between these concepts and how they will interact with each other was and still is the biggest challenge to the foundation of Central Asian states. This, by no means, should be understood as that all other things are irrelevant in this equation, however, I argue that the foundational crisis Central Asian states are facing stemming not from the terrorism, economic situation or corruption but from unanswered questions about abovementioned concepts and their place in the state and society.

Unfortunately, scholarship on Islamism and democracy in Central Asia reflects broader ambiguity on these subjects in general. I think, it is paramount to address the relations between state, democracy and politics of Islam in Central Asia to better understand the current situation in the region. I argue that there are several key issues where this ambiguity stems from:

1) *Using terms like "moderate Islam", problem of terminology*: It is nearly commonplace to talk about some form of "moderate Islam" that is supposedly more democratic and non-violent. It is also commonplace to advise that Western governments

should work and promote with moderate streams of Islam.[160] This is problematic for several reasons. First, the concept itself is so ambiguous to an extent that it has no objective meaning and reciprocity. Second, who sets the limit for what is moderate and what is not is yet to be known. There are no clear-cut boundaries about what is considered to be moderate. Lastly, it implies that the name "Muslim" itself, a name millions of people identify themselves with, has some inherent violence in it and those people's beliefs and religion they adhere to should be moderated by some (mostly) outside force (or by the support of some outside force).

2) *Not paying attention to uniqueness of Islam with regard to its relationship with state*: Another problematic area in research on the issue is that there seems to be a total lack of acknowledgement of Islam's special status when it comes to the separation between state and religion. There is no equivalent of "render (…)   unto Caesar the things which are Caesar's and unto God the things which are God's." in Islam. Whatever the 'real meaning' of this phrase might be, it is commonly understood and interpreted as there are two different set of institutions with its own laws and authority.[161] As Bernard Lewis states: "In Muslim theory, church and state are not separate or separable institutions … Such familiar pairs of words as lay and ecclesiastical, sacred and profane, spiritual and temporal, and the like have no equivalent in classical Arabic or in other Islamic languages, since the dichotomy they express, deeply rooted in Christendom, was unknown in Islam until comparatively modern times."[162] This, on the other hand, by no

---

160 For some examples, see: Angel Rabasa et al. "Building Moderate Muslim Networks" RAND Corporation (2007), Ehsan Ahrari, "Countering The Ideological Support for HT and the IMU: The Case of the Ferghana Valley" CSRC Discussion Paper (2005), Tiffany Petros, "Islam in Central Asia: The Emergence and Growth of Radicalism in the Post-Communist Era" in *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asias Path to the 21st Century*, ed. Dan Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, (Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 2004).

161 Bernard Lewis, "The Roots of Muslim Rage" *The Atlantic Monthly* (1990), last accessed 16 June, 2016, http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/90sep/rage.htm.

162 Bernard Lewis, *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East* (New York: Schocken Books, 2001).

means should be interpreted in a deterministic light since the text is dependent on the interpretation of people. However, it should be acknowledged that there is a strong tradition that supports this narrative that knows no division between state and religion which, in my mind, is detrimental to democracy building. Therefore, it is vital to understand Islam's unique role with regard to state apparatus how it relates to secularism.

3) *Freedom of Religions or Freedom from Religions?*: Another main line of debate seems to stem from the concept of secularism and its application in Central Asian states. There are several types of secularism that differ from each other; on the one hand, there is secularism (*laicity*) that effectively means freedom of the public sphere from religion which is (or was for the latter) at the core of French and Turkish concepts of secularism.[163] On the other hand, there is freedom of religion which according to proponents of former type of secularism may lead to gradual Islamization in Muslim-majority countries due to ambiguous relationship between state and religion in Islam as indicated above.[164]

Although there are works that highlight the continuation and similarities between policies of the Soviet Union and independent Central Asian states with regard to religion,[165] I argue that more appropriate comparison would be between Turkey and Central Asian states. I approach this issue mostly in terms of how religion, and in this particular case Islam, could be utilized in nation and state building processes. Inheriting Soviet structure and having Soviet legacy does not necessarily mean that today's Central

---

163 Zeyno Baran, "Turkey Divided" *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2008): 60.

164 Baran, 60.

165 See: John Heathershaw and David W. Montgomery, "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Republics" *Chatham House*, (2014), Noah Tucker, "Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Uzbekistan: A Risk Assessment" USAID (2013).

Asian countries have the same concept of secularism as they had in Soviet times. Soviet Union was not an entity that need to legitimize itself by using any religion, let alone Islam. However, on the other hand, both Central Asian countries and Turkey, due to being historically and culturally Muslim-majority countries, need to justify and legitimize themselves by using Islam and should also incorporate elements of it in their nation and state building processes.[166] Assuming continuation with regard to religious politics of Soviet Union and Central Asian countries would lead us to neglect the complexities of Islam and politics in Central Asia and how these things relate to nation and state building.

What all these arguments boil down is the problem of inclusion of political Islam into Eurasian political space. As Charles W. Maynes points out: "The core issue in Central Asia today is how the political order can accommodate the rise of Islam."[167] Many scholars underline, quite understandably, the peaceful and democratic inclusion of political organizations with Islamic agenda to the system.[168]

Nature of this inclusion, how it is going to take place or how it will play out is quite ambiguous as of now, however I argue that there is not much incentive to believe that

---

166 Institution-wise reflection of this is *Diyanet* in Turkey and *Muftiate* in Uzbekistan (officially, the Muslim Board of Uzbekistan) rather than the SADUM (Spiritual Administration of the Muslims of Central Asia and Kazakhstan) in Soviet Union with *Muftiate*.

167 Charles William Maynes, "America Discovers Central Asia" Foreign Affairs (2003) last accessed 23 June, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2003-03-01/america-discovers-central-asia.

168 See, for instance: Charles William Maynes, "America Discovers Central Asia" Foreign Affairs (2003) last accessed 23 June, 2016, https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2003-03-01/america-discovers-central-asia, Arne C. Seifert, "Political Islam in Central Asia – Opponent or Democratic Partner?" CORE Working Paper 25 (2012), Kurt M. Campbell and Richard Weitz, "Non-Military Strategies For Countering Islamist Terrorism: Lessons Learned From Past Counterinsurgencies" The Princeton Project Papers (2006), Tiffany Petros, "Islam in Central Asia: The Emergence and Growth of Radicalism in the Post-Communist Era" in *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asias Path to the 21st Century*, ed. Dan Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, (Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 2004).

this process, by itself, will solve the systemic problems in Central Asia and democratize the region. I think there are two main reasons that greatly impede to this process to take place: firstly, mainstream political Islam's own unanswered questions about its relations with democracy and human rights and secondly the regional imperatives.

When it comes to political change in Central Asia, only meaningful political opposition left to the current regimes are practically the Islamist ones. [169] This is due to unlike any potential secular opposition, Islamist organizations, be it political parties or groups like HuT and Akramiya, are able to justify themselves by using a source that is deeply ingrained in social life i.e. the power of religion. Understandably, this process would have been much more harder if it was not supported by internal factors such as economic hardships, political depravity and corruption. However, economic and political conditions in Central Asia today further strengthen "alternative Islams" since official Islamic narrative is falling short to meet the demands and expectations of people given current conditions.[170]

Nevertheless, I argue that existence of "alternative Islams" free of government control, does not necessarily means that they are, or will be, inherently more democratic and respectful to democracy and universal human rights. As collapse of the Soviet Union did not automatically pave the way for democratization of whole post-Soviet space, the same also applies to the democratization process in Central Asia. It is false to assume that "any country moving *away* from dictatorial rule can be considered a country in

169 Michael Fredholm, "Uzbekistan & The Threat from Islamic Extremism" Conflict Studies Research Center (2003):1, last accessed 26 June, 2016, http://mercury.ethz.ch/serviceengine/Files/ISN/92519/ipublicationdocument_singledocument/a369bf2f d367-4037-882d-7ba328d0416a/en/03_May_2.pdf.

170 Noah Tucker, "Uzbek Extremism in Context, Part 3: "Love Your President and Be Content with Bread, or Allah Will Give you a Disease!" *Registan* (2014), last accessed 26 June, 2016, http://registan.net/2013/10/14/uzbek-extremism-in-context-part-3-love-your-president-and-be-content with-bread-or-allah-will-give-you-a-disease/.

transition *toward* democracy."[171] I do argue that Islamist opposition in Central Asia, even in its supposedly non-violent forms such as IRP (Islamic Renaissance Party) or HuT, does not promise democratization in Central Asia. This has a lot to do with the understanding of political Islam itself and its manifestation in Central Asia, as its other manifestations all over the world, have the same problems about democracy and secular system.

Islamism, just like Marxism, is a *metanarrative. Metanarrative* is an all-encompassing complex of stories, narrative about narratives, that aims to make sense of and interpret historical events, offers knowledge and understanding and give legitimation for a utopian master-idea. Due to its deductionist method in order to form a coherent interpretation of historical events, it serves within a binary oppositional context by positing a great struggle between 'good' and 'evil' forces. Hizb ut-Tahrir operating throughout Central Asia today is setting the most clear example of application of this Islamist *metanarrative*. However, this does not negate the fact that political parties such as IRP and its counterparts all over the world, such as Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt and AKP in Turkey, sharing the same cosmos of values, albeit less coherently.[172] This, in turn, creates a dichotomy, a binary opposition between secular autocrats in Central Asia and proponents of political Islam that adheres to an Islamic *metanarrative*. Authoritarian secularism and political Islam of Central Asia have a symbiotic relationship, justify and strengthen each others' existence while promising no real democratic future for the region.

---

171 Thomas Carothers, "The End of Transition Paradigm" *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2002): 6, emphasis in the original.

172 See: Olivier Roy, "The Foreign Policy of the Central Asian Islamic Renaissance Party" *Council on Foreign Relations* (2000):3.

Another important barrier for democratization in the region is due to regional imperatives and geopolitics of Central Asia. Central Asia as a region that is sandwiched between two super powers, namely Russia and China, and also surrounded by strong regional powers such as India, Pakistan and Iran. Moreover, Afghanistan is still a factor that has a destabilizing effects for greater region. Nearly all violent Islamic militants that aim to topple Central Asian regimes are now operating in greater AfPak region and therefore future of Central Asia is tied with the future of Afghanistan. There are two countries especially susceptible to violent extremism: Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Tajikistan shares common problems that can be seen throughout Central Asia, political depravity, economic hardships, corruption and arbitrary rule. However, there are several other factors that makes Tajikistan more vulnerable to violent extremism: (1) Tajikistan, does not have capabilities of Uzbekistan or Kazakhstan to counter violent extremist groups,[173] (2) Afghanistan-Tajikistan border is the most dangerous border for Central Asia since border control is not effective, (3) because of weak border controls,

Tajik-Afghan border allows drug economy to flourish and Tajik economy becomes more and more embroiled with it. According to ICG report in 2011, drug economy consisting up to 20 percent to 30 percent of Tajik GDP.[174] Since Afghanistan once again sees an increase in drug economy,[175] this will have further detrimental effects for Tajik economy

---

173 International Crisis Group, "Tajikistan: The Changing Insurgent Threats" Asia Report 205 (2011): 6.

174 ICG, 10.

175 United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, "World Drug Report 2015" (2015): 40.

and security,[176] (4) Worsening of Russian economy and fall of ruble negatively effects Tajik economy.

As 2014 World Bank Report suggests remittances is making up 52 percent of the total GDP of Tajik economy.[177] Slowdown in Russian economy and fall of ruble, therefore, have consequences on Tajik economy such as decrease in remittances and purchasing power of Tajik citizens who are dependent on it.[178] This course of events, in turn, will have political consequences in Tajikistan itself.

Situation in Kyrgyzstan also resembles to that of Tajikistan. Kyrgyzstan is following Tajikistan on dependency of remittances. Remittances, mostly from migrant workers in Russia, consisting up to 32 percent of Kyrgyz economy.[179] Therefore, the same worries about increase in poverty and decrease in purchase power also applies to Kyrgyzstan.

---

[176] Tajik-Afghan border is probably the weakest link in Central Asian security and also it is integral for the drug trafficking in the region. Weak border control in the region allows drug trafficking to continue and open up possibilities which can be exploited by violent extremist organizations operating in the region. See, International Crisis Group, "Tajikistan Early Warning: Internal Pressures, External Threats" 78 (2016).

[177] The World Bank, "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook" (2015):4.

[178] Economic troubles in Russia and fall of ruble does not automatically means that number of migrant workers will decrease in near future, see: Umida Hashimova, "What 2015 Is Promising for Labor Migrants from Central Asia" Central Asia Policy Brief 23 (2015): 4.

[179] See: The World Bank, "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook" (2014):4, David Trilling, "Remittances to Central Asia Fall Sharply as Expected" *Eurasia.net* (2015), last accessed 28 June, 2016, http://www.eurasianet.org/node/73061.
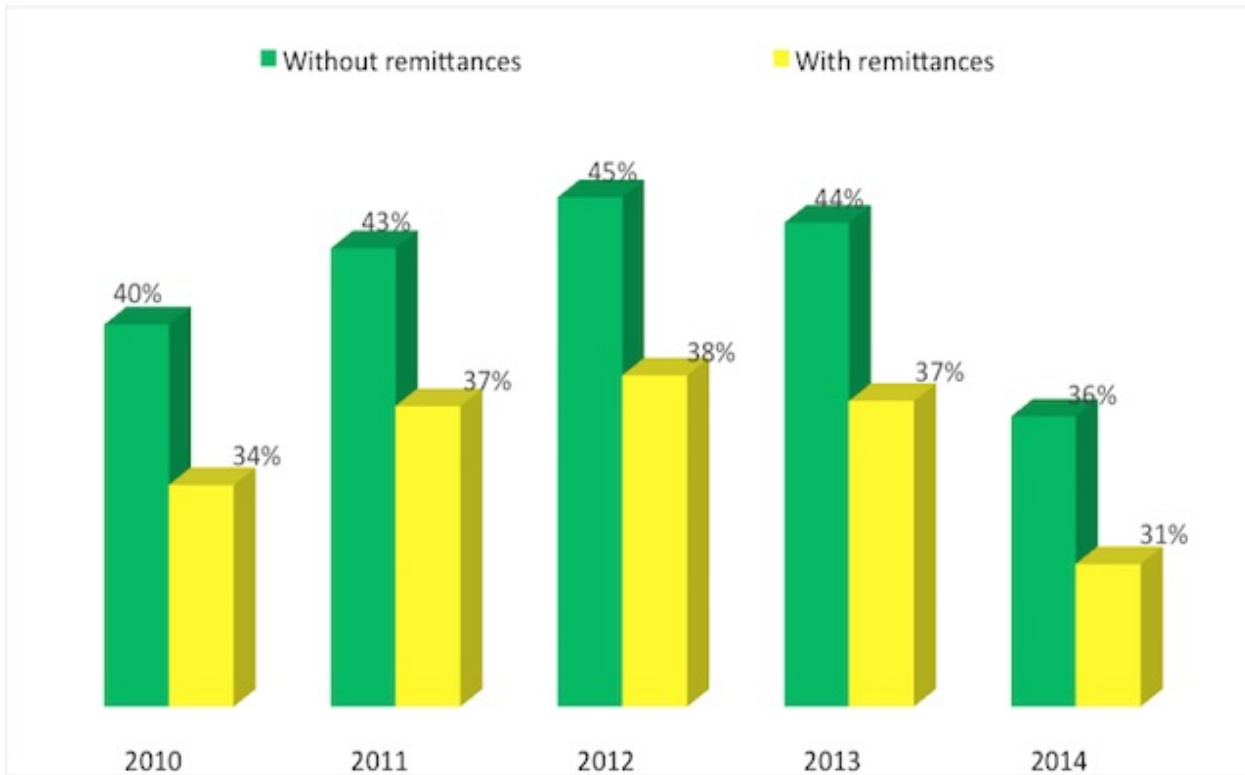
Figure 3: Income poverty rates in Kyrgyzstan between 2010-2014.[180]

There are also increasing radicalization and ethnic tensions in Kyrgyzstan since the Osh Events in 2010.[181] Combining deep ethnic tensions, increasing radicalization, economic problems and country's growing dependence on Russia both economically and politically creates a potentially dangerous atmosphere for Kyrgyzstan's future.

Regional imperatives that impede democratization process also related with the regional organizations that permeates Eurasia such as CSTO and SCO. SCO, as military-

---

180 Ben Slay, "Failing Remittances for Central Asia: How Bad? How Long?" *Voices from Eurasia* (2015), last accessed 28 June, 2016, http://europeandcis.undp.org/blog/2015/10/14/falling-remittances-for-central asia-how-bad-how-long/.

181 International Crisis Group, "Kyrgyzstan: An Uncertain Trajectory" Crisis Group Europe and Central Asia Briefing 76 (2015): 1.

economical alliance, might be the most clear example of how international organizations in Eurasia enable authoritarian regimes. As Thomas Ambrosio argues: "Authoritarian governments are increasingly adopting policies aimed at preserving their political power and the SCO represents an additional strategy in this regard: utilizing multilateral cooperation to defend themselves against regional or global democratic trends. As such, the 'Shanghai Spirit' may be a sign of things to come as autocratic leaders become more bold in their rejection of democratic norms."[182] We have seen this trend over and over in Central Asia when Central Asian governments feel threatened about continuation of their political power. Change of foreign policy direction after Andijan in Uzbekistan was one such example. Shanghai Cooperation Organization lays out "three evil forces" which are terrorism, secessionism and extremism and strongly highlights concepts such as "non-interference", "sovereignty" and "stability".[183] These concepts strengthen the *status quo* in the region and add additional layer of resistance for democratization process to take place in Central Asia by utilizing multilateral cooperation and international organizations.[184]

---

182 Thomas Ambrosio, "Catching the Shanghai Spirit: How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia" *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (2008): 1321.

183 Ambrosio, 1327.

184 Ambrosio, 1322.

CHAPTER IV

REGIONAL APPROACHES TO SECURITY IN CENTRAL ASIA: WHY IS IT
NECESSARY?

Looking into the manifestation of security challenges Central Asia faces will answer our
question of why regional security approaches are necessary to ensure security and
stability in the region. When we look into the sub-state actors that are direct security
challenges to regional states and follow their historical development, as I have tried to
lay out in this work, we see that they are indeed transnational and operating both inside
but mostly *outside* of the Central Asia. Network of bases operating throughout
Afghanistan and northern parts of Pakistan (FATA) was and still is a great force
multiplier for terrorist entities that have political goals for Central Asia. Moreover,
Afghanistan is the source country where narcotics flow into region bound to Russia and
Europe. Although Operating Enduring Freedom was initially successful at destroying
these bases, lack of clear long-term military and economic strategy and cooperation with
other countries in the region diminished this early success. Situation has also
exacerbated by Central Asian leaders' inability to address the root causes of extremism
problem, such as political and economic depravity. Therefore, I argue in this thesis that
any strategy that deals with security dynamics of Central Asia should take AfPak region
into account to be effective.

There are several powers that might have an effect on establishing, implementing or
supporting such regional policies and those are: U.S., Russia, China, EU and regional
powers such as Pakistan, India Iran and Turkey.

Rather than looking into specific organizations and their actions regarding a regional approach to security in Central Asia, I will investigate two theoretical frameworks for regional security which I deem most relevant to answering today's question about security in Central Asia in a regional scale, namely the Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) and Greater Central Asia Partnership (GCAP).

4.1. APPLICATION OF REGIONAL SECURITY COMPLEX THEORY (RSCT) ON CENTRAL ASIA

Definition of RSCT is ongoing process and although firstly formulated in 1983, still is being shaped and reshaped. Original definition of "security complex" was as follows: "a group of states whose primary security concerns link together sufficiently closely that their national securities cannot reasonably be considered apart from one another".[185] Since the original formation was state-centric and predominantly had a military-political focus, reformulated definition also includes different actors (mostly sub-state actors) and several different sectors of security.[186] There are several key concepts to make sense of RSCT and those are: (1) *mini-complex*, a formation with the characteristics of a security complex, but small in scale and usually composed at least in part of substate actors,[187] (2) *insulator*, a state or mini-complex standing *between* regional security complexes and

---

185 Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 44.

186 Reformulated definition goes as follows: "A set of units whose major processes of securitisation, desecuritisation, or both are so interlinked that their security problems cannot reasonably be analysed or resolved apart from one another." See: Buzan and Waever, 44.

187 Buzan and Waever, 490.

defining a location where larger regional security dynamics stand back to back,[188] (3) *subcomplex*, essentially the same as an RSC, the difference being that a subcomplex is firmly embedded within a larger RSC,[189] and (4) *unstructured security regions,* where local states are so weak that their power does not project much, if at all, beyond their own boundaries, and so generate insufficient security interdependence to form the essential structures of a regional security complex.[190]

The question is, how can we apply RSCT to Central Asia, or what kind of insights this theory can give us in our outlook to the region? Question of applying RSCT to Central Asia is harder than it seems and the role of Central Asia in RSCT is ambiguous. According to Buzan and Weaver, Central Asia, although has a possibility to becoming one, is yet to be a distinct RSC (Regional Security Complex) by its own and is simply a subcomplex within post-Soviet RSC.

They argue there are two requirements for Central Asia to become an RSC by its own which are, (1) weakening of Russian power in the region, and (2) non-intervention of any other external power to Central Asia.[191]

---

188 Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): 490.

189 Buzan and Weaver, 492.

190 Buzan and Weaver, 492.
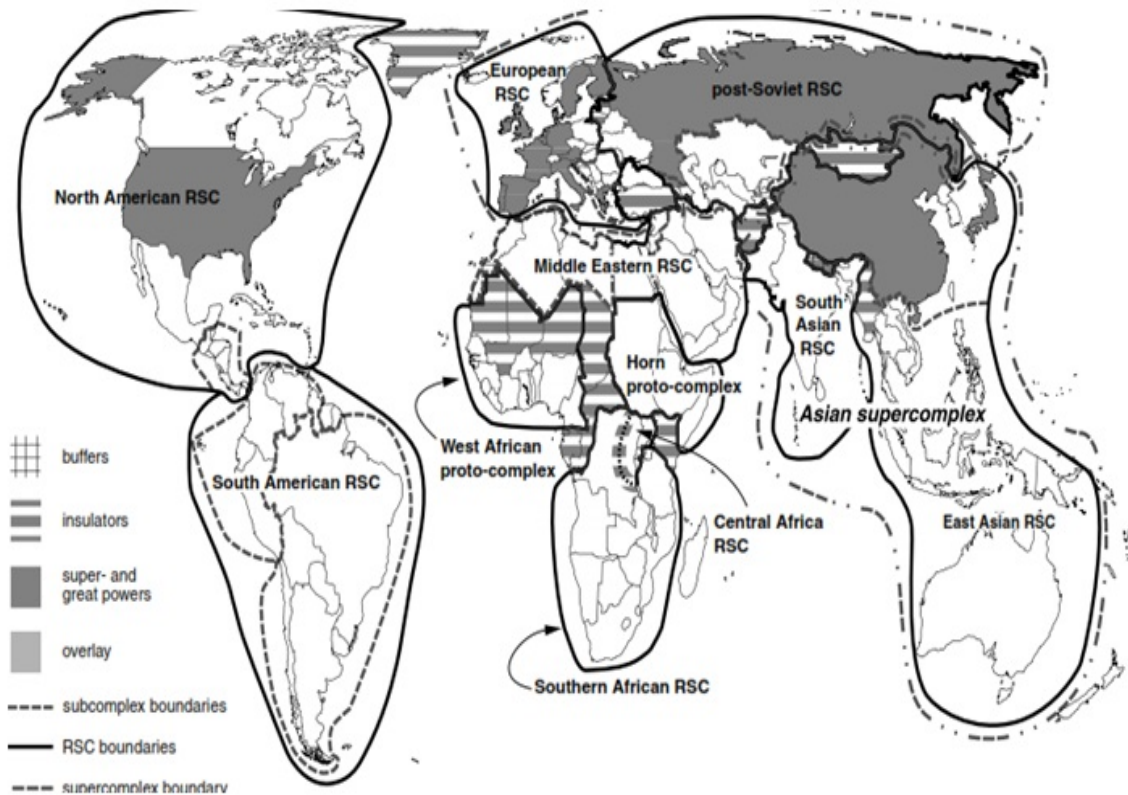
191 Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, 428.

Figure 4: Patterns of Regional Security Post-Cold War[192]

However, what is interesting in Central Asian case, according to RSCT, is that it is also carrying a possibility to become a large *insulator* zone between several RSCs. Buzan and Weaver are indicating that Central Asia is carrying a risk of becoming a large *insulator* zone due to the effects of a possible radical Islamic insurgency emanating from Afghanistan which is already serving as an *insulator*.[193]

At this point, I argue that RSCT as a theory when applied to Central Asia, relies too much of a common theme of Russian-hegemony in the region and therefore tend to

192 Barry Buzan and Ole Waever, *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003): xvi.

193 Buzan and Waever, 485.

ignore and/or downplay Western and Chinese involvement as new players since the collapse of the Soviet Union. Besides slightly ignoring subtleties and complexities of the region, and assuming such degree of continuation of Russian hegemony also, inadvertently feed into colonialist narrative and zero-sum thinking which, I argue, is detrimental to establishing working multilateralism in the region that is something Central Asia needs to address its issues whether they be economical or political or security related.

RSCT is significant for several reasons: (1) It affirms Central Asia's position in between several diverse regional security complexes which affirms the Central Asia's possibility of affecting these diverse units, both in positive or in negative manner, (2) it acknowledges potential role Afghanistan might play in terms of security and stability of Central Asia, understand the fact that Central Asia and Afghanistan are interconnected in terms of security, (3) by highlighting an interconnected space that extend beyond immediate Central Asian borders, RSC theory also gives us a broader framework to study with regard to Central Asian security.

4.2. CONCEPT OF "GREATER CENTRAL ASIA": REVISITING GREATER CENTRAL ASIA PARTNERSHIP (GCAP)

Greater Central Asia Partnership (GCAP) has come into prominence with F. Starr's 2005 article named "A 'Greater Central Asia Partnership' for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors".[194] According to Starr, U.S. should establish a permanent organization called: "'Greater Central Asia Partnership for Cooperation and Development', led by a senior officer of the Department of State, that will coordinate and integrate the U.S.' bilateral

---

194 See: S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors"
Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005).

and region wide programs in diverse fields (…) The GCAP should be proposed as a U.S. government entity but should be transformed, if participants so desire, into an independent, multinational organization."[195] These diverse fields should include "economic and social development, governance, trade, counter-narcotics, anti-corruption, democracy and transparency, as well as security."[196] Moreover, according to Starr, GCAP should embrace diverse actors, not only obvious ones such as China and Russia or EU, but also India, Pakistan, Turkey and even consider the possibility of gradual Iranian inclusion into the partnership to really be an effective multilateral partnership.[197] By pursuing multilateralism in the region, GCAP will serve fulfilling the following objectives: (1) Advancing the war against terrorism and terrorist groups,[198] (2) Enable Afghanistan and its neighbors to protect themselves against radical Islamist groups, both foreign and domestic,[199] (3) Assure that no single state or movement, external or internal, dominates the region of which Afghanistan is a part, and those resources which are its economic base,[200] (4) Strengthen sovereignties by continuing to develop the Afghan economy and society and by strengthening trade and other ties between Afghanistan and its neighbors in the region,[201] and finally (5) Foster open,

---

195 See: S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 6-7.

196 Starr, 6.

197 Starr, 21-22.

198 Starr, 6.

199 Starr, 6.

200 Starr, 6.

201 Starr, 6.

participatory, and rights-based political systems that can serve as attractive models for other countries with Muslim populations.[202]

The very first questions that we should face with are "why GCAP is necessary?" and "How GCAP is any different than other regional cooperation plans?". GCAP is unique in arguing the very concept of "Greater Central Asia", a theoretical space that includes both Central Asia and Afghanistan. By this very reason, it acknowledges the fact that Central Asia and Afghanistan is connected with each other and to establish a degree of stability and security, we must consider these spaces as one. Therefore, I argue that proposal of GCAP is a sound one to answer the necessity of long-term planning in Afghanistan and its neighbors. GCAP is also more in line with the 21st century realities about the intricate and complex relations in Central Asia and emerging new players such as China, U.S. and their roles in Central Asian space by acknowledging the fact that no single entity could be able to dominate the region and sustain any degree of security whatsoever. I think that acknowledging this point is paramount and stepping stone for any kind of meaningful multilateralism in the region.

In order to fully understand the current situation in Central Asia and why it requires multilateralism, one must look into the post-Soviet structure of the region from early 1990s to 2000s. Moscow's retreat from the region right after the collapse of Soviet Union, combining with growing energy demand of China created necessary structure for further Chinese involvement in Central Asia. China seized this opportunity by signing Friendship and Cooperation Treatises with all states (except Turkmenistan) and a Strategic Partnership with Kazakhstan in 2005.[203] When resurgent Russia under V. Putin tried to reassert their influence into what they perceive as their traditional sphere of

202 S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 6.

203 Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011): 21.

influence, they have faced a *fait accompli*, a nonreversible Chinese presence in the region.[204] Although China so far has respected the Russian supremacy and traditional-historical influence in the region, there is now a growing Chinese presence, one that will only increase by time, in Central Asia and Chinese economic power makes real impact in the region. Chinese officials promoting the idea of "Silk Road economic belt" and signing billions of dollars worth economic deals with countries in the region.[205] Chinese trade with Central Asia has surpassed Russia in year 2012 and Chinese economic footprints in the region will most likely to continue to grow significantly in the future.[206]

Country	2002	2007	2012
China	5.7 percent	10.2 percent	20.0 percent
Russia	18.2 percent	19.3 percent	15.7 percent

Figure 5: Chinese and Russian Trade with Central Asia (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) as a Percentage of Total Central Asian Global Trade, 2002-2012.[207]

On the other hand, Chinese ambitions on Central Asia cannot solely be reduced into mere economic considerations. They do understand the fact that "Central Asia comprised of independent states forms a crucial strategic hinterland for the "northwest provinces"

204 Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011): 21.

205 Andrew Scobell et al. "China's Strategy Toward South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress" RAND Corporation (2014): 28.

206 On the other hand, we see that foreign direct investment in Central Asia is still dominated by Western countries i.e. U.S. and Europe. Kazakhstan gets the lion share. See: Andrew Scobell et al. "China's Strategy Toward South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress" RAND Corporation (2014): 42.

207 Scobell et al., 43.

of China. If unstable, Central Asia becomes a threat to a large and crucial part of China."[208]

In addition to that, we have to take post-9/11 political atmosphere and NATO presence in Afghanistan into account. Although there has been several agreements between Central Asian states[209] and also broader regional organizational bodies such as CSTO and SCO,[210] these efforts are mostly on paper and have no practical applications for counterterrorism efforts in the region.   It is rather dubious how much we can see Russo-Chinese led regional organizations can provide security in the region, especially when it comes to do more than talking what Central Asian leaders want to hear. Even though, SCO's narrative might find receptive ears in the halls of power in Central Asia, it is questionable if they are ever going to find a practical support from these bodies.

Going back to GCAP, I think these figures show us the fact that Greater Central Asia as a geographical space is clearly beyond the capabilities of any power to dominate alone. Even the creation of SCO might be understood as a recognition from the Russian side that they are no longer capable of determining the fate of Central Asia and greater region single-handedly.[211]

---

208 Robert Legvold, "Great Power Stakes in Central Asia" in *Thinking Strategically: The Major Powers, Kazakhstan and the Central Asian Nexus*, ed. Robert Legvold, (Cambridge: MIT Press, 2003): 17.

209 Irina Chernykh and Rustam Burnashev, "Conditions for Securitization of International Terrorism in Central Asia" *Connections: The Quarterly Journal* 4 (2005): 137.

210 These policies include setting up Collective Rapid Reaction Forces within CSTO and establishment of regional antiterror centers to share intelligence and coordinate responses within SCO. See: Richard Weitz, "Storm Cloud over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (2004): 515.

211 Rustam Burnashev and Irina Chernykh, "Changes in Uzbekistans Military Policy after the Andijan Events" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program 5 (2007): 140.

GCAP proposes a creation of new "Silk Road" so to say, a region-wide commerce across Greater Central Asia that will further peace and stability in the region. Region-wide commerce across Greater Central Asia will have major geopolitical consequences,[212] will open new "window to the south" for both Russia, China and Central Asian countries.[213] Furthermore, diversity of possibilities in this market will ensure the fact that no major power would single-handedly be able to dominate it. This will break down any attempt to monopolize the Greater Central Asian market by any power, especially certain state-controlled energy companies that relies on traditional Russian hegemony in the region, and pave the way for creation of more efficient and competitive market.[214] Creation of such market will greatly enhance the Afghan and Central Asian economies and curb down both extremism and neo-imperial aspirations that may exist.[215]

As E. Rumer has argued back in 2007: "None of these avenues for U.S. economic, political, and security engagement with Central Asia satisfy the demand for a new regional strategy. The events of 2005 and 2006 have made it clear that U.S. strategy in Central Asia (…) has backfired and that a fresh, new approach to the region is needed."[216] I argue that this is still applicable to U.S. - Central Asia relations today. GCAP, although initially proposed back in 2005, still provides a sound strategy for the

212 S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 14.

213 Starr, 14.

214 Starr, 14.

215 See: S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 14., and Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program(2011): 21.

216 Eugene Rumer, "The United States and Central Asia: In Search of a Strategy" in *Central Asia: Views from Washington, Moscow and Beijing* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2007): 67.

current non-strategy of Western powers (U.S. - EU) towards "Greater Central Asia" region. Today's "non-strategy" even fails to understand the connection that Afghanistan and Central Asia shares. This lack of strategy, in turn, creates only ambiguity when it comes to relations between Central Asian countries with Western powers.[217]

Currently, relations between Central Asian countries and Western powers are bound in false, erroneous binary opposition. This erroneous reading stems from ignoring more foundational philosophical questions about Islam, its place in Eurasian political system especially in Muslim-majority countries and differing concepts of secularism as I have laid out earlier.[218] These binary opposition reflect itself either as a support of secular authoritarian governments or siding with Islamist groups with civilizational goals and adhere to Islamist *metanarrative*. I think that none of these elements offers a democratic future for Central Asia. GCAP, on the other hand, provides a new and better approach, a third way to the democratization question in Central Asia by acknowledging the shortcomings of Central Asian system when it comes to democracy, but still understand the necessity of engaging with them, however frustrating that might be.[219]

---

217 S. Neil MacFarlane, "The United States and Regionalism in Central Asia" *International Affairs* 80 (2004): 449.

218 See: Chapter 3.2. "Islam, Democracy and the Future Scenarios for Central Asia"

219 S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 18.

4.3. CONFLICTING STRATEGIC CULTURES AND PROSPECTS OF COOPERATION IN THE GREATER CENTRAL ASIA REGION

Even though GCAP proposes necessary theoretical framework for multilateralism in greater Central Asia, it only explains away Sino-Russian strategy regarding the region by affirming that GCAP would also benefit them.[220] This, combined with the amount of participant countries to the project, opens up new questions regarding the real applicability of GCAP in the region. Is this kind of multilateralism and cooperation possible in the region given the authoritarian nature of most of the countries and conflicting interests? In order to understand the prospect of cooperation in the region, one has to analyze these perceived interests and points out where they clash and complement each other.

Russia, time and again, has showed that it still sees Central Asia as its exclusive sphere of influence and has committed to establishing and consolidating neocolonialist relations with states in the region.[221] Even though Russia initially has welcomed the American presence in Afghanistan, it is not willing to see a continuous American presence in Central Asia.[222] This policy, on the other hand, does not solve the security problem that

---

220 S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 20.

221 Stephen Blank, "International Rivalries in Eurasia" in *Key Players and Regional Dynamics in Eurasia: The Return of the Great Game* ed. Maria Raquel Friere and Roger E. Kanet (London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2010): 29.

222 Richard Weitz, "Storm Cloud over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)?" *Studies in Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (2004): 520.

75

the Greater Central Asia faces due to the fact that becoming a sole security guarantor of the region is beyond Russia's capacity.[223]

China also sees a shared interest to counter U.S. presence in Central Asia. At the same time, they are trying to work cooperatively with Russia since they do not believe that Russia is or can be a significant threat to Chinese interests in the region.[224] Many Chinese analysts see Russia as a fading super-power that will further weaken in the future.[225] Therefore, for now, Russia serves as a convenient partner in Central Asia for Chinese interests. On the other hand, there is simply one problem with Chinese policy when it comes to Greater Central Asia: the Chinese non-interventionist policy has reached its full potential,[226] and now political climate requires states to be more proactive with regard to policies they implement in the region. China is wary of the rise of Uyghur separatism and radical Islamic groups like TIP/ETIM (Turkestan Islamic Party/East Turkestan Islamic Movement) operating in the Greater Central Asia region.[227] Non-interventionist policy does not answer these questions and as long as there is unstable Afghanistan and FATA, Islamic militancy will pose a threat to Chinese national security especially in the Xinjiang region.

---

223 Dmitri Trenin, "Russia and Central Asia: Interests, Policies and Prospects" in *Central Asia: Views from Washington, Moscow and Beijing* (New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2007): 130.

224 Andrew Scobell et al. "China's Strategy Toward South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress" RAND Corporation (2014): 20.

225 Scobell, 20.

226 Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011): 82.

227 See: Zia ur Rehman, "ETIM's Presence in Pakistan and China's Growing Pressure" NOREF (2014), last accessed 28 June, 2016, https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/183175/381280b226170116bb6f07dc969cb17d.pdf.

Central Asian governments in this equation find themselves sandwiched between two super powers and sharing border with unstable Afghanistan where most of radical Islamic Central Asian groups operate. Central Asian governments have never approved the concept of "Greater Central Asia" since they do not want to be identified within the same context with Afghanistan.[228] However, putting aside cultural considerations, Central Asian governments should understand the fact that Afghanistan and its future have tangible effects on security and stability of Central Asia. Therefore, any regional integration plan does not have to go beyond from mere security concerns to the realm of cultural and historical integration. Besides, diversifying Central Asian access to the world markets would benefit Central Asia greatly.

Other notable player in the region is Pakistan. Assessing the relationship between Pakistan and Afghanistan and its effects on greater region is paramount. As I have discussed in earlier chapters,[229] Pakistan has geopolitical ambitions on Afghanistan which goes so far as to question the sovereignty of Afghanistan as an independent state. Pakistan has found itself in a very difficult position after Operation Enduring Freedom and subsequent Global War on Terror, in terms of continuing its "good and bad Taliban" policy without hampering the relationship with the U.S.. Pakistan's perceived geopolitical interest in Afghanistan against its arch enemy India, pushes Pakistan to side with radical Islamic terror groups which in turn negatively affects not only the security and stability in Afghanistan but Pakistan itself. Until Pakistan changes its foreign policy with regard to Afghanistan and India, this trend will likely to continue and destabilize the greater region.

---

228 Marlene Laurelle et al. "The Afghanistan – Central Asia relationship: What role for the EU?" EUCAM Working Paper 13 (2013): 12.

229 See, Chapter 2.3: Second Phase of Central Asian Islamic Militancy: IMU in the AfPak Region.

The EU, as another actor, has not been able to create coherent and effective strategy towards greater region. As Swanström argues: "Even if United States is perceived as having negative goals, the European policy is at best perceived as confusing and at worst aggressive (in terms of regime change, human rights demands etc.)."[230] Countries in the Central Asia region is not impressed with the attitude of Europe and still have very realistic outlook for the region and problems relating with European lack of understanding.[231] EU (as well as the United States to some degree) should understand that democratic institutions cannot be brought overnight and there are differing potentials for democracy among various states in the region.[232] Until the EU changes its policy towards this understanding, its policies regarding the Greater Central Asia region will be fragmented and inefficient which, as a reaction, would push Central Asian countries into more authoritarian models represented by China and Russia. Continuing on this policy will also compromise EU – Central Asia relations which otherwise could have a great potential especially in terms of energy agreements.

More or less the same can be applied to the U.S. – Central Asian relations. The ambiguous position that the U.S. has taken originates from how the U.S. government sees Central Asia whether it is pivotal point in global politics or an essentially marginal region dominated by Russia and China – the periphery of periphery.[233] This ambiguity reflect itself in the sporadic involvement of the U.S. to Central Asia, pivotal right after 9/11 and a marginal region dominated by authoritarian powers after 2005. Even though

---

230 Niklas Swanström, "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011): 49.

231 Swanström, 49.

232 S. Frederick Starr, "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 18.

233 S. Neil MacFarlane, "The United States and Regionalism in Central Asia" *International Affairs* 80 (2004): 449.

the greater Central Asia may or may not be vital to the national interest of the U.S., region has a strategic value and at least should not be ignored.

There are also regional powers that plays a minor role but might have significant effects if included into the equation in greater region. Those powers are India, Iran and Turkey. India has vested interest to see a stable and independent Afghanistan against its arch-enemy Pakistan. Therefore, further involvement of India in Afghanistan might be beneficial for this country's future. With the nuclear deal with Iran and lifted sanctions, Iran might play an increasing role in greater region.

Iran holds the possibility of establishing new transportation routes for the region that bypass China and Russia.[234] Iran could also reopen long-abandoned routes for exporting Central Asia's natural resources which would have positive effects for Central Asian countries in terms of diversifying their options. However, there are understandable reservations about Iran's possible role in the region. Therefore, Iran's involvement with greater region presents both challenges and opportunities at the same time. Turkey, on the other hand, shares great historical and linguistic ties with Central Asian countries. Although its involvement with the region was also sporadic, Turkey has much to offer to peace and stability in Afghanistan under ISAF command. And still, Turkey's continued

---

234 Eugene Rumer et al. "U.S. Policy Toward Central Asia 3.0" Carnegie Endowment for International Peace (2016), last accessed 4 July, 2016, http://carnegieendowment.org/2016/01/25/u.s.-policy-toward central-asia-3.0/itlr.

military support to the Resolute Support Mission[235] in Afghanistan may prove crucial for country's future.[236]

The question is, how countries of the region will concede these seemingly conflicting interests? These conflicting interest most clearly reflect themselves in the SCO where Russia and China are both a member of. They have a differing vision for the organization and expect different things which leaves it only as a convenient tool to prevent other powers (mostly U.S.) to engage with the region.[237]

Authoritarian nature of countries in the region also pave the way for zero-sum approach in international affairs which is detrimental for establishing a meaningful cooperation between states. Nevertheless, I argue that all these conflicting interests lay out both the challenges of multilateralism in the region and why exactly a working multilateral system should be established in order to tackle these diverse set of problems broader region is facing.

---

235 New NATO-led mission in Afghanistan to provide further training, advice and assistance to Afghan security forces that started in January, 2015. For more information, see: http://www.nato.int/cps/in/natohq/topics_113694.htm.

236 For Turkish support for Afghanistan, see: "Turkeys Chief of Staff pledges continued military support to Afghanistan" *Khaama Press* (2016), last accessed 4 July, 2016, http://www.khaama.com/turkeys-chief of-army-staff-pledges-continued-military-support-to-afghanistan-0512. Metin Gürcan, "Turkish Military Support to Afghanistan Rises" *Al-Monitor* (2014), last accessed 4 July, 2016, http://www.al monitor.com/pulse/originals/2014/11/turkey-afghanistan-military-presence.html.

237 Best example to this was Russian support to the separatist groups in Abkhazia, Ossetia and Eastern Ukraine. Considering "separatism" was one of the "three evils" of SCO, Russian actions goes directly contrary to SCO principles. Even though this might be taken as SCO having no solid set of values, this does not negate the fact that it provides "safe space" for authoritarian governments of the region when they need it.

CHAPTER V

CONCLUSION

This thesis aims to follow the evolution of Central Asian Islamic militancy, both in its violent and non-violent manifestations, in order to understand how Islam, or more accurately political manifestations of it, had impacted the political order and nation and state building processes in Eurasia. Even though security dimension of the problem is undeniable, it is part of a much greater debate about Islam's place in Eurasian political order after the fall of the Soviet Union.

Findings of this thesis illustrate that violent extremist organizations (VEO) operating in the region has evolved from simple local Salafi groups such as the Adolat Movement to fully-fledged, globally-networked jihadi organizations that operate not only throughout the greater region but also different theaters in the world such as Syria and Iraq. The situation in Afghanistan and established terrorist camps throughout the region played a great part in the early success of violent Islamic militancy in Central Asia. However, with the Operation Enduring Freedom – Afghanistan, much of these networks and camps have been destroyed. Nevertheless, the lack of cooperation with regional countries, clashing interests in the region, and lack of cooperation in rebuilding Afghanistan's infrastructure made these early successes temporary and short-lived. Yet, it effectively pushed terrorist networks further into Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) – Pakistan for an albeit brief period of time. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), as once a brand of Central Asian jihadi scene, embedded itself to the tribal relations of

FATA and Pakistani politics at this point and moved away from its early goals although never officially dropped them.

The period between 2002-2005 was crucial reformation years for Central Asian extremist organizations. Within this period, Central Asian jihadi scene has witnessed its first split with the creation of the IJU and this was the period where early alliances that later formed the politics of FATA and Afghanistan took place. Central Asian extremist organizations took different sides within the politics of FATA and Afghanistan which IMU elements mostly sided with the Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan (TTP) against Pakistani government and IJU forces kept what was once traditional IMU allies, such as Afghan Taliban, al-Qaeda and Haqqani Network.

The start of the Syrian civil war in 2011 was another milestone for Central Asian VEOs. Central Asian elements have made a significant impact on Syrian theater with their participation in the Syrian civil war which was in unprecedented numbers considering how many people traditional Central Asian VEOs can recruit at that time. This had significant impacts on traditional Central Asian VEOs, especially on IMU which was already struggling to finance and recruit at that point. This turn of events led IMU to ally with Islamic State of Iraq and Syria (ISIS) to only find itself more and more marginalized in the region. Taliban, in a response, made a significant blow to the IMU, having decimated most of its remaining fighting force. Although, the remaining IMU elements have reported being pledged allegiance to Taliban forces again,[238] it is certain that IMU will no longer serve as a "brand" of Central Asian jihadi scene.

However, this thesis argues that the demise of the IMU should not be translated as the demise of violent extremism in Central Asia. Central Asian Islamic militancy has

---

238 Bill Roggio and Caleb Weiss, "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan faction emerges after group's collapse" *Long War Journal* (2016), last accessed 7 July, 2016, http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2016/06/islamic-movement-of-uzbekistan-faction-emerges-after-groups-collapse.php.

successfully transformed itself and established global networks in broader jihadi scene. I argue that internationalization of Central Asian jihad has started with the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) and crystallized with the inception of Central Asian groups operating in Syrian theater. They will continue to be a long-term threat for wider region even if Syrian civil war ends.[239]

Moreover, one of the main arguments of this thesis is that the Central Asian Islamic extremism is the manifestation of deeper problems that are entrenched with the state-building process in Central Asia. Specifically, the ambiguous position of Islam and its place in state and society. Islam's unique position when it comes to polity and state further exacerbates the already existing tensions between secular authoritarian rule and the majority-religion in the region. My approach in this thesis concentrates more on how Islam is being utilized as an element in nation and state building processes. In that sense, comparisons between the Soviet Union and Central Asian powers regarding the role of religion in society might be misleading. However, more appropriate comparison would be between Turkey and Central Asian states since these countries, due to being historically and culturally Muslim-majority countries, need to incorporate elements of Islam in their nation and state building processes.

However, this thesis argues that high polarization of politics due to the authoritarian nature of Central Asian countries, does not promise much democratization for the region. This thesis does not share the view of "alternative Islams" free of government

---

239 It is noteworthy that Islamic state militants from former Soviet Union (Russian, Uzbek and Kyrgyz nationals) have perpetrated the high-profile attacks such as the one in the Istanbul Airport and Reina Nightclub. See: Elias Groll et al., "Islamic Attack Shows the Dangerous New Face of the Islamic State" *Foreign Policy* (2016), last accessed 7 July, 2016, https://foreignpolicy.com/2016/06/30/istanbul-attack shows-the-dangerous-new-face-of-the-islamic-state-russia-central-asia-soviet-putin-terrorism/, Eric Cunningham and Kareem Fahim, "Captured suspect in nightclub attack is Uzbek with Islamic State ties, Turkey says" *The Washington Post* (2017), last accessed 17 January, 2017, https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/captured-suspect-in-nightclub-attack-uzbek-linked-to-islamic state-says-turkey/2017/01/17/2b3b3812-dc85-11e6-ad42-f3375f271c9c_story.html? utm_term=.dcd02691da0f.

control will necessarily have a democratizing effect for the region. To elaborate on this premise, this thesis highlights the *metanarrative* expressions of prominent Islamist organizations such as Hizb ut-Tahrir (HuT) and Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP). These organizations, as many other mainstream Sunni political organizations, employ Islamic vocabulary[240] to legitimize themselves in the eyes of a broader Muslim population, however employing this vocabulary comes with larger historical baggage, a universe of values based on religion which has an ambiguous relationship with concepts like democracy and universal human rights.[241] Unless the ambiguity between these different set of values is addressed, this false dichotomy between political Islam and secular authoritarianism in the region will continue where symbiotic relationship between these groups defined the politics of Central Asia.

Another one of the main premises of this thesis is that although current regional imperative is detrimental to democratization in the region, in order to sustain stability and security and to create a more healthy and competitive market in the broader region that also includes Afghanistan, which is being called as "greater Central Asia" in this thesis, establishing a working, diverse multilateralism is the only option. To this end, this thesis highlights two frameworks -Regional Security Complex Theory (RSCT) and Greater Central Asia Partnership (GCAP).

Since it is more globally-oriented framework, application of RSCT to Central Asia is falling short to understand diversification of powers operating in the region and assumes a high-degree of continuation of Russian hegemony therefore neglecting the role of new

---

240 As Olivier Roy argues in his work on IRP: "In its ideology and constituency, the IRP is very close to mainstream Sunni Islamist movements like the Egyptian Muslim Brotherhood and the Pakistani Jamaat-i Islami (...) its discourse and terminology often relied on Islamist vocabulary. The party claimed to be a "social and political organization" (*ijtemai wa siyasi*). It stressed the need for proselytizing work (*dawat*) among Muslims as well as among Christians." See: Olivier Roy, "The Foreign Policy of the Central Asian Islamic Renaissance Party" *Council on Foreign Relations* (2000):3.

241 Groups like HuT rejects these notions all together and has much more confrontationist approach. See: Chapter 3.

players such as China and U.S. Yet it is important for several reasons: (1) it highlights Central Asia's position in between several diverse regional security complexes which affirms region's possibility of affecting these diverse units, both in positive and/or in negative manner, (2) it acknowledges potential role Afghanistan might play in terms of security and stability of Central Asia, understand the fact that they are interconnected in terms of security, (3) by highlighting an interconnected space that extends beyond immediate Central Asian borders, RSC theory also gives us a broader framework to study with regard to Central Asian security. GCAP on the other hand provides a necessary theoretical framework for establishing a multilateral solutions, however its application is clashing with *perceived* interest of the key players in the region, namely Russia and China which based their policies on excluding new powers from becoming influential in the region. Nevertheless, this thesis suggest that established international organizations already operating in the region, such as CSTO and SCO do not offer a practical solution for the problems that greater region faces, employ mostly rhetoric and fail to acknowledge positive factors of such inclusion (such as securing of Afghanistan by NATO forces).

To conclude, this thesis argues: (1) Although not posing an existential threat to Central Asia region, Islamic extremism in Central Asia has managed to evolve from local Salafi groups to globally networked terrorist organizations that will pose a long-term threat to greater region, (2) Central Asian VEOs also once again secure their former positions in Afghanistan and FATA, also embedded themselves in the Syrian theater, (3) Situation in Afghanistan has utmost importance for security of Central Asia. Worsening security conditions in Afghanistan will have detrimental effects for security of Central Asia as a whole, especially in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan whose security apparatus is relatively weaker, (4) Non-violent streams of political Islam fail to offer a democratic future for the region due to the fact that they utilize *metanarratives* in their political activism. Since metanarratives are totalizing accounts of history, they need to follow a deductionist method in order to form a coherent interpretation of disperse historical

accounts. This, in turn, creates an interpretation of history and politics in terms of binary oppositions: as a great struggle between 'good' and 'evil' forces. This is highly dangerous when employed in a religious context since it assumes its legitimation comes from a sacred source that holds ultimate 'truth'. That's why metanarratives, or political ideologies base on utilizing metanarratives to gain legitimacy cannot offer democratization in the region, (5) Constraining political spectrum in Central Asia between Islamism and authoritarian secularism is unfruitful; these bodies have a symbiotic relationship and strengthen each other, (6) On the other hand, comparisons between authoritarian secularism of post-Soviet Central Asian states with Soviet policies neglect the complexities of Central Asian countries relations' with regard to role of religion in state and society. A more apt comparison would be between classical Turkish approach of secularism with post-Soviet Central Asian approach since they are Muslim-majority countries that need to legitimize themselves using Islam as a part of nation-state building processes; (7) It is impossible for any single country to establish hegemony, sustain security and stability in the region. However current multilateralism efforts in the region is based on an outdated zero-sum approach and therefore doomed to fail, (8) To establish a truly multilateral body is essential for security of the greater region and to that end diversification of interacting bodies with the region is paramount. This, in turn, will create a healthier market in the region and have possibility to re-open the long abandoned routes of trade, (9) Implementing a sound regional plan will not only increase the trade but also open up the possibility of gradual democratization of the region, respectful of the worries of regional leaders. Failing to do so will strengthen authoritarianism and create instability, (10) To that end, interaction of Western powers with the region, according to a new regional framework is crucial and will help remedy the problems of the greater Central Asia region is facing today.

REFERENCES

Abbas, Hasan. "A Profile of Tehrik-i Taliban Pakistan." *CTC Sentinel* 1 (2008): 1-4.

Abbas, Hasan. "South Waziristan's Maulvi Nazir: The New Face of the Taliban." *Terrorism Monitor* 5 (2007). Accessed May 18, 2016. http://www.jamestown.org/programs/tm/single/?tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=4147&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=182&no_cache=1.

Ahrari, Ehsan. "Countering The Ideological Support for HT and the IMU: The Case of the Ferghana Valley." CSRC Discussion Paper (2005):1-22.

Akcali, Pinar. "Islam as a 'common bond' in Central Asia: Islamic Renaissance Party and the Afghan mujahidin" *Central Asian Survey* 17(2), (1998): 267-284.

Akiner, Shirin. "Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 1-51.

Ambrosio, Thomas. "Catching the 'Shanghai Spirit': How the Shanghai Cooperation Organization Promotes Authoritarian Norms in Central Asia." *Europe-Asia Studies* 60 (2008): 1321-1344.

Babadjanov, Bakhtiyar, Marina Barnett, and Martha Brill Olcott. "Akramia." *Carneige Endowment for International Peace*, 2006. Accessed June 10, 2016. http://carnegieendowment.org/2006/05/02/akramia/5wz.

Balci, Bayram. "Turkey's Religious Outreach in Central Asia and the Caucasus." *Hudson Institute*, 2014. Accessed May 10, 2016. http://www.hudson.org/research/10171-turkey-s-religious-outreach-and-the-turkic-world.

Balci, Bayram. "What Future for the Fethullah Gulen Movement in Central Asia and the Caucasus?" *CACI Analyst,* 2014. Accessed May 10, 2016. http://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13006-what-future-for-the-fethullah-g%C3%Bclen-movement-in-central-asia-and-the-caucasus?.html.

Bhalla, Abishek. "Al-Qaeda Plans Final Jihad for India: Intel Reports Points to Terror Recruitment Drive Targeting Nations' Muslims." *Daily Mail*, 2014. Accessed May 20, 2016. http://www.dailymail.co.uk/indiahome/indianews/article-2694949/Al-Qaeda-plans-final-jihad-India-Intel-report-points-terror-recruitment-drive-targeting-nations-Muslims.html.

Bandyopadhyay, Lopamudra. "Islamic Revivalism in Central Asia and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." Accessed May 8, 2016. http://www.globalindiafoundation.org/worldpolitics.html.

Baran, Zeyno, S. Frederick Starr, and Svante E. Cornell. "Islamic Radicalism in Central Asia and the Caucasus: Implications for the EU." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2006): 1-55.

Baran, Zeyno. "Radical Islamists in Central Asia." in *Current Trends in Islamist Ideology*, edited by Hillel Fradkin, Husain Haqqani, and Eric Brown, 41-58. Washington D.C.: Hudson Institute, 2005.

Baran, Zeyno. "Turkey Divided" *Journal of Democracy* 19 (2008): 55-69.

Brletich, Samantha. "Tajikistan, Turkey and the Gulen Movement." *The Diplomat*, 2015. Accessed May 10, 2016. http://thediplomat.com/2015/08/tajikistan-turkey-and-the-gulen-movement/.

Burnashev, Rustam, and Irina Chernykh. "Changes in Uzbekistan's Military Policy after the Andijan Events." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2007): 66-73.

Buzan, Barry, and Ole Waever. *Regions and Powers: The Structure of International Security.* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2003).

Carothers, Thomas. "The End of Transition Paradigm." *Journal of Democracy* 13 (2002): 5-21.

Campbell, M. Kurt, Richard Weitz, "Non-Military Strategies For Countering Terrorism: Lessons Learned From Past Counterinsurgencies." The Princeton Project Papers (2006): 1-23.

Chaudet, Didier. "The Original Threat: Uzbek Islamism and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." *Ifri* (2008). Accessed May 21, 2016. https://www.ifri.org/sites/default/files/atoms/files/ifriuzbekjihadismchaudetengdecember 2008.pdf.

Cornell, E. Svante. "Narcotics, Radicalism, and Armed Conflict in Central Asia: The Islamic Movmenet of Uzbekistan." *Terrorism and Political Violence* 17 (2005): 577-597.

Cunningham, Erin and Fahim Kareem. "Captured suspect in nightclub attack is Uzbek with Islamic State ties, Turkey says" *The Washington Post*, 2017. Accessed 17 January, 2017. https://www.washingtonpost.com/world/captured-suspect-in-nightclub-attack-uzbek-linked-to-islamic-state-says-turkey/2017/01/17/2b3b3812-dc85-11e6-ad42-f3375f271c9c_story.html?utm_term=.dcd02691da0f.

Daly, John. C. K. "Rush to Judgment: Western Media and the 2005 Andijan Violence." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 5-82.

Dambrauskas, Valdas. "The Effectiveness of Counterterrorist Policies in Uzbekistan." Master's diss., Naval Postgraduate School, 2012.

Denoeux, Guilain, and Lynn Carter. "Guide to the Drivers of Violent Extremism." USAID (2009): 1-108.

"Ebu-Yasir et-Turki ile Turkiye Mucahidleri Uzerine Soylesi." Accessed May 22, 2016. http://www.islam-tr.net/forum/konu/ebu-yasir-et-turk%C3%8E-ile-turkiye-mucahidleri-uzerine-soylesi.35965/.

Feitt, R. Andrew. "Countering IMU in Afghanistan." *Small Wars Journal*, 2010. Accessed 18 May, 2016. http://www.*smallwarsjournal.com/blog/journal/docs-temp/386-feitt.pdf*.

Foster, Margaret. "2015 Retrospective: How the Fall of the IMU Reveals the Limits of IS' Expansion." *Site Intelligence*, 2016. Accessed June 2, 2016. https://news.siteintelgroup.com/Jihadist-News/jihadist-gives-account-of-afghan-taliban-nearly-eliminating-imu-demands-is-address-happenings.html.

Fredholm, Michael. "From Ferghana Valley to Waziristan and Beyond." Islam, Islamism and Politics of Eurasia Report 22, 2010. Accessed May 11, 2016. https://csis.org/files/publication/100825_Hahn_IIPER_22.pdf.

Fredholm, Michael. "Islamic Extremism as a Political Force: A Comparative Study of Central Asian Extremist Movements." Asian Cultures and Modernity Research Report 12 (2006): 1-51.

Fredholm, Michael. "Uzbekistan & The Threat from Islamic Extremism." Conflict Studies Research Center (2003): 1-19.

Frost, Joshua. "Are Terror Groups Faked? Does the IJU Even Exist?" *The Registan*, 2009. Accessed June 12, 2016. http://registan.net/2009/06/20/are-terror-groups-faked-does-the-iju-even-exist/.

Gamhir, Harleen. "ISIS in Afghanistan." *Institute for the Study of War* (2015): 1-9.

Gaziev, Jamshid. "Islamic Revival in Post-Independence Uzbekistan." *The Fletcher Journal of Development Studies* 16 (2000): 1-15.

Glasser, B. Susan. "U.S., Israeli Embassies Hit In Uzbek Bomb Attacks." *Washington Post*, 2004. Accessed June 29,2017. http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/articles/A26869-2004Jul30.html.

Gopal, Anand, Mansur Khan Mahsud, and Brian Fishman. "The Battle for Pakistan: Militancy and Conflict in North Waziristan." Counterterrorism Strategy Intiative Policy Paper (2010): 1-22.

Hartman, W. Jeffry. "The May 2005 Andijan Uprising: What We Know" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2016): 4-66.

Hashimova, Umida. "What 2015 Is Promising for Labor Migrants from Central Asia." Central Asia Policy Brief 23 (2015): 1-6.

Haqqani, Husain. "Prophecy & the Jihad in the Indian Subcontinent." *Hudson Institute*, 2015. Accessed May 20, 2016. http://www.hudson.org/research/11167-prophecy-the-jihad-in-the-indian-subcontinent.

Heathershaw, John and David W. Montgomery. "The Myth of Post-Soviet Muslim Radicalization in the Central Asian Countries." *Chatham House* (2014): 1-18.

Heathershaw, John and David W. Montgomery. "Who Says Syria's Calling?" CEDAR, 2015. Accessed May 28, 2016. http://www.cedarnetwork.org/2015/02/17/who-says-syrias-calling-why-it-is-sometimes-better-to-admit-that-we-just-do-not-know-by-john-heathershaw-and-david-w-montgomery/.

Hizb ut-Tahrir. *Democracy is a System of Kufr: It is Forbidden to Adopt, Impelement or Call for It*. London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1995.

Hizb ut-Tahrir. *The American Campaign to Suppress Islam*. London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1996.

Hizb ut-Tahrir. *The Inevitability of the Clash of Civilizations*. London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 2002.

Hizb ut-Tahrir. *The Methodology for Change*. London: Al-Khilafah Publications, 1999.

Hodgson, Karen. "Turkish fighters in the Islamic Jihad Union." *The Long War Journal*, 2012. Accessed May 22, 2016. http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2012/08/_several_turks_have.php.

Human Rights Watch. ""Bullets Were Falling Like Rain" The Andijan Massacre, May 13, 2005." 17 (2005). Accessed June 12, 2016. https://www.hrw.org/reports/2005/uzbekistan0605/index.htm.

Huntington, Samuel. "The Clash of Civilizations." *Foreign Affairs*, 1993. Accessed June 7, 2016. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/united-states/1993-06-01/clash-civilizations.

International Center for Not-for-Profit Law. "NGO Law Monitor: Uzbekistan." 2015. Accessed June 12, 2016. http://www.icnl.org/research/monitor/uzbekistan.html.

International Crisis Group. "Kyrgyzstan: An Uncertain Trajectory." Crisis Group Europe and Central Asia Briefing 76 (2015): 1-15.

International Crisis Group. "Tajikistan Early Warning: Internal Pressures, External Threats." Crisis Group Europe and Central Asia Briefing 78 (2016): 1-15.

International Crisis Group. "Syria Calling: Radicalisation in Central Asia." Europe and Central Asia Briefing 72 (2015): 1-15.

International Crisis Group. "Taijikistan: The Changing Insurgent Threats." Asia Report 205 (2011):
1-25.

Jones, G. Seth, and C. Christine Fair. "Counterinsurgency in Pakistan." RAND Corporation (2010): 1-185.

Jaffe, Greg, and Miss Ryan. "The U.S. was supposed to leave Afghanistan by 2017. Now it might take decades." *The Washington Post*, 2016. Accessed May 25, 2016. https://www.washingtonpost.com/news/checkpoint/wp/2016/01/26/the-u-s-was-supposed-to-leave-afghanistan-by-2017-now-it-might-take-decades/.

Jones, G. Seth, and Keith Crane. "Afghanistan After the Drawdown." *Council on Foreign Relations* (2013): 1-43.

Karagiannis, Emmanuel. "Political Islam in Uzbekistan: Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami." *Europe-Asia Studies* 58 (2006): 261-280.

Karasar, Hasan Ali. "Bağımsızlıklar Sonrası Turkistan'da Rus Siyaseti" (Russian Policy in Turkestan after the Disintegration of the Soviet Union) *Avrasya Dosyası* 6(2), (2001): 220-271.

Kendzior, Sarah. "Inventing Akromiya: The Role of Uzbek Propagandists in the Andijon Massacre." (2006). Accessed June 12, 2016. https://www.gwu.edu/~ieresgwu/assets/docs/demokratizatsiya%20archive/GWASHU_DEMO_14_4/U357612644663169/U357612644663169.pdf.

Lang, Jozef. "The Radical Islamic Militants of Central Asia." OSW Report (2013): 1-48.

Legvold, Robert. "Great Power Stakes in Central Asia." in *Thinking Strategically: The Major Powers, Kazakhstan and the Central Asian Nexus*, edited by Robert Legvold

Lewis, Bernard. *The Multiple Identities of the Middle East*. (New York: Schocken Books, 2001).

Lewis, Bernard. "The Roots of Muslim Rage." *The Atlantic Monthly*, 1990. Accessed June 16, 2016. http://www.theatlantic.com/past/issues/90sep/rage.htm.

Lisyanski, Dina. "Jihad Strategies in Central Asia" The Interdisciplinary Center Herzliya Lauder School of Government, Diplomacy and Strategy Institute for Policy and Strategy, 2008. Accessed June 6, 2016. http://www.herzliyaconference.org/_Uploads/2813DinaLisnyansky.pdf.

Low, E. Maria. *Everyday Islam in Post-Soviet Central Asia*. New York: Routledge, 2007.

Lyotard, Jean-François. *A Report On Knowledge*. Manchester University Press, 1984.

Maggioni, Monica, and Paolo Magri. ed., "Twitter and Jihad: The Communication Strategy of ISIS." ISPI (2015): 1-168.

Mann, Poonam. "Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan: Will It Strike Back?" *Strategic Analysis* (2002): 294-304.

Martinage, C. Robert. "The Global War on Terrorism: An Assessment." Center for Strategic and Budgetary Assessments (2008): 1-280.

Maynes, W. Charles. "America Discovers Central Asia." *Foreign Affairs,* 2003. Accessed June 23, 2016. https://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/russia-fsu/2003-03-01/america-discovers-central-asia.

Murray, Craig. "German Bomb Plot: Islamic Jihad Union." 2007. Accessed June 12, 2016. https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2007/09/islamic_jihad_u/.

Murray, Craig. "The Mysterious Islamic Jihad Union." 2007. Accessed June 12, 2016. https://www.craigmurray.org.uk/archives/2007/09/the_mysterious/.

Najibullah Farangis, "Unanswered Questions Five Years After Andijan" ETHZürich Center for Security Studies, last accessed 8 June, 2017, http://www.css.ethz.ch/en/services/digitallibrary/articles/article.html/116232/pdf.

Naumkin, V. Vitaly. "Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series (2003): 1-67.

Olimova, Saodat. "Confronting or Engaging Islam: Are There Different Approaches in Central Asian Countries." *Barcelona Centre for International Affairs* 26 (2011) 2-9.

Ozodlik Radiosi. "Suriyaga oilasi bilan borayotgan jihodchi o'zbeklar ko'paymoqda." 2014. Accessed May 28, 2016. http://www.ozodlik.mobi/a/25308969.html.

Paraszczuk, Joanna. "'Leave Nusra, Join IS', Uzbek Militant Urges in New IS Video." *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 2015. Accessed May 30, 2016. http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-video-urges-uzbeks-others-to-leave-al-nusra-front/27082876.html.

PBS. "Interview with Haji Omar." *PBS*, 2006. Accessed May 17, 2016. http://www.pbs.org/wgbh/pages/frontline/taliban/militants/omar.html.

Petros, Tiffany. "Islam in Central Asia: The Emergence and Growth of Radicalism in the Post-Communist Era." in *In the Tracks of Tamerlane: Central Asia's Path to the 21st Century*, edited by. Dan Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, 139-155. Washington D.C.: National Defense University, 2004.

Pillalamarri, Akhilesh. "Do US Presidential Candidates Care About South Asia?" *The Diplomat*, 2015. Accessed May 25, 2016. http://thediplomat.com/2015/12/do-us-presidential-candidates-care-about-south-asia/.

Rabasa, Angel, Cheryl, Benard, Lowell H. Schwartz, and Peter Sickle. "Building Moderate Muslim Networks." RAND Corporation (2007): 1-183.

Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty. "Main Uzbek Militant Faction in Syria Swears Loyalty to Taliban." 2014. Accessed May 30, 2016. http://www.rferl.org/content/islamic-state-uzbek-militant-faction-syria-taliban/26686992.html.

Rahmani, Walidullah. "Taliban Devise New Strategy in Afghanistan: Territorial Control and War on Afghan Intelligence Headquarters." *Terrorism Monitor* 12 (2004): 8-10. Rashid, Ahmed. *Jihad: The Rise of Militant Islam in Central Asia*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2002.

Rashid, Ahmed. "Why Militant Islamicist in Central Asia Aren't Going to Go Away." *The New Yorker,* 2002. Accessed May 13, 2016. http://www.newyorker.com/magazine/2002/01/14/theyre-only-sleeping.

Rehman, Zia Ur. "ETIM's presence in Pakistan and China's Growing Pressure." NOREF. Accessed June 28, 2016. https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/183175/381280b226170116bb6f07dc969cb17d.pdf

Roehrs, Christine. "To Syria, not Afghanistan: Central Asian jihadis 'neglect' their neighbour." Afghanistan Analysts Network, 2014. Accessed May 31, 2016. https://www.afghanistan-analysts.org/to-syria-not-afghanistan-central-asian-jihadis-neglect-their-neighbour/

Roggio, Bill, and Thomas Joscelyn. "Central Asian groups split over leadership of global jihad." *The Long War Journal*, 2015. Accessed June 2, 2016. http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/08/central-asian-groups-split-over-leadership-of-global-jihad.php.

Roggio, Bill, and Caleb Weiss. "Islamic Jihad Union details its involvement in Taliban's Azm offensive." *The Long War Journal*, 2015. Accessed May 22, 2016. http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2015/08/central-asian-groups-split-over-leadership-of-global-jihad.php.

Roi, Yaacov, and Alon Wainer. "Muslim Identity and Islamic Practice in Post-Soviet Central Asia." *Central Asian Survey* 28 (2009): 303-322.

Rosenberg, Matthew, and Michael D. Shear. "In Reversal, Obama Says U.S. Soldiers Will Stay in Afghanistan to 2017." *The New York Times*, 2015. Accessed May 25, 2016. http://www.nytimes.com/2015/10/16/world/asia/obama-troop-withdrawal-afghanistan.html?_r=0

Ross-Gartenstein, David. "Jihad 2.0: Social Media in the Next Evolution of Terrorist Recruitment." Foundation for Defense of Democracies (2015). Accessed May 27, 2016. http://www.defenddemocracy.org/content/uploads/documents/Gartenstein_Ross_HSGAC_Testimony_Jihad2.0.pdf.

Roul, Animesh. "Ansar-ut Tawhid and the Transnational Jihadist Threat to India." *Terrorism Monitor* 12 (2004): 4-6.

Roy, Olivier. "The Foreign Policy of the Central Asian Islamic Renaissance Party." *Council on Foreign Relations* (2000): 1-30.

Saidazimova, Gulnoza. "Uzbekistan: Effects of Tashkent Explosion Still Felt Two Years Later" *Radio Free Europe/Radio Liberty*, 2006. Accessed June 29, 2017. https://www.rferl.org/a/1067140.html.

Salayeva, Rena and Michael J. Baranick. "Addressing Terrorist Threats in Azerbaijan and Uzbekistan: Winning the Hearts and Minds." The Cornwallis Group X: Analysis For New and Emerging Societal Conflicts (2005): 189-207.

Sanderson, M. Thomas, Daniel Kimmage, and David A. Gordon. "From the Ferghana Valley to South Waziristan: The Evolving Threat of Central Asian Jihadists." *Center for Strategic & International Studies* (2010): 1-37.

Satke, Ryskeldi, Casey Michel, and Sertac Canalp Korkmaz. "The Islamic State Threat in Central Asia: Reality or Spin?" *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 3-6.

Scobell, Andrew, Ely Ratner, and Michael Beckley, "China's Strategy Towards South and Central Asia: An Empty Fortress." RAND Corporation (2014): 1-106.

Seifert, C. Arne. "Political Islam in Central Asia – Opponent or Democratic Partner?" CORE Working Paper 25 (2012): 1-26.

Siddique, Qandeel. "Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan." Danish Institute for International Studies Report 12 (2010): 1-74.

Site Intelligence. "IMU Pledges Allegiance to IS Leader Abu Bakrr al-Baghdadi." 2015. Accessed May 31, 2016. https://ent.siteintelgroup.com/Jihadist-News/imu-pledges-allegiance-to-is-leader-abu-bakr-al-baghdadi.html.

Site Intelligence. "Jihadists Gives Account of Afghan Taliban Nearly Eliminating IMU, Demands IS Address Happenings." 2015. Accessed June 2, 2016. https://news.siteintelgroup.com/blog/index.php/categories/jihad/entry/408-2015-retrospective-how-the-fall-of-the-imu-reveals-the-limits-of-is%E2%80%99-expansion.

Slay, Ben. "Failing Remittances for Central Asia: How Bad? How Long?" *Voices from Eurasia*, 2015. Accessed June 28, 2016. http://europeandcis.undp.org/blog/2015/10/14/falling-remittances-for-central-asia-how-bad-how-long/.

Stalinsky, Steven, and R. Sosnow. "From Al-Qaeda to the Islamic State (ISIS), Jihadi Groups Engage in Cyber Jihad: Beginning with 1980s Promotion of Use of Electronic Technologies p to Todays Embrace of Social Media to Attract a New Jihadi Generation." MEMRI (2014). Accessed May 27, 2016. http://cjlab.memri.org/wp-content/uploads/2014/12/cyber-jihad-2.pdf.

Starr, S. Frederick. "A Greater Central Asia Partnership for Afghanistan and Its Neighbors." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2005): 1-36.

Starr, S. Frederick. "In Defense of Greater Central Asia." Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2008): 1-18.

Stein, Matthew. "The Goals of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan and Its Impact on Central Asia and the United States." Foreign Military Studies Office. Accessed May 11, 2016. http://fmso.leavenworth.army.mil/documents/IMU-Goals.pdf.

Steinberg, Guido. "A Turkish al-Qaeda: The Islamic Jihad Union and the Internationalization of Uzbek Jihadism." *Strategic Insights* (2008): 1-10.

Steinberg, Guido and Nils Wörmer. "Escalation in the Kunduz Region." German Institute for International and Security Affairs (2010): 1-8.

Swanström, Niklas. "China and Greater Central Asia: New Frontiers?" Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program (2011): 1-84.

Tazmini, Ghoncheh. "The Islamic Revival in Central Asia: A Potent Force or a Misconception?" *Central Asian Survey* 20 (2010): 63-83.

The Jamestown Foundation. "Terrorism and Islamic Radicalization in Central Asia" (2013): 1-86.

The World Bank. "Migration and Remittances: Recent Developments and Outlook." (2015): 1-27.

Trilling, David. "Remittances to Central Asia Fall Sharply as Expected." *Eurasia.net*, 2015. Accessed June 28, 2016. http://www.eurasianet.org/node/73061.

Tucker, Noah. "Central Asian Involvement in the Conflict in Syria and Iraq: Drivers and Responses." USAID (2015): 1-31.

Tucker, Noah. "Public and State Responses to ISIS Messaging: Uzbekistan." Ceria Brief 12 (2016): 1-10.

Tucker, Noah. "Uzbek Extremism in Context, Part 3: "Love Your President and Be Content with Bread, or Allah Will Give you a Disease!"" *Registan*, 2014. Accessed June 26, 2016.
http://registan.net/2013/10/14/uzbek-extremism-in-context-part-3-love-your-president-and-be-content-with-bread-or-allah-will-give-you-a-disease/.

Tucker, Noah. "Violent Extremism and Insurgency in Uzbekistan: A Risk Assessment." USAID (2013): 1-20.

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime. "World Drug Report 2015." (2015): 1-118.

U.S. Library of Congress Federal Research Division. "A Global Overview of Narcotics-Funded Terrorist and Other Extremist Groups." by Rex A. Hudson (2002): 1-147.

U.S. Department of Treasury. "Treasury Designates Leadership of the IJU Terrorist Group." Accessed May 21, 2016. https://www.treasury.gov/press-center/press-releases/Pages/hp1035.aspx.

Veilleux-Lepage, Yannick. "Paradigmatic Shifts in Jihadism in Cyberspace: The Emerging Role of Unaffiliated Sympathizers in Islamic States Social Media Strategy." *Journal of Terrorism Research*, 2016. Accessed May 27, 2016. http://jtr.st-andrews.ac.uk/articles/10.15664/jtr.1183/.

Weitz, Richard. "Storm Clouds over Central Asia: Revival of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU)?" *Studies of Conflict & Terrorism* 27 (2004): 505-530.

"Who is Who in Pakistani Taliban: A Sampling of Insurgent Personalities in Seven Operational Zones in Pakistans Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) and North Western Frontier Province." Naval Postgraduate School Program for Culture and Conflict Studies. Accessed May 18, 2016. http://www.nps.edu/Programs/CCS/Docs/Pakistan/Pakistan_Taliban_Bios.pdf.

Wigen, Einer. "Islamic Jihad Union: Al-Qaidas Key to the Turkic World?" Norwegian Defence Research Establishment (2009): 1-43.

Winter, Charlie. "The Virtual Caliphate: Understanding Islamic States Propaganda Strategy." Quilliam (2015): 1-51.

Witter, David. "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistans Tribal Region." *Backgrounder* (2011): 1-19.

Yakubov, Oleg. *The Pack of Wolves: The Blood Trail of Terror*. Moscow: Veche, 2000.

Zahid, Farhan. "Tehrik-e-Taliban Pakistan Evolves Under Pressure." *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 3-5.

Zahid, Farhan. "The Successes and Failures of Pakistans Operation Zarb-e-Azb." *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 5-7.

Zaidi, S. M. Abbas. "Uzbek Militancy in Pakistan." SISA Report 1 (2013): 1-17.

Zelin, Y. Aaron. "The State of Global Jihad Online." New America Foundation, 2013. Accessed May 27, 2016. http://www.washingtoninstitute.org/uploads/Documents/opeds/Zelin20130201-NewAmericaFoundation.pdf.

Zelin, Y. Aaron, "The War between ISIS and al-Qaeda for Supremacy of Global Jihadist Movement." The Washington Institute for Near East Policy 20 (2014): 1-11.

Zenn, Jacob. "Al-Qaeda Aligned Central Asian Militants in Syria Separate from Islamic State-Aligned IMU in Afghanistan." *Terrorism Monitor* 13 (2015): 8-10.

Zenn, Jacob. "China Claims Uyghur Militants Trained in Syria." *Terrorism Monitor* 11 (2013): 6-8.

Zenn, Jacob. "The IMU is extinct: what next for Central Asias jihadis?" *The CACI Analyst,* 2016. Accessed June 2, 2016. http://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/13357-the-imu-is-extinct-what-new-for-central-asias-jihadis?.html.

Zenn, Jacob. "The Indigenization of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan." *Terrorism Monitor* 10 (2012): 7-10.

APPENDICES

A. TURKISH SUMMARY

Orta Asya'nın günümüzde karşılaştığı en temel sorun Orta Asya politik sisteminin İslamizmin yükselişine nasıl tepki vereceği sorunudur. Bu tez, hem silahlı hem silahsız İslamist grupların gelişimini inceleyerek, Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren İslamist grupların üst anlatısal yönüne odaklanmak suretiyle Orta Asya siyasetindeki seküler otoriter yönetimler ve İslamist gruplar arasındaki ikili ilişkiyi anlamaya çalışır. Her ne kadar politize edilmiş olsa da bu tez Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren silahlı terör örgütlerini İslamist üst anlatının ve İslamizmle seküler otoriter rejimler arasındaki bu politik çekişmenin bir tezahürü olarak görür. Bu problemin tarihi gelişiminin incelenmesi coğrafi ve politik olarak Orta Asya'yı aşan bir seyir gösterdiğinden bu tez bölgesel işbirliğinin bu tehdide karşı geliştirilecek stratejilerdeki önemini ve bölgesel işbirliğinin olasılığını inceler.

İslamın Orta Asya polikasında oynadığı rolün daha iyi anlaşılabilmesi için öncelikle bu fenomenin tarihsel gelişiminin ve özellikle Sovyet dönemiyle olan ilişkilerinin anlaşılması gerekmektedir. Literatürde bu husustaki en dikkat çekici konsept "İslami uyanış" konseptidir. Bu argümana göre Orta Asya özellikle *perestroyka* yıllarından başlayarak İslami hareketlerin çeşitliliği ve aktivitelerini arttırması bakımından bir "İslami uyanış" dönemi yaşamıştır. Bu konsept, "İslamizasyon", "İslami rönesans" vb. değişik isimlerle de adlandırılmıştır. Öte yandan bu argümana karşı Orta Asya ve İslam arasındaki ilişkinin geçmişten bir kopuş değil daha ziyade geçmiş Sovyet politikalarının bir devamı niteliğinde olduğunu iddia eden görüşler de mevcuttur.

Bu tezde İslamizm hareketinin Orta Asya'daki tarihi gelişimini ve politik etkilerini daha iyi anlayabilmek için hem silahlı, şiddete dayanan hem de silahsız, şiddete dayanmayan İslamist grupların zaman içerisindeki gelişimleri ve Orta Asya siyaset arenasındaki etkileri incelenmiştir. Yine de tarihsel gelişim göstermektedir ki şiddete dayanan veya şiddete dayanmayan gruplar arasındaki ayrım o kadar da keskin değildir ve Adalet Hareketi'nde olduğu gibi silahsız olarak politik faaliyete başlayan gruplar zaman içerisinde silahlı terör örgütlerine evrimleşebilmektedir.

İslamizm'in Orta Asya'da özellikle Sovyet sonrası dönemde ilk temsilcisi Adalet Hareketi'dir. Adalet Hareketi 1989-1990 yıllarında Özbekistan'da yeni yeni faaliyet göstermeye başlayan küçük dükkan sahipleri etrafında şekillenmiştir. Adalet'i diğer harektlerden ayıran bağımsızlık sonrası Orta Asya'da yeni kurulmaya çalışılan devletlere ilk İslamist tepki hareketi olması ve Fergana Vadi'sinde kısa bir süreliğine de olsa yönetimi ele geçirmeyi başarmış olmasıdır.

Adalet Hareketi, daha sonra Orta Asya'daki ilk silahlı İslamist terör örgütünü kuracak olan Tahir Yoldaşev ve Cuma Namagani tarafından kurulmuştur. Tahir Yoldaşev yeraltında faaliyet gösteren bir imamken Cuma Namangani Afghanistan'da görev aldığı söylenen eski bir Sovyet askeridir. Adalet Hareketi'nin Fergana Vadisi'nde yönetimi ele geçirmesinden sonra beklenen olmuş ve Sovyetlerin dağılmasından sonra gücünü tekrardan konsolide eden İslam Kerimov ve ona bağlı güvenlik güçleri tarafından dağıtılmıştır. Adalet Hareketi'nin dağıtılmasını takip eden yılların Tacik İç Savaş'ıyla kesişmesi, Adalet Hareketi liderlerine geniş bir hareket sahası sürmüş ve ilerleyen yıllarda Orta Asya'daki ilk silahlı İslamist terör grubunun, Özbekistan İslami Hareketi, ortaya çıkmasına zemin hazırlamıştır.

Savaştan sonra Tahir Yoldaşev ve Cuma Namangani değişik istihbarat örgütleri ve İslami gruplar ile biraraya gelmiş ve kendilerini Tacik İç Savaş'ında muhalefet tarafında konumlandırmışlardır. İç Savaş'ın sona ermesinden sonra cihad olarak değerlendirdikleri

mücadelelerine devam edebilmek için, Taliban ve el-Kaide bağlantılarını kullanarak Afganistan'da operasyonlarına devam etmişlerdir. 1999 yılında kurulan Özbekistan İslami Hareketi, 1999-2002 yılları arasında Afganistan'da kendini konumlandırmış, hem Taliban, el-Kaide gibi terör örgütleriyle olan bağlantılarını güçlendirmiş hem de Afghanistan merkezli uyuşturucu ticaretinde önemli bir rol oynamaya başlamıştır. Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin Orta Asya'da en aktif olduğu dönem de yine Afganistan üzerinden kolayca operasyon yapabildikleri bu 1999 ve 2002 arasındaki dönemdir.

Bu dönemde Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin bu derece etki göstermesinin altında yatan bir çok sebep vardır. Bunlar sırasıyla: (1) Orta Asya'yı aşıp Afganistan ve Pakistan'ıda içine alan geniş bölgede kurulmuş olan terörist kampları ve bu bölgelerin çoğunda efektif bir devlet yönetiminin bulunmayışı, (2) bölgede uzun zamandan beri süregelen uyuşturucu ticareti ve bu uyuşturucu ticaretinden kendilerine kaynak sağlayan terör örgütleri, (3) bölgedeki devletler arasında gerçek anlamda bir işbirliğinin olmaması ve liderlerin birbirlerine olan güvensizliklerinin ve devletler arası sorunların terör örgütleri tarafından kolayca manipüle edilebilmesi.

Bölgedeki bu gidişatı değiştiren ve bölgenin geleceğinde büyük etki yapan yakın tarihteki en önemli hadise NATO kuvvetlerinin Afghanistan harekâtıdır. Bu harekat Afghanistan merkezli faaliyet gösteren terör örgütlerinin altyapılarını dağıtmış, bu örgütlere büyük fon sağlayan uyuşturucu ticaretini sekteye uğratmış ve terör örgütlerinin Pakistan'ın kuzeyine kaçmalarına neden olmuştur. Bu yüzden bu tez 2002'den itibaren başlayan dönemi ikinci bir dönem olarak ele alır ve bu dönemde Orta Asya İslami hareketlerinin anlaşılabilmesi için bu örgütlerin Afganistan, Pakistan ve daha geniş bölgesel stratejilerde oynadıkları rolün anlaşılması gerektiğini iddia eder. Bu dönem Orta Asya silahlı İslami hareketlerinin anlaşılabilmesi aynı zamanda bu grupların Pakistan içinde oynadıkları rolle de son derece alakalıdır ve bu noktalardan bağımsız olarak anlaşılması mümkün değildir.

2002 sonrası Özbekistan İslami Hareketi kendilerini Kuzey Pakistan'daki kompleks kabile sistemleri ve politikasının içinde buldular ve faaliyetlerini devam ettirebilmeleri bu yeni ve kompleks sisteme ne kadar adapte olabilecekleri sorusuna bağlıydı. Her ne kadar 2002'yi takip eden yıllarda Kuzey Pakistan'da kendilerine güvenli bir alan bulsalar da, Özbek militanlarının varlığı bir süre sonra bölgenin yerlileri açısından büyük bir sıkıntı oluşturmaya başladı. Bu durum bölgede hali hazırda var olan diğer çeşitli gruplar ve bu grupların Pakistan devletiyle olan ilişkileriyle de çok yakından alakalıdır. Özbek militanlarının Kuzey Pakistan'daki varlıkları, bölgedeki çeşitli kabileler arasında kısa bir süre sonra aktif bir çatışmaya yol açmış ve bu çatışma sonrasında Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'ne bağlı gruplar Güney Veziristan'dan sürülmüşlerdir. Öte yandan bölgenin en güçlü kabilesinin Özbek cihadistlere destek vermesi, bölgede faaliyet gösteren diğer gruplar ve bu grupların Pakistan devletiyle olan ilişkilerinin de bir yansıması gibidir. Bu kompleks ilişkiler ağı Orta Asya cihadist gruplarının anlaşılması için son derece önemlidir.

Bu tez Pakistan Talibanı'nın kurulmasının bölgede faaliyet gösteren çeşitli grupların değişen stratejilerinin bir yansıması olduğunu iddia etmektedir. Bu yüzdendir ki Pakistan Talibanı Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin en büyük destekçisi olan Mehsud kabilesinin bir üyesi tarafından kurulmuştur. Pakistan Talibanı'nı Afgan Taliban'dan ayıran en büyük özellik NATO kuvvetleri yanısıra Pakistan kuvvetlerini de kendilerine düşman olarak görmeleridir. Taliban içerisindeki bu ayrım bir süre sonra Pakistan'ın Taliban karşısında izlediği stratejide "iyi Taliban – kötü Taliban" ayrımına gitmesine neden olmuştur. Bu noktada "iyi Taliban" kendini yalnızca Afganistan'daki NATO kuvvetleri karşısında konumlandıran gruplarken, "kötü Taliban" kendilerini hem NATO'ya hem de Pakistan devletine karşıt olarak konumlandıran gruplardır.

Pakistan'ın izlediği bu "iyi ve kötü Taliban" stratejisi, Pakistan'ın geniş bölgesel çıkarları ve jeopolitik değerlendirmelerinin bir sonucudur. Pakistan, en büyük düşmanı Hindistan'a karşı Afganistan'ı kontrol altında tutulması gereken stratejik bir alan olarak

105

gördüğünden Afganistan'daki Taliban kuvvetlerine destek vermekte ve bunların Hindistan karşısında gerektiğinde kullanılabilecek bir güç olduklarını düşünmektedir. Bu yüzdendir ki 2002'den bu yana Pakistan'ın düzenlediği birden çok askeri operasyon etkisiz kalmış, Kuzey Pakistan'daki Taliban, el-Kaide ve diğer silahlı İslamist grupların etkisini azaltamadığı gibi "iyi Taliban – kötü Taliban" politikası Pakistan içerisinde de, Pakistan Talibanı'ının oluşturulması gibi, ters tepkiler vermiştir.

Bu noktada "iyi ve kötü Taliban" ayrımının bir tezahürü de "iyi ve kötü Özbek" ayrımıdır. Orta Asya silahlı İslamist grupları, bu tezin iddia ettiği gibi, Pakistan'daki politik durumdan ayrı olarak düşünülemeyeceğinden, "iyi ve kötü Taliban" ayrımı kendini Orta Asya kaynaklı cihadist gruplar içerisinde de göstermiştir. Savaşılacak hedefin yalnızca NATO kuvvetleri mi yoksa hem NATO kuvvetleri hem Pakistan devleti mi olduğu yönündeki fikir ayrılıkları, 2002 yılında İslami Cihad Birliği'nin kurulmasıyla, Orta Asya cihadist grupları arasındaki ilk ayrımın ortaya çıkmasına neden olmuştur.

İslami Cihad Birliğinin Orta Asya silahlı İslamist grupları içerisindeki en ayırt edici noktası daha önce bu gruplar içerisinde pek de rastlanmayan bir şekilde uluslararası bir grup olma yönündeki çalışmalarıdır. İslami Cihad Birliğinin medyayı dönemin şartlarına ve Orta Asya cihadist grupları içerisinde daha önce görülmeyen biçimde etkin kullanımı bu örgütün kendisine Avrupa içerisinden insan kaynağı bulmasına yardımcı olmuştur. Her ne kadar başlangıçtaki hedefleri olan kendilerini el-Kaide gibi tümden uluslararası operasyon kabiliyeti olan bir terörist gruba dönüştürme hedeflerine ulaşamasalar da Orta Asya silahlı İslami grupları içerisinde bu yönde bir strateji izleyen ilk grup İslami Cihad Birliği olmuştur.

Bununla beraber, İslami Cihad Birliği, Pakistan ve Afganistan içerisindeki kompleks politik arenada kendini "iyi Özbek" noktasında konumlandırmayı başarırken, Özbekistan İslami Hareketi bölgede kendini giderek daha marjinalize olmuş bir noktada, yani "kötü

Özbek" noktasında bulmuştur. Bu ortaklıklar daha sonra kendini Suriye İç Savaşı'nda da gösterecektir.

Eğer İslami Cihad Birliği medyayı efektif kullanımı bakımından Orta Asya menşeili gruplar içerisinde bir ilk sayılabilirse, Suriye İç Savaşı'nda giderek aktif olan IŞİD (Irak Şam İslam Devleti) bu noktada global cihadist gruplar arasında yeni bir dönemi işaret etmektedir. Bu yeni dönem yalnızca klasik medya araçları değil aynı zamanda bilgi teknolojilerinin kullanımı ve sosyal medyanın efektif kullanımı bakımından cihadist grupların geldiği yeni noktayı işaret etmektedir. Lakin Suriye İç Savaşı'nın bu tez bakımından daha dikkat çekici noktası Afganistan ve Pakistan'da kendini gösteren işbirliği kalıplarının kendilerini Suriye ve Irak'ta da tekrar etmesi ve bu iki sahadaki işbirliği kalıplarının birbirleriyle olan etkileşimleridir. Suriye İç Savaşı'nın Orta Asya cihadist grupları bakımından bir diğer önemli etkisi de bu savaşa katılım gösteren Orta Asya menşeili grupların çeşitliliği ve sayılarıdır.

Daha yakından incelemek gerekirse Suriye İç Savaşı'na iştirak eden Orta Asyalılar iki kamp içerisinde incelenebilir: (1) el-Kaide bağlantılı gruplar altında savaşan Orta Asyalılar, (2) IŞİD adına savaşan Orta Asyalılar. Öte yandan Afganistan ve Pakistan'da çok da efektif olmayan Doğu Türkistan İslami Partisi gibi gruplar, Suriye İç Savaşı'nda öne çıkmış, hem sayı hem de organizasyon bakımından gelişim göstermişlerdir.

Bu yeni grupların ortaya çıkışı ve Afganistan-Pakistan bölgelerinde faaliyet gösteren 'geleneksel' Orta Asya cihadist gruplarından hem sayı hem de organizasyon kapasitesi olarak çok daha genişlemesi ve büyümesi, Afganistan ve Pakistan'da faaliyet gösteren cihadist gruplar üzerinde de etkili olmuştur. Bunun en belirgin örneği Suriye İç Savaşı ve IŞİD'ın ortaya çıkmasını takiben Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin Afganistan-Pakistan'daki gelişimidir. 2014 sonunu takip eden dönemde Pakistan Talibanı'ndan ayrılan bir grup ve Özbekistan İslami Hareketi liderliği birleşerek Afganistan ve Pakistan'da "Horasan Vilayeti" adında IŞİD'e bağlı yeni bir grup kurmuşlardır. Orta

Asya menşeili cihadist gruplar içerisindeki ağırlığını kaybetmeye başlayan Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin bu kararı alması, bu grubu bölgede eskisinden çok daha marjinal bir pozisyona itmiştir. Zaman içerisinde, Taliban gibi geleneksel müttefiklerini kaybedip Pakistan Taliban'ıyla işbirliğine giden Özbekistan İslami Hareketi, bu adımla Pakistan Taliban'ıyla olan bağlarını da zedelemiş ve yalnızca Pakistan Taliban'ı içerisindeki IŞİD destekçisi gruplara eklemlenmiştir. Bu adıma bir yanıt olarak Taliban, Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'ne büyük bir darbe vurmuş ve Orta Asya menşeili cihadist gruplar arasında Özbekistan İslami Hareketi'nin ağırlığını büyük oranda sekteye uğratmıştır. Ne var ki bu Orta Asya menşeili grupların global silahlı terör örgütleri arasındaki artan etkilerini gölgelememektedir.

Bölgede faaliyet gösteren silahlı İslamist gruplar, İslamizm fenomeninin yalnızca bir kanadını oluşturmaktadır. İslamist ideolojinin diğer bir yansıması ise silahlı faaliyet göstermeyen Hizb ut-Tahrir ve Ekremiye gibi İslamist gruplardır.

Hizb ut-Tahrir her ne kadar Orta Asya dışında kurulmuş olsa da şu anda bölgede faaliyet gösteren en geniş İslamist gruptur. 2003 yılından bu yana, Irak savaşıyla birlikte gittikçe radikalleşen bir söyleme sahip olan bu grubun merkezi Ürdün, "sinir merkezi" ise Londra'da bulunmaktadır.

Hizb ut-Tahrir'i bölgede faaliyet gösteren diğer gruplardan ayıran özelliği, ideolojisini en kapsamlı ve sistematik şekilde açıklayan grup olmasıdır. Hizb ut-Tahrir'in ideolojik çerçevesi "medeniyetler savaşı" anlatısının üzerine kurulmuştur. Lakin, bu Samuel Huntington'ın ünlü "medeniyetler çatışması" çalışmasıyla karıştırılmamalıdır. Hizb ut-Tahrir'in "üst anlatı"sı "Batı" ve "İslam dünyası" arasında biri diğerini yoketmeden bitmeyecek bir mücadele olgusuna dayanır. Bu "Batı" ve "İslam dünyası" arasındaki çatışma fikri, her ne kadar Hizb ut-Tahrir'de olduğu kadar keskin olmasa da, geleneksel İslamist siyasi gruplarda da görülebilir. Bu "üst anlatı" üzerine kurulan Hizb ut-Tahrir

ideolojisi, aynı zamanda kapitalizm, insan hakları, demokrasi vb. modern kavramlara da tümden karşı çıkar ve kendini bu kavramlara karşı olarak konumlandırır.

Klasik anlamda bir terör örgütü olarak görülmese de Hizb ut-Tahrir'in faaliyetleri, Orta Asya ülkeleri ve Rusya'da yasaklanmıştır. Avrupa'da ise yalnızca Almanya'da antisemitik içerikleri yüzünden faaliyet göstermesi yasaktır. Her ne kadar silahlı faaliyet göstermeseler de Hizb ut-Tahrir'in ideolojisi silahlı İslamist grupların ideolojilerinden farklı değildir. Hatta ideolojik noktada, iddia edilebilir ki, Hizb ut-Tahrir ve klasik İslamist terör grupları arasında herhangi bir fark yoktur. Tüm bu gruplar saf, orijinal bir "İslam dünyası" ve "Batı" gibi soyut kavramları ön plana çıkartarak bunlar arasında onarılmaz ayrımlar ve çatışmalar üzerine kendi ideolojilerini inşa etmişlerdir. Bu "üst anlatı", bu tezde de vurgulandığı gibi, İslamist grupların kendileri için kullandıkları yegane meşruiyet aracıdır ve büyük öneme sahiptir.

Bu tezde irdelenen bir diğer İslamist grup ise Ekremiye grubudur. Eski bir Hizb ut-Tahrir üyesi olan Ekrem Yuldaşev tarafından kurulan Ekremiye hareketi, Andican olaylarındaki rolü ve bu olayların dış politika etkileri sebebiyle önemlidir. Ekremiye hareketi aynı zamanda İslam Kerimov rejimine karşı İslamistlerin ikinci bir başkaldırı hareketidir (birincisi Adalet Hareketidir).

Kısa sürede Fergana Vadisi'nde geniş bir takipçi kitlesine ulaşan Ekremiye grubu üyelerinin 2005 yılında terör bağlantıları sebebiyle gözaltına alınmaları, Andican olaylarının fitilini ateşlemiştir. Mayıs 2005'te Andican bölgesinde tam olarak ne olduğuna dair değişik kayıtlar olsa da bu olay Özbekistan'ın dış politikasını ve bölgedeki jeopolitik dengelere olan etkileri bakımından daha önemlidir.

Andican olaylarını bir "renkli devrim" tehdidi olarak algılayan Özbekistan rejimi, bu olaylardan sonra bölgedeki Amerikan üssünün boşaltılmasını talep etmiş ve Kolektif

Güvenlik Antlaşması Örgütü'ne üye olmuştur. "Renkli devrim" tehdit algısı Özbekistan'ı Rus-Çin yönetimindeki bölgesel organizasyonlara doğru itmiştir.

Bu tezin ana iddialarından biri Orta Asya'da görülen İslami aktivizmin, silahlı veya silahsız olsun, bölgenin İslam, politika, demokrasi ve sekülarizm gibi kavramlar arasında yaşadığı sıkıntılı inşa sürecinin bir yansımaları olarak kabul edilebileceğidir. Buna göre, bölgenin karşılaştığı temel sorun silahlı İslamist grupların varlığı değil, bu soyut konseptlerin günlük hayata ve devlet-ulus inşa sürecindeki yerleridir. Bunun yanı sıra bu soyut terimlerin anlamlarının karmaşık ve değişken olması da hali hazırda zor olan bu problemi daha da içinden çıkılmaz bir hale sokmaktadır.

Terminolojideki en büyük karmaşa "ılımlı İslam" gibi kavramlarda ve İslam'ın devlet-ulus inşa sürecine olan etkileri, bunun sekülarizmin anlaşılması ve genel olarak bu yorumların değişkenliğinde kendini göstermektedir. Tezde ayrıntılarıyla incelenen tüm bu noktalar dikkate alındığında ortaya çıkan sorunun temel kaynağı Orta Asya'nın İslamizmi kendi politik sisteminde konumlandırıp konumlandıramayacağı, eğer konumlandırabilirse bu konumlandırmanın nasıl olacağıdır. Orta Asya politik rejimlerinin otoriter yansımaları muhalefet kavramını büyük oranda ortadan kaldırdığından dolayıdır ki bugün muhalefet işlevini gören ana kaynak, devletin ortadan kalıdramayacağı bir dini sistemden meşruiyetini olan İslamizm olmuştur. Ne var ki İslam'ın da devlet ve ulus inşası ile olan ilişkileri göz önüne alındığında devlet kontrolü dışındaki "alternatif İslami yorumların" bölgeyi demokratikleştireceğine dair olan inanç pek gerçekçi görünmemektedir. Bunun temel sebebi, bölgede faaliyet gösteren İslamist grupların "üst anlatılarının" genelleştirici olması, "iyi ve kötü" arasında yani kendilerince "İslam dünyası" ve "Batı" arasında tarihten bu yana gelen bir çeşit mücadeleye dayanıyor olmasıdır. Bu tarz genelleştirici kalıplar, "biz" ve "onlar" anlayışına dayanan üst anlatıların işlerlik gösterebilmesi için iç ve dış düşman algılarının sürekli canlı tutulması ve bu genelleştirici kalıba uymayan kişi ve grupların ortadan kaldırılması gereklidir. Bunun yanı sıra "İslam dünyası" denilen soyut kavram uluslar

110

üstü bir inşa olduğu için, bağımsızlıklarını yeni kazanan ve devlet-ulus inşa sürecinde olan Orta Asya ülkeleri için de zararlıdır. Bu sebeplerden ötürüdür ki İslamist üst anlatı ve bölgede var olan otoriter sekülarizm varolabilmek için birbirlerine ihtiyaç duyar, birbirlerine meşruiyet verirken bölge için gerçek anlamda demokratik bir gelecek sağlamaktan çok uzaktır.

Bölgedeki demokratikleşmeye ikinci bir engelse bölgenin jeopolitik konumudur. Bölgeye komşu olan otoriter güçler (Rusya ve Çin) ve bu devletlerin kontrolündeki bölgesel organizasyonlar (Şangay İşbirliği Örgütü ve Kolektif Güvenlik Antlaşması Örgütü gibi) otoriter hükümetlere demokratik trendler karşısında sığınabilecekleri güvenli bir liman işlevi görmektedir.

Ne var ki, bölgenin karşılaştığı tehditler (terör, bölgesel uyuşturucu ticareti vb. gibi) aynı zamanda bu problemlerin çözülebilmesi için bölgesel bir işbirliğini gerekli kılmaktadır. Bu tez, bölgede faaliyet gösteren organizasyonlardan ziyade bu tarz bölgesel problemlerin çözülebilmesi için uygulanabilecek teorik bölgesel işbirliği varsayımlarını inceler. Bunlar sırasıyla "Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi" ve "Geniş Orta Asya İşbirliği" teorileridir.

Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi teorisi Barry Buzan ve Ole Waever tarafından 1983 yılında ortaya atılmıştır. Bu teoride "güvenlik kompleksi" tanımı: "ulusal güvenlikleri birbirinden ayrılamayacak derecede iç içe geçmiş devletleri" karşılar. Bölgesel Güvenlik Kompleksi teorisi bu bakımdan Orta Asya ve komşu coğrafyaların (Afganistan ve Pakistan gibi) ulusal güvenliklerin iç içe geçmişliğini karşılaması bakımından önemlidir. Öte yandan Orta Asya'nın coğrafi konumundan ötürü, çeşitli "güvenlik kompleksleri" arasında bir köprü görevi görmesinden, tek bir güç tarafından kontrol edilemeyeceği bu teoride de vurgulanmaktadır. Bu teorinin başka bir dikkat çekici noktası ise Afganistan'ın Orta Asya güvenliğinde oynadığı hayati rolün vurgulanmasıdır. Ne var ki teori Orta Asya'da klasik Rus hegemonyasının etkilerini abarttığı ve Çin gibi yeni

aktörlerin bölgedeki faaliyetlerini pek hesaba katmadığından dolayı bazı yönlerden eksik kalmaktadır.

Bu tezde ele alınan ikinci teori ise "Geniş Orta Asya İşbirliği" teorisidir. Frederick Starr tarafından 2005 yılında yazılan bir makaleyle ortaya atılan bu teori, Orta Asya, komşu devletler (Rusya, Çin), bölgesel güçler (Türkiye, İran vb. gibi), ve diğer aktörlerin (Amerika, Avrupa Birliği gibi) katılımıyla, Afganistan merkezli yeni bir ekonomik-güvenlik işbirliği teşkilatı öngörür. Her ne kadar Afganistan'daki durumun Orta Asya'daki güvenlik ve refah için etkilerini göz önüne alsa ve çeşitli aktörlerin katılımıyla bu sorunu çözmeye yönelik tezler ileri sürse de, "Geniş Orta Asya İşbirliği" teorisi birbirlerinden farklı ulusal çıkarlara sahip bu kadar çeşitli aktörün hangi şartlar altında ve ne şekilde pratik bir işbirliğine gidebileceklerini açıklamak yönünden eksiktir.

Bu tezin ana amacı, Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren İslami grupların, silahlı veya silahsız, bağımsızlıktan bu yana evrimsel süreçlerini takip etmek ve İslamizm'in veya politize edilmiş İslam'ın Orta Asya devlet ve ulus inşa sürecine olan etkilerini anlamaktır. Bu tezin bulgularına göre Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren İslamist gruplar, erken dönem lokal Selefi hareketlerden tam manasıyla birden çok bölgede faaliyet gösteren ve uluslararası cihadist gruplar arasında yadsınamayacak bir noktaya gelmişlerdir. Orta Asya menşeili İslamist grupların Afganistan'dan, Pakistan'a oradan da Suriye'ye uzanan yolculukları, hem sayısal olarak hem de çeşitlilik olarak artışları bunun en büyük kanıtıdır.

Ne var ki, aynı zamanda, bu teze göre Orta Asya İslamist hareketlerini, hem silahlı hem de silahsız grupları, yalnızca güvenlik denkleminden ele almak eksik ve hatalı bir bakış açısı olur. Zira bu gruplar belirli bir üst-anlatı üzerinden kendilerine meşruiyet sağlayan ve Orta Asya'daki politik durum, İslam, ulus ve devlet inşası gibi daha soyut kavramların bölgedeki etkileşimlerinin bir tezahürleridir. Bu noktada bu çalışma,

konunun güvenlik tarafını ihmal etmeden yukarıda bahsedilen öğelerin bu güvenlik sorununda nasıl bir rol oynadıklarını anlamaya çalışır.

Bu bakımdan bu tez Orta Asya'da faaliyet gösteren İslamist grupların, silahlı veya silahsız, savundukları üst anlatının Orta Asya politik hayatında ne gibi bir konumu olabileceğini anlamaya önem verir. Bu üst anlatı, ötekileştirici ve düşmanlaştırıcı öğelere dayandığından (İslam dünyası karşısında Batı örneğinde olduğu gibi), kimi durumlarda (Hizb ut-Tahrir örneğinde olduğu gibi) demokrasi ve insan hakları gibi kavramları tümden reddettiğinden dolayı, bu tez devlet kontrolünde olmayan "alternatif İslami akımların" doğaları itibariyle bir demokratikleştirici araç olarak ele alınmasına karşıdır. Alternatif İslami akımların savundukları bu üst anlatının özellikle dini doğası, meşruiyetini kutsal bir kaynaktan aldığına inanılması, politikada kullanıldığında bu üst anlatıyı çok daha tehlikeli bir noktaya taşımaktadır. Bu noktadan bakıldığında, politik muhalefetin ortadan kaldırılmasına da bağlı olarak ortaya çıkan, radikal İslamist muhalefet Orta Asya politik hayatını bir yanda otoriter seküler yönetimler, öte yanda ise İslamist gruplar arasına hapsetmiş görünmektedir.

B. TEZ FOTOKOPİSİ İZİN FORMU

ENSTİTÜ

Fen Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

Sosyal Bilimler Enstitüsü ☒ X

Uygulamalı Matematik Enstitüsü ☐

Enformatik Enstitüsü ☐

Deniz Bilimleri Enstitüsü ☐

YAZARIN

Soyadı : Kayhan
Adı   : Hüseyin Umut
Bölümü : Avrasya Çalışmaları

TEZİN ADI (İngilizce) : Greater Central Asia and the Evolution of Central Asian Islamic Militancy: An Analysis of Regional Approaches in Central Asian Security

TEZİN TÜRÜ : Yüksek Lisans ☒ X   Doktora ☐

1. Tezimin tamamından kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒ X

2. Tezimin içindekiler sayfası, özet, indeks sayfalarından ve/veya bir bölümünden kaynak gösterilmek şartıyla fotokopi alınabilir. ☒ X

3. Tezimden bir bir (1) yıl süreyle fotokopi alınamaz. ☐

TEZİN KÜTÜPHANEYE TESLİM TARİHİ: