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**SECURITY  
SECTOR REFORM  
IN CENTRAL ASIA**

Erica Marat



The Geneva Centre for  
the Democratic Control  
of Armed Forces

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# **SECURITY SECTOR REFORM IN CENTRAL ASIA**

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Geneva, 2012

Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control  
of Armed Forces  
(DCAF)  
[www.dcaf.ch](http://www.dcaf.ch)

The Geneva Centre for the Democratic Control of Armed Forces is one of the world's leading institutions in the areas of security sector reform (SSR) and security sector governance (SSG).

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# PREFACE

Given the growing political and scholarly interest in Central Asia's reform processes, DCAF is pleased to submit yet another update on Central Asian security sector developments (for previous reports see the DCAF website at <[www.dcaf.ch](http://www.dcaf.ch)>).

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Philipp Fluri, Ph.D.  
Deputy Director DCAF

Geneva, March 2012



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This report intends to show the latest developments in security sector reform (SSR) legislation in four Central Asian states. Kazakhstan's open sources offer the most comprehensive overview of the latest legislation adopted between 2005 and 2011. Kyrgyzstan's resources are accessible as well, but following the violent regime change in April and the ethnic violence in June 2010, the Parliament and government have started revising many of the laws related to the Interior Ministry and Judicial sector. Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have only few pieces of legislature available to the public. The report does not analyse whether changes in the law translated into more democratic and more open control over the military.



# KAZAKHSTAN

Kazakhstan's one-party political leadership faces uncertainty over the question of political succession. Incumbent President Nursultan Nazarbayev who has been in power since 1991 was re-elected for another seven-year term in April 2011 with 95,5% support. Nazarbayev has praised himself as a leader who was able to bring economic prosperity, international recognition and domestic stability over the past two decades of independence. However, Kazakhstan has faced a bloody show-down between protesters and the police in the western cities of Zhanaozen and Shetpe. According to government reports, 16 'hooligans' were killed as a result of police shooting at protesters, while opposition media claims that the number of dead reached up to 50 civilians, mostly former workers of local refineries who had been protesting against low wages for over seven months. Kazakhstan's Interior Minister Kalmukhambet Kasymov has admitted that during the riots police forces were ordered to shoot and kill the protesters and said that any further riots organised by armed protesters will be countered with similar means.<sup>1</sup>

Kazakhstan has developed a considerable body of new SSR legislation since 2005. In the judicial sector, "Kazakhstan has proclaimed a number of ambitious reforms captured in the special Concept of Legal Policy for the Period 2010-2020." Furthermore, Kazakhstan has adopted two military doctrines – one in 2007 and another in 2011. Finally, the country's intelligence structures were reshaped as well.

## **Judicial Sector**

Over the past decade Kazakhstan has implemented a number of reforms in the judicial sector and is set to continue to make changes. In doing so, Astana has been trying to use resources from the national budget instead of relying on external donor funding. A number of ambitious changes in the judicial sector were declared

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<sup>1</sup> A video report from Zhanaozen by 'K Plus' TV channel <<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=10wXcFuA6lQ&feature=share>>.

shortly before Kazakhstan assumed the chair of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe's (OSCE).

In 2002 the control of Kazakhstan's penitentiary system shifted from the Ministry of Justice to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.<sup>2</sup> That year Kazakhstan also established the National Human Rights Ombudsman; as of 2011, the government intends to run the office in accordance with the Paris Principles related to the status of national institutions.<sup>3</sup>

Furthermore, the General Prosecutor's Office developed a draft law, "On Introducing Amendments to Some Legislative Acts of Kazakhstan for the Further Humanisation of Criminal Legislation, and Strengthening Legal Safeguards in the Criminal Process." These amendments would decriminalise 36 categories of crime that do not pose a major threat to society, including economic crimes.

The president nominates candidates for the Supreme Judicial Council (composed of the chairs of the Constitutional Councils and chair of the Supreme Court, the Prosecutor General, the Minister of justice, Senators and other appointees), and the Supreme Court and Senate approve them. To date, the Parliament and Supreme Court have not rejected any presidential nominee.<sup>4</sup> The President is also entitled to remove lower-court judges, but not members of the Supreme Court. Furthermore, the President alone appoints judges for other courts, as well as the chairman, secretary, and other members of the Supreme Judicial Court.

In 2004 Kazakhstan launched a Judicial Academy with OSCE/ODIHR assistance. The EU has provided Kazakhstan with a \$ 3.4 million grant for the project "Support to Judicial and Legal Reform in the Republic of Kazakhstan," scheduled for the period of 2010-2013.<sup>5</sup> The reform's goal is to strengthen the institution of advocacy and to enhance the capacity of institutions dealing with legal and judicial reform.

Kazakhstan has signed over 60 universal and multilateral treaties on human rights, including seven UN human rights conventions. In July 2008, Kazakhstan's Supreme Court adopted a regulatory resolution "On Application of International Treaties by the Republic of Kazakhstan" that ensures that all judges are guided by the provisions of international treaties to which Kazakhstan is a signatory.

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<sup>2</sup> <<http://www.kazakhembus.com/index.php?page=legal-and-judicial-reforms>>.

<sup>3</sup> <<http://www2.ohchr.org/english/law/parisprinciples.htm>>.

<sup>4</sup> Bhavna Dave, "Kazakhstan," in *Nations in Transit 2011* (Freedom House, 2011), pp. 263-83.

<sup>5</sup> *Ibid.*

Reform of the judicial system was first discussed in early 2007 and had three main goals: 1) boost transparency, 2) allow public access to court trials, and 3) strengthen jury trials.

As part of the May 2007 constitutional reform, Kazakhstan abolished the death penalty for all crimes except terrorism. According to these changes, defendants sentenced to death have the right to seek pardon. The government had already announced a moratorium on the death penalty between December 2003 and July 2009.

To meet the requirements set by the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights, ratified by Kazakhstan in 2005, the country introduced trial by jury in January 2008. In September 2008 Kazakhstan adopted a law that stipulates that any arrest has to be authorised by a court, and suspects must be arraigned. Kazakhstan's government claimed that by 2010, the country's courts had begun to use jury trials for serious crimes.

Shortly before becoming OSCE chair in 2010, Kazakhstan made serious efforts to modernise its legislation in order to bring it up to standard with signed international conventions.

In August 2009 Kazakhstan approved a Concept of Legal Policy for the period 2010-2020. The concept sets out a plan for further improvement of the judicial system and law enforcement institutions. Although widely advertised on government websites, the Concept's full text is not available through open sources. The Ministry of Justice website only offers positive reviews of the Concept made by government officials and MPs.

Judging from media reports, the Concept is far-reaching and allowed Kazakhstan to adopt and amend a number of laws pertinent to the judicial sector, including: "On electronic governance," "On legal education," "On fight against torture," "On the status of investigators," "On the penal system," "On customs tariffs and fees," "On particularities of aid and subsidies to the agricultural sector," "On the trade and transfer of intellectual property rights," "On technical barriers to trade," "On conditions of growing domestic consumption and exports of wheat," and "On the quality of imported goods and products."<sup>6</sup>

Other reports suggest that the Concept is designed to boost the status and efficiency of the judicial system, judges, the judiciary, and judicial nominees. This includes improving and simplifying court proceedings, using innovative technologies, and increasing court transparency and accessibility. For the purpose of effective

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<sup>6</sup> Dimash Syzdykov, "In the implementation of the Concept of Legal Policy of the Republic of Kazakhstan for the period 2010-2020 it is necessary to consider the adoption of more than 20 laws," *Kazinform*, 9 December 2009.

administration of justice, the Concept envisages the creation of a fully functioning judicial system that would impartially regulate the sector according to administrative-procedural law and create mechanisms for the effective resolution of disputes between the state and citizens.<sup>7</sup>

Furthermore, in 2009 Kazakhstan adopted a National Action Plan for Human Rights for the period of 2009-2012. According to the Kazakh government, the plan seeks to strengthen the rule of law to protect human rights in the country and to meet the standards set out by the UNDP and OSCE.

In the field of criminal policy, the Concept plans to humanise the treatment of prisoners, decriminalise offences that do not pose a danger to society, while criminalising other offences in order to increase the accountability of those responsible for committing grave crimes.

To meet the requirements of the UN Convention Against Torture, in December 2009 Kazakhstan's Supreme Court adopted a resolution that outlines a legal basis for criminal liability in cases of torture and abuse of official powers. The resolution details procedural mechanisms for prosecutors and courts regarding complaints of torture from detained or arrested persons. It also describes how to evaluate evidence and classify crimes, and establishes appropriate compensation for material and personal damages suffered by victims of torture.

Kazakhstan is currently drafting a bill to establish a national code to protect citizens from torture.

In December 2009 Kazakhstan enacted a law to protect refugees, in line with the UN Convention Against Torture. The law stipulates that refugees and asylum seekers cannot be forced to return to their countries if their life or liberty will be threatened upon their return because of their race, religion, nationality or citizenship.

At the same time, Kazakhstan adopted the "Law on Amending the Criminal Code, Criminal Procedure and the Code of Civil Procedure of the Republic of Kazakhstan with Regard to Improvement of the Judicial System," which aims at granting better access to justice and instituting a three-tiered court system. Furthermore, the legislature also adopted a law to prevent crime and delinquency in family relations.

In August 2010 President Nursultan Nazarbayev issued a decree "On Measures to Improve Law Enforcement and the Judicial System in Kazakhstan." The country also established a Mediation Institute to resolve criminal cases, where appropriate.

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<sup>7</sup> <<http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/83108>>.

## Police

Kazakhstan's law "On troops of the Ministry of Interior" was adopted in June 1992. Since then it has been amended almost on an annual basis. The most recent amendments reformulated the terminology used in the document. The more important additions to the law included statutes entitling local governments to collaborate with national law enforcement agencies. Other additions stated the importance of respecting the rights and interests of citizens, mechanisms to respond to emergency situations, as well as mechanisms for inter-agency collaboration within the Ministry.<sup>8</sup>

In 2001 some traditional functions of the Ministry were transferred to other ministries. The penitentiary system shifted to the Justice Ministry, medical detoxification centres were transferred to the Ministry of Health, administrative detention was transferred to the Ministry of Justice, and juvenile rehabilitation centres were transferred to the Ministry of Education and Science.

In 2007 the law's terminology was considerably revised and words like *voennye voiska* were rewritten with capital first letter 'V'. Other changes included changing *voenno-uchebnye zavedeniya* (military education enterprises) to *voennye uchebnye zavedeniya*.<sup>9</sup> Among the most substantive terminology changes was *o voennoy sluzhbe po kontraktu* to *o voinskoi obyazannosti i voinskoi sluzhbe* (from "On military contract service" to "On military duty and military service").

More details were added specifying that the contracted police must undergo professional training at schools belonging to the Ministry of Internal Affairs or Ministry of Defence. In addition, soldiers cannot shoot at women, disabled people and children, unless the soldiers are threatened with an armed attack.

Kazakhstan's Ministry of Internal Affairs abides by the Constitution, the President's statutes, the government and other legal documents, as well as by international agreements.

The mission of the Ministry of Internal Affairs is to maintain public order and social security, including during emergency situations and under martial law. Upon request from a representative of a local executive branch or authorised state agency, the Ministry of Internal Affairs can thus be responsible for dispersing mass demonstrations, strikes, or meetings.

Additionally, the Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible for preventing, investigating, and reducing crime. It is also responsible for policing traffic, safeguarding

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<sup>8</sup> <http://www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=05125&uro=08001>.

<sup>9</sup> Found on [www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=03648&uro=08001](http://www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=03648&uro=08001) and [www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=03648&uro=08001](http://www.pavlodar.com/zakon/?dok=03648&uro=08001).

public property, protecting people, including foreign citizens, transporting convicts, preventing terrorism, and rescuing hostages. It may perform some of the functions of the Defence Ministry during emergencies, and it may assist fire-fighters. Finally, the Ministry is responsible for cooperating with the international community on issues covered by international conventions and agreements.

Furthermore, the Ministry grants licenses to private security companies for certain security activities and protects strategic objects on Kazakhstan's territory.

The Ministry states that investigations are an important first step in crime deterrence; and that it respects court decisions. It has full access to all state documents, government-owned media, and experts, and it can use scientific research and other experts during the investigation process. In emergencies, Ministry personnel are able to commandeer any available form of transportation, except for vehicles belonging to international organisations and foreign diplomats.

The Ministry regulates civilian sales, storage, and transport of firearms, ammunition, radioactive material, colour photocopy machines, and medications. It issues licenses to organisations to own and use firearms, colour photocopy machines, explosives, potent chemicals including psychedelic and poisonous drugs, and nuclear material. Citizens wishing to purchase, carry, and possess firearms, or set up shops selling firearms and firearm repair shops, must register with the Ministry.

The Ministry has the right to request citizens to maintain social order and security, to stop unlawful activity, as well as to cease activities that might hinder the Ministry's work. It is also the Ministry's duty to arrest military officials who break the law and remand them to military authorities.

Arrested suspects can be photographed, audio-taped, video-taped, and fingerprinted. Suspects can also be tested for alcohol intoxication, illegal drug abuse or psychedelic substances. The results of these tests are also submitted to the Ministry of Health. Underage offenders are taken to juvenile detention facilities, while undocumented homeless persons may be detained for up to 30 days by court order.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs may prohibit citizens from entering specific areas or request their immediate evacuation in order to maintain public order and security. In the event that a convict escapes, the Ministry has the authority to establish special checkpoints to capture fugitives.

To maintain security on the roads, the Ministry can participate in work on the road, street, railroad, and other types of communications' planning, including work with local transportation authorities and access departmental communications systems.

The Ministry is responsible for ensuring the security of airplanes, trains and watercraft, and it can seize illegal firearms, weapons, drugs and other prohibited items aboard these means of transport.

The Ministry is required to cooperate with contracted private security organisations to help protect persons and private property. It is also allowed to engage in specific entrepreneurial activities to adequately fund correctional facilities. It may also engage in scientific research, educational, and organisational activities.

The Ministry of Internal Affairs is responsible for abiding by the following international conventions and agreements signed by Kazakhstan:

- UN Convention on Road Traffic (adopted in Vienna in 1968)
- UN Convention on Road Signs and Signals (adopted in Vienna in 1968)
- EC Agreement concerning the adoption of uniform technical specifications for wheeled vehicles, equipment and parts, which can be fitted to and/or used on wheeled vehicles and the conditions for reciprocal recognition of approvals granted on the basis of these specifications (adopted in Vienna in 1958, ratified by Kazakhstan on June 30th, 2010)
- Agreement of the United Nations Economic Commission for Europe concerning the adoption of uniform technical specifications for wheeled vehicles, equipment and parts which can be fitted to and/or be used on wheeled vehicles and the conditions for reciprocal recognition of approvals granted on the basis of these specifications (“Revised 1958 Agreement,” adopted in 1997, ratified by Kazakhstan on June 30th, 2010)
- Agreement concerning the establishing of global technical regulations for wheeled vehicles, equipment and parts that can be fitted and/or be used on wheeled vehicles (adopted in Geneva in 1998, ratified by Kazakhstan on January 11, 2011).<sup>10</sup>

## Intelligence

Kazakhstan’s intelligence service has two main branches: the National Security Committee of Kazakhstan, which gathers intelligence inside the country, and the ‘Syrbar’ service, aimed at collecting foreign intelligence information.

The National Security Committee of Kazakhstan (KNC) was created by President Nazarbayev in July 1992 and has been restructured several times to date. The main legal act regulating KNC’s activities is presidential decree No 844 “On the transformation of the State Security Committee of Kazakhstan,” dated 13 July

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<sup>10</sup> <<http://zholpolice.kz/ru/legislation/page873/>> (accessed November 7, 2011).

1992. Several other legal acts regulating KNB's work have since been adopted. They include: "On countering the legalisation (laundering) of proceeds from illegal and terrorist financing" (August 2009) and the presidential decree "On measures to improve the efficiency of law enforcement and judicial system in the Republic of Kazakhstan" (August 2010).<sup>11</sup>

By law, the KNB is directly subordinated to the Kazakh people and their elected representatives, and accountable to the President (commander-in-chief). Its main tasks include:

- Participation in the development and implementation of public policy to ensure public safety of individuals, society and the state;
- Extraction of intelligence information in the interests of Kazakhstan;
- Detection, prevention and suppression of challenges to Kazakhstan's special services from organisations of foreign countries, as well as from individuals;
- Detection, prevention, and suppression of terrorism and other activities aimed at changing the constitutional order, violating the reliability of the country and undermining national security;
- Detection, suppression, and investigation of crimes;
- Providing communication facilities to the President, government bodies, Armed Forces, other troops and military formations in the country during both peace and war time;
- Organising cryptographic work for government institutes, organisations and military units;
- Ensuring the safety and protection of Kazakhstan's state borders.

The KNB is composed of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, the national counterintelligence services, the Border Guard, and the special purpose [military] units. The KNB is regulated by a Chairman appointed by the President with the consent of the Senate (upper chamber of the Parliament).

In February 2009 President Nazarbayev disbanded the intelligence service named 'Barlau' (which was in place since 1997) and created a new one, 'Syrbar' which is under his direct control. The goal of the new service is to protect the country's security and sovereignty. Like its predecessor, 'Syrbar' is the most se-

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<sup>11</sup> <[www.knb.kz/page.php?page\\_id=6&lang=1&page=1&quantity=10&fontsize=12&fontfamily=Times%20New%20Roman](http://www.knb.kz/page.php?page_id=6&lang=1&page=1&quantity=10&fontsize=12&fontfamily=Times%20New%20Roman)>.

cretive component of Kazakhstan's security structures and is part of the National Security Committee. Its main goals include:

- Obtaining intelligence information in the interests of the Republic of Kazakhstan;<sup>12</sup>
- Supplying the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan, the government state bodies of Kazakhstan with intelligence and analytical assessments related to politics, finance, economics, national security, human rights, and the environment;
- Promoting economic development and scientific and technical progress, as well as military-technical security, of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- Participating in the development and creation of conditions to achieve national security goals;
- Implementing measures aimed at preventing actual or potential harm to national interests and the security of the Republic of Kazakhstan abroad, including its organisations, institutions and individuals from special services and organisations of foreign states, individuals, terrorist and extremist organisations;
- Within the limits of its competence, providing security to diplomatic missions of the Republic of Kazakhstan and their staff abroad;
- Coordinating activities of other bodies of foreign intelligence;
- Performing other tasks determined by the laws and acts of the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The intelligence service is based on the following legal acts:

- Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan #279-IV "On making amendments and addenda to some legislative acts of Kazakhstan on National Security," adopted on May 27, 2010;
- Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan #277-IV "On Foreign Intelligence," adopted on May 22, 2010;
- The Constitution of the Republic of Kazakhstan;
- The law "On National Security of Kazakhstan;"
- Republic of Kazakhstan Law "On Operational-Investigative Activities;"

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<sup>12</sup> <<http://www.svr.kz/rus/today/aim/>> (last accessed November 8, 2011).

- President of the Republic of Kazakhstan's decree #739 "On Measures to strengthen the national security of Kazakhstan and further development of intelligence activities," adopted on February 17, 2009;
- President of the Republic of Kazakhstan's decree #741 "On the appointment of A.K. Zhankuliev as Director of Foreign Intelligence Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'Syrbar,'" adopted on February 17, 2009;
- President of the Republic of Kazakhstan's decree #773 "On Approval of the Foreign Intelligence Service of the Republic of Kazakhstan 'Syrbar,'" adopted on March 26, 2009;<sup>13</sup>

## **Military**

In April 2007 Kazakhstan adopted its third military doctrine since gaining independence in 1991 (the first was adopted in February 1993, the second in February 2000). The doctrine laid out ambitions and plans for military reform through the year 2010. According to the 2007 doctrine, Kazakhstan advocated the establishment of a system of international relations that minimises the importance of military force, allowing the role of the Armed Forces to be limited to deterring military conflicts. The doctrine guided Kazakhstan's Development Strategy until 2030 as well as the National Security Strategy. It promoted the development of civilian control over the Armed Forces and interagency collaboration for strategic planning.

The 2007 document defined two phases: During the first phase (2007-2008), Kazakhstan was to complete the deployment of troops in various strategic regions of the country, develop military infrastructure and secure the country's borders. During the second phase (2009-2010), Kazakhstan would provide military units with modern weapons, technologies, and equipment. All subsequent efforts were aimed at completing the technical upgrade of the army, developing a national military-industrial complex to produce modern weapons and military equipment, and ensuring compliance with international standards. The doctrine advocates intensified cooperation with the Russia-led Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) as well as with China, the United States, and NATO's Partnership for Peace (PfP) programme.

The President signed a new military doctrine in October 2011 (its fourth since 1991), cancelling the 2007 version of the document. Unlike the 2007 doctrine, the latest version abstains from locating Kazakhstan using a geopolitical context and moves directly to defining the doctrine's key components. First, it defines the key terms used in the document, such as military security of the Republic of Kazakh-

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<sup>13</sup> <<http://www.svr.kz/rus/today/standarts/>>.

stan, military conflict, war, armed conflict, low-intensity military conflict (border conflicts, actions of illegal armed groups and terrorist organisations within the country), medium-intensity military conflict (inter-state wars between weak states), high-intensity military conflict (war between several militarily and economically strong states), military organisation of the state, self-sustaining military group, strategic deployment of the Armed Forces, and military security threat.

The doctrine lays out a plan for the construction of lean, but technologically advanced and highly mobile armed forces. It states that Kazakhstan's Armed Forces are composed of Ground Troops (comprised of Airmobile troops, missile troops and artillery), Air Forces (Air Force and Air Defence Forces), and Navy.

The doctrine defines the main purposes of the country's armed forces, noting that other forces and military formations are developed to oppose modern military security threats, including asymmetric ones, as well as to fight international terrorism, cyber-terrorism, ethno-national and religious extremism, and illegal arms sales.

The 2011 doctrine has a defensive character, emphasizing the need to sustain domestic order by protecting the country's national interests and guaranteeing national security.<sup>14</sup> It states that Kazakhstan pursues good neighbourly relations, does not interfere in the domestic affairs of neighbouring states, desires the peaceful resolution of international disputes, abstains from the use of military force, and strengthens the state's Armed Forces based on forecasting threats, using the most effective tools to neutralise such threats. It also calls for measures to increase public relations to better connect citizens and soldiers.

Kazakhstan has complete formations of armed forces deployed in a number of strategic locations, while troops in the strategic western areas are currently being strengthened, according to the doctrine. The process of improving interagency collaboration on issues of state military security is continuing, including joint development of Ministry of Internal Affairs troops to protect individual, societal and state security, as well as to protect citizens from crime or other types of illegal infringement on their rights.

The Border Guard and National Security Committee are responsible for responding to border conflict in cooperation with the armed forces. Internal Troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are responsible for dealing with internal armed conflict; they, too, cooperate with the armed forces. In the event of aggression against Kazakhstan, or in times of medium- and high-intensity conflicts, the country deploys its armed forces in possible collaboration with the armed forces of 'friendly nations.'

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<sup>14</sup> <<http://www.nomad.su/?a=3-201111010034>> (last accessed March 4, 2012).

The main tasks of the armed forces, other troops and military units during war-time are to respond to aggression against Kazakhstan and its allies, defeating the forces of the aggressor, forcing the enemy to end hostilities, and restoring peace. In the event of high-intensity conflict, Kazakhstan will seek to resort to coalition forces and collective security within organisations in which Kazakhstan is a member.

Regarding the border guards, the doctrine explains that the National Security Committee is continuing to improve the national border security regime. To date, five regional agencies have been formed: 'Ongtustuk' (Northern), 'Soltystil' (Southern), 'Sygysh' (Eastern), 'Batys' (Western), and 'Beregovaya okhrana' (Coastal Guard). Importantly, the 2011 doctrine states that Kazakhstan is seeking to strengthen state border control to facilitate the function of the Russia-Belarus-Kazakhstan Customs Union.

The doctrine lists a number of ongoing improvements in the military security sector, including strengthening the national emergency prevention and response system, intensified training for the armed forces and mobile response reserves, and increasing the efficiency of national scientific and technological enterprises connected to the military security sector.

The doctrine confirms that Collective Rapid Reaction Forces were established as required by the country's membership in the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO). Kazakhstan participates in operative and combat training to further improve collaboration within the organisation. Furthermore, similar to the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation's (SCO) requirements, Kazakhstan contributes to the CSTO anti-terrorist efforts by participating in collective anti-terrorism drills. Overall, the doctrine confirms that Kazakhstan is "widening the spectrum of military and military-technological cooperation with Russia, China, the United States and other states in the interests of national and regional security." "Against the background of the worsening military-political situation in the world and the region, technological progress, improved forms and methods of warfare," the doctrine continues, "it is necessary to continuously increase the efficiency of state military organisations to resist modern military security threats."

The doctrine also forecasts the future military and political situation in Kazakhstan and the wider region. Specifically, the current situation in the world is characterized by high levels of dynamism and unpredictability, intensifying competition between leading military and regional powers, and growing separatism, nationalism and religious extremism. The doctrine emphasises the potential threat from violent actors that fail to comply with international law and thus destabilise the situation, provoking an arms race. The document does not specify what actors it

deems to be particularly threatening, but goes on to state that the threat of nuclear weapons proliferation is particularly dangerous.

The doctrine also highlights the uneven distribution of natural resources, growing disparity between developed and developing countries, and “other aspects of globalisation.”

Concerning the Central Asian region, Kazakhstan’s military doctrine outlines the following security problems: the deteriorating situation in Afghanistan, the region’s tense socio-political situation, existing border and territorial disputes, as well as water-sharing disputes, economic disparities, religious extremism, transnational drug trafficking and illegal migration. The doctrine also notes the continuing uncertainty about delimitation of the Caspian Sea. “The wish of some Caspian states to increase their own military potential and availability of contested oil fields can potentially escalate the military-political situation in the region.” This section of the document concludes that more and more external and internal security challenges are beginning to merge.

According to the doctrine, external threats include the following: socio-political instability in neighbouring states and the possibility of armed provocations; armed conflicts close to Kazakhstan’s borders; external interference in Kazakhstan’s domestic affairs through military-political pressures and informational and ‘psychological’ methods; increasing influence of military-political organisations that might challenge Kazakhstan’s security; increasing numbers of international terrorist and radical groups, growing religious extremist movements in neighbouring states; and some states’ illegal development of nuclear proliferation programmes.

Domestic sources of insecurity include extremist, nationalist, and separatist movements that seek to destabilise the country and change the constitutional order by resorting to armed confrontation, paramilitary groups, and illegal procurement of weapons and other items that can be used by terrorists.

Kazakhstan will resort to armed confrontation only under one of three conditions: external military aggression, threats to the country’s territorial integrity and sovereignty, and as required by international agreements. Leaders hope to draw on the capacity of the UN and other international organisations to help maintain international and regional security. The doctrine advocates expanding military and military-technical cooperation by participating in peacekeeping activities relevant to the UN Security Council and complying with bilateral and multilateral treaties on arms control and proliferation and agreements on confidence-building measures.

The doctrine states that in the medium term Kazakhstan will continue the build-up and improvement of its armed forces and other types of forces to sustain stability inside the country and to fulfil its goals in any future low- and medium-intensity conflicts. Further development of the armed forces would require the following:

- Converting the Joint Chiefs of the Defence Ministry into the General Staff of the armed forces and strengthening the latter's role in joint planning, interagency coordination and cooperation;
- Optimising and improving the structure of the armed forces, other troops and military formations to strengthen their military component;
- Establishing self-contained groups of troops, capable of providing military security in their geographic area of responsibility and responding to potential threats to military security at strategic locations;
- Improving the system of command and control by introducing automated control systems and telecommunication facilities and expanding the network of fixed and mobile military command posts;
- Standardizing weapons and military equipment of the armed forces, other troops and military formations, primarily communications and control;
- Establishing an effective system for protecting information and communication systems;
- Improving air and missile defence;
- Increasing combat effectiveness by equipping troops with modern weapons and technologies, including precision-guided weapons; introducing facilities, information, and technology for modern combat training;
- Creating integrated structures of material and technical support to the armed forces, other troops and military units along regional lines and in accordance with plans for their use;
- Improving the state procurement system for centralised procurement of armament, military and special equipment, and other material resources for the armed forces; improving the rational use of available funding;
- Modernising military education and training, developing military science by taking into account international best practices;
- Improving operational equipment and military infrastructure in the Caspian Sea region.

During peacetime the armed forces are expected to be able to respond to low-intensity conflicts. Other obligations during peacetime include:

- Maintaining the combat potential, combat and mobilisation readiness to the extent that forces are ready to engage in low-intensity conflict on the state border or within the state's territory;
- Protecting air space and strategic areas at the state border;

- Protecting Kazakhstan's national interests in the territorial sea, continental shelf and the economic zone;
- Protecting critical and strategic targets;
- Ensuring the readiness of Armed Forces for strategic deployment in the event of medium- and high-intensity conflict;
- Preventing and combating sabotage and terrorist acts;
- Demonstrating a willingness to take decisive action to stabilise the political situation in any area of the country;
- Taking action during a state of emergency;
- Participating in the prevention and mitigation of accidents, environmental disasters, and various emergencies, as well as in assisting the population living in territories affected by natural or man-made disasters;
- Participating in peacekeeping, humanitarian and other operations in accordance with Kazakhstan's international obligations.

The main tasks of the armed forces, other troops and military units during war-time are to respond to aggression against Kazakhstan and its allies, defeat the forces of the aggressor, force the enemy to end hostilities, and restore peace. In the event of high-intensity conflict, Kazakhstan will seek to resort to coalition forces and collective security within organisations in which Kazakhstan is a member.

In international cooperation Kazakhstan's military doctrine prioritises the following directions:

- Strengthening trust and openness in the military sector in the region;
- Providing all possible assistance to strengthening the international regime of non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and compliance with the international trade rules in arms, military equipment and technologies;
- Completing the formation of legislation in the sphere of military and military-technical cooperation with CSTO members;
- Deepening the strategic partnership within the SCO on the basis of common military and political interests;
- Expanding military and military-technical cooperation with the United States and the European Union;
- Developing national peace-building, participating in joint exercises, implementing comprehensive support of peacekeeping operations;

- Using peacekeeping troops in training techniques and in accordance with NATO standards for interoperability;
- Cooperating with foreign companies, on a reciprocal basis, to supply arms and military equipment and create joint ventures in Kazakhstan.

In developing international cooperation, Kazakhstan considers the following mid-term priorities:

- Improving the regulatory framework for the construction of a military coalition;
- Increasing the effectiveness of joint planning for the coalition forces;
- Preparing units to carry out tasks that would prepare them for collective defence;
- Improving interaction between forces of various states to prepare them for collective security action;
- Creating a unified air defence system with the CSTO member states;
- Strengthening joint efforts to combat international terrorism, religious extremism, separatism and drug trafficking;
- Participating in efforts to prevent the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction;
- Creating joint ventures to repair weapons and military equipment and conducting joint research and development and modernisation of military equipment;
- Presenting opportunities for military training and scientific research.

The doctrine emphasises that Kazakhstan's chief priority is to strengthen collective and national security through international joint peacekeeping activities.

Peacekeeping activities are important for promoting the military and political interests of Kazakhstan in international affairs. The doctrine further states that military collaboration raises Kazakhstan's prestige on the international arena and pledges, "The Republic of Kazakhstan will take an active part in peacekeeping operations under UN auspices." Furthermore, by participating in peacekeeping operations Kazakhstan will remain impartial and neutral, abstaining from developing a special relationship with any of the conflicting parties. Kazakhstan will only participate in peacekeeping activities if they are sanctioned by the UN Security Council and ensure regional and international security. Any decision to send Kazakh troops abroad must be ratified by the Parliament and be in accordance with the Constitution.

The doctrine states that military procurement for Kazakhstan's Armed Forces and other troops is done to ensure the military security of the state and the implementation of the country's military policy. It aims at achieving the following goals:

- Preparing the military for mobilization and martial law in time of war;
- Financing the armed forces at a minimum level of one percent of GDP;
- Improving the military-technical base;
- Developing a national system of mobilisation preparation;
- Improving legislation regulating relations in the military-economic sector;
- Funding the armed forces and other troops to ensure military security;
- Conducting national military research and development and purchase of defence technologies;
- Accelerating the development of domestic high-tech defence industries;
- Improving domestic enterprises that produce military and dual-use goods;
- Modernising and upgrading arms and military equipment;
- Engaging in cooperative international military-technical activities in bilateral and multilateral formats;
- Expanding cooperation among domestic and foreign enterprises to develop, manufacture and repair aircraft, armoured vehicles, missiles and artillery, ammunition and other types of military equipment;
- Attracting investment, enhancing innovation for high-quality scientific and technical industries;
- Exporting domestically produced military industrial goods; and
- Improving public acceptance of products produced for defence purposes.



# KYRGYZSTAN

Kyrgyzstan experienced two regime changes in the past six years – one in March 2010 and a second in April 2010. When he came to power in 2005, President Kurmanbek Bakiyev centralised the political system and appointed loyal supporters to key posts, including the heads of security and military institutions. His appointments distorted the traditional hierarchy in military and police structures, as he distributed positions according to personal loyalty to the regime, as opposed to rank or qualifications. Bakiyev was ousted in 2010, and the new government tried to move away from some of the corrupt practices promoted by his regime. In June 2010 Kyrgyzstan held a constitutional referendum in which the majority of the population supported adopting a parliamentary system of governance. The new Constitution paved the way for parliamentary elections in October 2010. Five parties were elected into the Parliament as a result of free and competitive elections.

In March 2011, under then Acting President Roza Otunbayeva's supervision and with international assistance, Kyrgyzstan tried to improve the transparency of all government structures by creating special Public Advisory Councils (PACs). Council members are representatives of NGOs and independent observers. PACs monitor the activities of all power institutions and have full access to all of the government's records. For instance, Council members overseeing the work of the Ministry of Internal Affairs have received special permits allowing them to visit any detention facility.

According to Otunbayeva's decree, PACs are an advisory and supervisory body established to ensure citizen participation in efforts to supervise the executive branch. PACs are created to develop an effective interaction between government agencies and the public, taking into account public opinion in formulating and implementing state policy.

PACs are permanent volunteer institutions that produce advisory decisions. Their activities are based on free discussion on all matters and collective decision-making. PACs operate on the basis of the Constitution and other regulations. They are further entitled to evaluate the effectiveness of services provided by govern-

ment agencies and they ensure that government expenditures are transparent and efficient.

PACs participate in the development and assessment of government decisions. Guided by public opinion, they develop proposals for improving government plans or decisions; consider citizens' initiatives related to the government; help organise public discussion; assist in informing the public about the activities of a public body; as well as study and summarise public opinion on important issues related to the activities of government agencies. PACs are responsible for preparing and publishing annual reports about their own activities.

PACs have the right to involve local authorities, local and international experts and representatives of scientific organisations, enterprises, institutions and organisations in their work. They can further organise seminars, conferences, public hearings and other events. PACs are allowed to request and receive information necessary for their operations from central and local governments' bodies. They inform the public and higher authorities if they believe their recommendations were unfairly rejected by relevant public authorities; attract donors and other sponsorship for their activities; and participate in meetings held by government agencies.

The President forms PACs based on recommendations from civil society, academia, business associations, and experts. Each PAC is elected for a term of two years. Individuals cannot serve on more than one PAC or for more than two consecutive terms. Candidates for PACs cannot have any close personal or professional relationship (contractor, licensee, etc.) with the management of the relevant agency, and they must have an impeccable reputation within the business community.

A PAC member may withdraw from the council at his/her own request. Members can also be removed from PACs if they miss PAC meetings three or more times without reasonable excuse, if health problems make them unable to participate in PAC activities, or if prohibited personal or professional ties to the government are discovered or created. Results of the PACs meetings and discussion are regularly reported and communicated to the public through mass media.

In October 2011 Almazbek Atambayev was elected President of Kyrgyzstan. The elections were praised by the international community as free and fair with only minor irregularities. It remains unclear however, if Atambayev, who was elected for one six-year term, will maintain his predecessors' course of reform. Atambayev's opponents fear that he will seek to centralize the current parliamentary system.

## Judicial Sector

Bakiyev installed his loyal supporters in the judicial sector and little attention was paid to reforming it. After he was ousted in April 2010, the new government tried to reform the judicial sector, but these efforts so far have yielded few results. The Ministry of Justice played an important role in revising the Interim Government's draft Constitution that was approved by referendum in June 2010. The Ministry also helped citizens understand the new Constitution by setting up special call centres.

Following bloodshed in southern Kyrgyzstan in June 2010, the government sought to identify and prosecute the perpetrators of the ethnic-based violence. Roughly 300 cases were investigated in 2010, but only a small number have reached the courts. The vast majority of the cases are stalled because defendants, witnesses, and lawyers all feel threatened, and local judges refrain from taking potentially explosive cases, fearing further instability.

So far, the country's law-enforcement agencies have predominantly arrested ethnic Uzbeks, despite the fact that most of the victims of violence were also Uzbeks. The number of people sentenced to life in prison, the harshest penalty, more than doubled in 2011. Thirty-nine people received life sentences in 2011, compared to 15 in 2010. Nearly all of the life sentences were handed down to individuals convicted of instigating violence during the Osh attacks.

To increase the impartiality of the judicial sector, Acting President Otunbayeva rotated police officers and judges between northern and southern Kyrgyzstan. The Acting President sought to appoint 445 new judges with recommendations from the Parliament and independent observers. She created a special council consisting of members of civic groups to observe the nomination process. However, the first few rounds of judicial appointments took place in a highly politicised environment, and the group of MPs responsible for choosing new judges seemed to ignore recommendations from civil society groups.

In July 2010, roughly a month after ethnic conflict in southern Kyrgyzstan broke out, the OSCE announced its decision to deploy a special 52-member Police Advisory Group (PAG) to the country. At first, senior security officials welcomed such foreign assistance. Interior Minister Kubatbek Baibolov welcomed the OSCE presence in Kyrgyzstan, arguing that it was the only international force that responded to the country's plea for help by investigating the Osh events. However, other security and political officials spoke against the OSCE's potential mission in Kyrgyzstan. After months of negotiations, the OSCE deployed 37 PAG members.

## Police

Kyrgyzstan has tried to reform other law-enforcement institutions as well. Bishkek has looked to Georgia's model of police reform, which converted Soviet-style *milit-siya* into street police. Deputy Prime Minister Shamil Atakhanov visited Georgia to observe their programme and is leading the efforts to implement a similar programme in Kyrgyzstan. He was able to secure 10 million soms (\$ 220,000) for this programme from the state budget and hopes to see results in the coming months.

The OSCE and Kyrgyzstan have been collaborating on police reform since 2002.<sup>15</sup> In August 2003 the OSCE and the Kyrgyz government signed a Memorandum of Understanding on transforming the Ministry of Interior. This marked the beginning of the restructuring of the police. Eight critical areas were identified:

- Improving the quality of investigations through the bodies of internal affairs (police);
- Strengthening the forces and means to curb drug trafficking;
- Creating modern and efficient service centres for emergency calls;
- Establishing a framework to analyse operational information from the Ministry;
- Improving the system of radio communications for criminal investigation;
- Strengthening the capacity of law enforcement bodies in conflict prevention and techniques for the peaceful resolution of social unrest;
- Implementing pilot projects in community-based policing in Bishkek; and
- Strengthening the Academy of the Ministry of Interior.

Under the Memorandum, the OSCE trains and helps the Ministry of Interior to develop a community-based system that would meet international standards of policing. International experts are invited to train Ministry of Interior personnel, while Kyrgyz officials visit courses abroad. Overall, between 2003-2008 roughly 4,000 Ministry of Interior employees were trained within the OSCE reform programme. In addition, the Ministry received 88 vehicles and roughly 200 computer stations, and five training centres were established within the Ministry's Academy. All this is part of the OSCE programme.

In March 2008, the Ministry of Interior and OSCE began to implement the following projects:

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<sup>15</sup> <[http://www.mvd.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=184&Itemid=68&lang=ru](http://www.mvd.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=184&Itemid=68&lang=ru)>.

- Improving the legal framework, data collection, and legal support;
- Improving human resource capacity and the Ministry press office;
- Improving the education system within the Ministry;
- Improving the work of the criminal police and community police; and
- Integrating international law into the national legislation.

During 2008-2010 special emphasis was made on improving information sharing within the Ministry of Interior and between the ministry and the citizens. According to the plan, the Ministry of Interior was to set up an online database containing key documents as well as biometric data to improve searches based on the physical characteristics of suspects.<sup>16</sup>

Other projects were created to improve the professionalism of Ministry of Interior personnel, such as strengthening the capacity of the Chief of Staff of the Ministry of Interior to monitor the activities of all units, analyse decision-making processes, and improving psychological counselling for the Ministry's personnel. Furthermore, ten projects were developed to improve the Police Academy, including establishing a research institute within the Ministry.

To improve the work of community-based policing, the Ministry of Interior planned to improve investigative units, forensic departments, the emergency '102' call center, analytical services, crime labs, and programmes to prevent crime, religious extremism, juvenile delinquency, domestic violence and theft of livestock in rural areas.

In October 2011, the OSCE and Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of Interior produced a white paper outlining recommendations for police reform for the period of 2012-2015. The white paper is not yet available to the public, but both OSCE representatives and Kyrgyz officials call the document a road-map for future changes in the Ministry of Interior. Parliamentarians, government employees, NGO activists, and independent experts participate in regular meetings with the OSCE and the Ministry to discuss the reform. As a first step, the Kyrgyz government plans to rename the *militsiya* 'police.'<sup>17</sup>

Aside from collaborating with the OSCE in reforming the police, in 2008 Kyrgyzstan began to receive assistance from USAID within the UN Millennium Goals as well as from the EU and the UNDP's Border Management Programme in Central Asia, and the EU's Central Asia Drug Action Programme.

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<sup>16</sup> <[http://www.mvd.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=185&Itemid=69&lang=ru](http://www.mvd.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=185&Itemid=69&lang=ru)>.

<sup>17</sup> "Kyrgyzstan Plans 'Police' Name Change," RFE/RL, 8 November 2011.

## Intelligence

Kyrgyzstan's intelligence services consist of the State Committee for National Security (SCNS – Gosudarstvennyi komitet nacional'noi bezopasnosti) and the Ministry of Interior. The SCNS, in turn, has the 'Alfa' anti-terrorist unit and the department of military operations, 'Kalkan.'

The Interim Government disbanded the State Security Service (SSS – Slujba gosudarstvennoy ohrany) soon after the April 2010 regime change. Prior to that, the SSS played a leading role in collecting intelligence in Kyrgyzstan and beyond. The SSS's main task was to protect top state officials, visiting heads of foreign states, and foreign delegations on the territory of Kyrgyzstan. President Bakiyev created the special division 'Arstan' in late 2009 to ensure the personal safety of top government officials and the division was placed under his direct control and separated from all other military institutions. Aside from protecting Bakiyev personally, the new force had the capacity to act as an offensive institution against the regime's opponents. Furthermore, this security structure was able to protect the President should other branches of the military and security turn against the regime.

The SCNS's mission is based on the constitutional laws "On the martial law" and "On state of emergency," the law "On national security of the Kyrgyz Republic," the National Security Act, as well as the following laws: "On universal military duty of KR citizens in the military and alternative service," "On operational-search activity," "On tracing communication networks," "On telecommunication and postal communication," "On postal communication," "On combating terrorism financing and legalization (laundering) of illegally acquired funds," "On public service," "On border guard service," "On state border" and "On countering extremist activity."

In August 2005, shortly after Bakiyev was elected President, Kyrgyzstan adopted a controversial law on preventing and fighting extremism.<sup>18</sup> Some NGOs demanded the law be revoked or at least toned down. Specifically, the law grants the SCNS authority to trace the activity of public associations, religious organisations, businesses, institutions, as well as the media (regardless of ownership) and individuals suspected of planning, organising, preparing and/or attempting to violently change the constitutional system, criticise state security operations, seize or usurp state authority, create illegal armed groups, take part in terrorist activities, incite racial, ethnic or religious strife and social discord, and damage the dignity of the country. Furthermore, the law allows for the prosecution of anyone involved in

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<sup>18</sup> <[http://www.gknb.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=61:-q-q&catid=25:legislation&Itemid=56](http://www.gknb.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=61:-q-q&catid=25:legislation&Itemid=56)>.

riots, hooliganism and vandalism motivated by ideological, political, racial, ethnic or religious hatred or enmity, as well as hate or hostility toward a particular social group. Finally, it bans propaganda claiming the superiority or inferiority of citizens on the grounds of their social, racial, ethnic, religious or linguistic identity (including Nazi attributes or symbols). The law asserts that all activities to enforce this law must be carried out with respect to human rights and freedoms.

Based on the above statutes, the law also seeks to prevent extremist activities by warning individuals and organisations about the illegality of their activities and by using the media to inform the public about extremist activities in the country. The law prohibits publishing and/or using mass communication services to disseminate extremist ideas. Although the law claims that international collaboration in this field is vital, it does not specify how intelligence contacts are to be built with other states and international organisations.

Between 2005 and 2010 Bakiyev adopted a number of other laws restricting criminal, terrorist, and extremist activities. The Parliament elected in October 2010 plans to review these laws, but most of them were still intact in late 2011. In June 2006 the law "On combating terrorism financing and legalization [laundering] of illegally acquired funds" was adopted.<sup>19</sup> Its main goal is "preventing and combating the financing of terrorism [extremism] and the legalisation [laundering] of proceeds from criminal activities." It also calls for international cooperation in this area. Under this law, banks, financial institutions and individuals representing financial interests of other parties are responsible for collecting data and reporting to the SCNS any suspicious activities that might involve money laundering or financing of terrorism. Financial institutions and individuals are also to use special procedures for any transactions involving at least 1,000,000 soms (\$ 22,222, \$ 1 = 45 soms).

## **Military**

Kyrgyzstan plans to issue a new military doctrine in 2015. The current doctrine was adopted in March 2002 and supposed to be in force until 2010. The April 2010 regime change delayed these plans by creating a new document and among the changes discussed for the next few years was placing the Border Guard under the control of the SCNS.

In June 2009 Bakiyev signed a decree "On Regulations of the Ministry of Defence" that specified the Ministry's functions. According to the decree, the Ministry is responsible for managing the armed forces in accordance with the Constitution, the President's decrees, and government regulations.

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<sup>19</sup> <[http://www.gknk.kg/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=65:2011-09-29-19-37-57&catid=25:legislation&Itemid=56](http://www.gknk.kg/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=65:2011-09-29-19-37-57&catid=25:legislation&Itemid=56)>.

The decree also makes the Ministry responsible for the following:

- Participating in the drafting of the National Security Concept, Military Doctrine, and mobilisation plans;
- Participating in developing regulations in the field of defence and their enforcement;
- Training staff, government agencies, and local governments for joint armed defence of the state under the leadership of the president;
- Organising a unified system of combat and mobilisation readiness of the armed forces and other government agencies;
- Ensuring combat readiness;
- Organising military service, military personnel training, and the development of military sciences;
- Guiding strategic planning of the development, training and employment of the armed forces;
- Organising security of the airspace and protection of important state, military and economic facilities against air strikes;
- Organising and managing comprehensive procurement of the Defence Ministry;
- Leading training and psychological education of Defence Ministry personnel;
- Implementing a unified military-technical policy to improve weapons and military equipment;
- Identifying the needs of the armed forces; ensuring comprehensive support of the armed forces in peacetime and wartime;
- Cooperating with the military leadership in foreign states and international organisations on issues of collective defence;
- Participating in efforts to combat terrorism in coordination with other government bodies within their powers;
- Participating in emergency management in accordance with the country's legislation;
- Providing social and legal protection of service members and their families, and persons discharged from military service;
- Participating in the maintenance of the martial law regime in conjunction with other government institutes;

- Provisioning and training of military personnel;
- Organising the operation of military attachés and other representatives of the armed forces serving abroad;
- Developing proposals for state spending on defence;
- Organising territorial defence and protecting the state border;
- Participating in organising and conducting anti-terrorist operations;
- Participating in emergency management and provision of security to citizens;
- Protecting the state from nuclear, chemical, and biological threats;
- Managing the construction and improvement of training facilities, organisation of support for the troops' materiel, training and visual aids, combat training;
- Organising collective sports activities in compounds and units;
- Controlling collaboration with contractors who supply the defence sector with weapons and military equipment, food, clothing and other resources;
- Developing and adopting the rules of wearing military uniforms;
- Developing and implementing plans for military and military-technical cooperation;
- Implementing export, import, and re-export of military goods, including weapons, military equipment, ammunition, military-technical and logistical assets;
- Participating in the creation and accumulation of material resources in reserve mobilisation and the state of irreducible reserve;
- Participating in the implementation of export controls on weapons, military equipment, environmentally hazardous materials, and other products and services for military use;
- Organising educational programmes for moral, psychological, and informational support of Defence Ministry personnel;
- Ensuring social and legal protection of military personnel, Defence Ministry civilian personnel, military retirees, their families, and families of dead soldiers.

The decree further states that the General Staff of the Armed Forces is the leading authority in the military command within the Defence Ministry. In peacetime, the General Staff of the armed forces complies with orders from the Presi-

dent, while the Defence Minister organises and conducts strategic planning, organisational development, training, use of the armed forces and government agencies engaged in the defence and takes part in the planning and preparation of defence. In times of war, the General Staff of the Armed Forces becomes the Defence Council's working body.

The Defence Minister controls the General Staff of the Armed Forces. The Minister of Defence must send the following to the President for review and approval:

- Plans for building the armed forces, mobilisation deployment, operational equipment for defence, deployment of troops and military facilities, territorial defence, military security, decisions on mobilisation and reduction in military availability of controls, formations, military units and institutions and the regulations on territorial defence;
- Proposals for the establishment, operation and dismantling of territorial units of the armed forces, the main departments in the Central Office and the General Staff of the Armed Forces, decisions on the number of military posts, cadre politics, decisions on deploying peacekeeping forces;
- Bills on defence.

The Minister of Defence is to send the following to the government for review and approval:

- Defence spending proposals;
- Proposals for purchasing new and modernised armaments and military equipment, as well as removal from service of obsolete designs;
- Bills on defence;
- Proposals on the establishment, restructuring and abolition of military schools, military departments at universities, and training programmes for citizens.

The Defence Minister must follow the President's command in the event of a sudden armed attack on the Kyrgyz Republic and take independent decisions through the General Staff of the Armed Forces (with immediate report to President) on combat readiness and put into effect the armed forces mobilisation and deployment plan. On the basis of the presidential decree and government decision, the Minister of Defence orders the dismissal of conscripts and officers from the armed forces who have served their duty and calls up citizens for military or alternative service. The Minister also:

- Prepares and presents information and analysis related to defence to the President;
- Organises and coordinates collaboration between the military command and government authorities;
- Approves the organisational structure of main departments and divisions of the Defence Ministry and Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces, units, agencies, military recruitment offices;
- Allocates responsibilities to the Deputy Defence Minister and other Defence Ministry officials;
- Approves the Defence Ministry's Research and Development plans;
- Approves the distribution of major weapons and military equipment, capital expenditures and other logistical support;
- Approves and cancels purchases of arms, military equipment and other material for subordinate units;
- Approves the plans for medical, logistic and technical support, annual title lists for major construction and repair, maintenance facilities, barracks, and housing;
- Supervises the work of Defence Ministry staff; manages overall cadre politics;
- Signs international documents related to defence.

In 2009 Kyrgyzstan adopted a new National Security Concept.<sup>20</sup> It stipulates that Kyrgyzstan seeks a multi-directional foreign policy to sustain its own security. To fight international terrorism, separatism, and religious extremism, to curb drug trafficking and organised crime, to prevent environmental risks, and the proliferation of WMD, the country collaborates with the CIS, CSTO, SCO, OSCE, EU, etc. At the same time Kyrgyzstan prohibits the use of its own territory for plotting an attack against another state. Kyrgyzstan pursues three main security goals: energy security, environmental security, and economic development.

The concept stresses that transnational organised crime and the shadow economy fuelled by the drugs trade are the country's most pressing security problems. The concept further notes that respecting human rights and democratic principles is an important part of national security.

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<sup>20</sup> <[www.mil.kg/ru/component/content/article/14-koncepcii-i-programmy/49-koncepcija-nacionalnoj-bezopasnosti-kyrgyzskoj-respubliki.html](http://www.mil.kg/ru/component/content/article/14-koncepcii-i-programmy/49-koncepcija-nacionalnoj-bezopasnosti-kyrgyzskoj-respubliki.html)>.

According to the concept, lax control of the borders with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and the continuing process of border delimitation with these states represent a significant threat to individuals, society, and the state as a whole. It warns that the Fergana Valley contains a high potential for conflict because of the very high population density (600-700 people per square kilometre). The presence of ethnic enclaves further complicates the negotiation process between Kyrgyzstan and neighbouring states.

Although this concept has not been officially changed by the post-Bakiyev regime in Kyrgyzstan, the country's newly elected President, Almazbek Atambayev, is expected to issue a new set of SSR documents in 2012-2013.

# TAJIKISTAN

Tajikistan's incumbent President Emomali Rakhmon can theoretically stay in power until 2020. The country has the lowest GDP per capita among former Soviet states and is the most dependent on labour migrant remittances in the world. According to estimates, in 2011, 30-40 % of Tajikistan's GDP was based on remittances.

Tajikistan has few documents on SSR available through public venues. Most of the legislation posted online dates back to the 1990s and early 2000s. Reports about changes in the law are sometimes reported in Tajik media, generally when those changes are supported by the international community. For instance, Tajikistan decision to rename *militsya* to *politsiya* was announced in August 2011 in newspaper stories that referred to OSCE officials. The bill was not available online or in print for the broader public to review. Tajikistan's Interior Ministry maintains its website only in the Tajik language, while the Defence Ministry does not have a website at all.

## Justice Sector

The country's main law regulating the work of courts and judges, "On courts of the Republic of Tajikistan," was adopted in 2003. Few amendments have been made since, with the most recent in 2010. According to the law, public authorities do not have the right to impose obligations on judges, while judicial power is exercised through constitutional, civil, economic, administrative and criminal proceedings.

The court system in the Republic of Tajikistan is intended to protect the rights and freedoms of individuals, other countries, organisations, and institutions as proclaimed by the Constitution. All judges in Tajikistan have the equal status; they differ only in terms of jurisdiction and competence. Judges are independent from other state bodies and subject only to the Constitution. The independence of judges is guaranteed by immunity, prosecution for interfering with the activities of the judiciary, and the right of judges to retire or transfer to another job. A judge has the right to privacy, and his immunity guarantee also applies to his home and office space, means of transport and communications, correspondence, personal possession and documents. Only the Supreme Court of Tajikistan has jurisdiction over cases alleging illegal activities on the part of judges.

The judge must strictly observe Tajikistan's Constitution, constitutional laws and other laws. The judge must avoid anything that might diminish the authority of the judiciary. Judges are elected or appointed for a term of 10 years. Municipal and district courts, judges in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region (GBAO), regional judges, and those working in Dushanbe City are appointed by the President and the Justice Council of the country. Tajikistan's Constitutional Court is the judicial authority charged with protecting the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan. The organisation and procedure of the Constitutional Court is defined by the Constitutional Law.

The Supreme Court is the highest judicial authority and exercises oversight for military tribunals across the country. The Supreme Court is elected by the National Assembly and the Assembly also establishes the number of judges. The Plenum of the Supreme Court consists of the Supreme Court chairman, his first deputy, and the Attorney General. Plenum Resolutions are adopted by open vote and require the support of two-thirds of the Plenum members.

Tajikistan's military courts process cases related to the country's Armed Forces, Ministry of Interior, the Border Guard, the Ministry of Security, the Ministry of Emergencies and Civil Defence, military command and other military formations. Cases related to military units of other countries stationed in Tajikistan are processed in accordance with interstate agreements.

Military courts are organised within the armed forces and function across the country; they are made up of military collegiums of the Supreme Court. Military courts are charged with protecting the rights and freedoms of servicemen, citizens undergoing military training, and military units.

Military courts deal with:

- Crimes committed by military personnel;
- Crimes committed by officers, warrant officers, sergeants, and soldiers of all power ministries and the National Guard;
- Crimes against the established order of service, committed by officers serving in correctional facilities;
- Espionage;
- Criminal cases filed by military units, institutions, organisations, and other entities;
- Property crimes; and
- Cases in which citizens file charges against military personnel.

Any offences committed by persons prior to their conscription or enlistment are handled by the Supreme Court, GBAO courts, regional courts, Dushanbe City courts, and town and district courts. Garrison military courts have jurisdiction over cases involving military personnel at the lieutenant colonel or higher military rank. The Supreme Court's military collegium deals with cases involving colonels and higher ranks; it is allowed to impose capital punishment. Military courts are financed by the state budget.

The Defence Ministry grants military ranks to the judges of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court. Higher military ranks (colonel of the military courts) are assigned to judges by the Defence Minister based on recommendations of the Judicial Council Chairman. The President assigns the highest ranks based on the joint recommendation of the Defence Minister and the Supreme Court Chairman.

## Police

The OSCE office in Dushanbe, together with a US government contractor, completed in 2010 a Community Policing and Law Enforcement Development Programme in Tajikistan. The project aimed at developing new, or strengthening current relationships between community members, local government officials, and police, "by creating multiple forums for interaction and involvement, including Community Policing Partnership Teams."<sup>21</sup> The project created a national implementation team (comprised of international professional staff and local experts), implemented a community policing programme (in Rasht Valley, Soghd, and Khatlon Oblast); identified community concerns and developed action plans through facilitated community meetings to address these problems; and created a Tajikistan-specific model for further expansion of the Community Policing Programme throughout the country.

Tajikistan became interested in police reform after a series of guerrilla attacks in the country in 2008-2009 in the Rasht Valley. Reportedly guerrilla troops were former members of the the United Tajik Opposition, the party that fought government troops during the civil war in 1992-1997. Tensions continued in summer 2010 when in a clash between guerrilla troops and government forces, 25 soldiers were killed. A large cache of weapons and explosives were later found in the area that according to the Tajiki government were meant to be used against the ruling regime in Dushanbe. In 2010 Tajikistan's president launched an ambitious programme to address instability in various parts of the country caused by insurgent groups and help build trust between police forces and the local population. As part of its police reform, Tajikistan has moved to rename *militiya* to *politsiya*.

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<sup>21</sup> USDOS and The Emergence Group handout on Tajikistan.

## Intelligence

Tajikistan's intelligence services include the Security Council (Sovet Bezopasnosti), Ministry of Security (Ministerstvo Bezopasnosti), and Drugs Control Agency (Agenstvo po kontrolyu za narkotikami). The Ministry of Security is still considered to be the main agency performing security intelligence services. However, the legal basis for its functions either has not been amended since 2002 or its revised versions are not available through public services. The law "On intelligence of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Tajikistan" dates back to December 2002.<sup>22</sup> According to Tajikistan's Ministry of Justice, the country collaborates with the ODIHR, the U.S. Helsinki Committee, and the U.S. Embassy on intelligence.<sup>23</sup>

No other information is available on Tajikistan intelligence services.

## Military

Tajikistan adopted its first military doctrine in October 2005. Since then, the doctrine has not been changed; instead the law 'On Defence' was updated on several occasions, most recently in 2010. The doctrine presents a strategy for preventing and resisting aggression and armed conflict. It highlights the defensive nature of the doctrine and confirms a consistent commitment to peace with a firm determination to defend the national interests and military security of the Republic of Tajikistan and its allies.

The doctrine further states that Tajikistan seeks to resolve any inter-state disputes and conflicts through political channels. Therefore, according to the doctrine, Tajikistan will not use its armed forces against another state, except in response to aggression against it or its allies; it further states that Tajikistan has no territorial claims on neighbouring states. In the future, the country will try to prevent the deployment and testing of nuclear weapons on its territory, seek the destruction of existing nuclear, chemical and biological weapons, and prevent the export of materials and technologies to develop weapons of mass destruction. The doctrine delineates the purpose and tasks of the Armed Forces of Tajikistan. It also notes that the state bears full responsibility for the defence of the country and, in case of war, provides for the imposition of martial law to protect the population, state sovereignty, and territorial integrity.

The law defines the framework and organisation of defence in Tajikistan, the powers of state and local governments, enterprises, institutions, organisations, officials, and citizens in the area of defence. Among the latest changes included in

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<sup>22</sup> <[http://www.adh-geneva.ch/RULAC/pdf\\_state/Law-on-Military-Intelligence-TJ.pdf](http://www.adh-geneva.ch/RULAC/pdf_state/Law-on-Military-Intelligence-TJ.pdf)>.

<sup>23</sup> <[http://www.minjust.tj/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=28](http://www.minjust.tj/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=14&Itemid=28)>.

the law was the following statement: “Defence is organised and implemented in accordance with the Constitution, legislation, and the Military Doctrine of Tajikistan and international legal acts recognised by Tajikistan.”

The defence sector, as specified in the law’s 2010 amendments, includes the State Committee on National Security, the National Guard, the Committee of Emergencies and Civil Defence, the Ministry of Interior, and the Office of Correctional Affairs under the Ministry of Justice. The law further notes that the armed forces of other states can participate in defending Tajikistan on the basis of inter-state agreements.

Importantly, amendments made in 2010 also include several statutes on the Parliament’s rights and responsibilities in sustaining the country’s defence. The President is required to enact and cancel regulations related to wartime and must submit them for approval to both chambers of Parliament. The President must obtain the Parliament’s approval to deploy the armed forces to areas of armed conflict and to appoint the Defence Minister and Head of the Chief of Staff of the Armed Forces.

The Parliament, in turn, is responsible for making decisions regarding the defence policy in accordance with the country’s legislative base. Furthermore, both chambers must perform the following duties:

- Follow the President’s directions of defence and state policy in the military field;
- Allow the use of the armed forces abroad to meet Tajikistan’s international obligations;
- Approve the President’s allocation of military ranks;
- Approve the President’s decrees on the introduction of martial law and emergency regulations; use of the armed forces and other military formations in case of a threat or occurrence of armed conflicts that can threaten the territorial integrity and constitutional order; declaration of a state of war; the establishment and management of local government during wartime; ending the war and making peace; the appointment of the Defence Minister;
- Address issues related to border management.

Tajikistan Parliament’s upper chamber has the following powers:

- Commend the lower chamber’s laws in the military field;
- Give consent to the appointment and dismissal of the Chief Military Prosecutor of Tajikistan (the Deputy Attorney General);
- Elect or recall judges of the Military Collegium of the Supreme Court;

- Consider lifting immunity of judges of the Military Collegium.

Tajikistan Parliament's lower chamber has the following powers:

- Produce laws in the defence sector;
- Adopt regulations in the defence sector and supervise their implementation;
- Approve the overall structure and size of the armed forces and other military formations;
- Approve the military doctrine and the budget allocation for defence;
- Ratify and denounce international treaties in the military field;
- Set military ranks;
- Adopt the military oath, military regulations, and military banners and flags of the armed forces.

Importantly, since the end of Tajikistan's civil war in 1997 and restructuring of the national armed forces, the number of troops has considerably decreased. Compared to an army of tens of thousands, Tajikistan today has roughly 6,000 service personnel in the armed forces and about 15,000 Interior Ministry troops.<sup>24</sup>

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<sup>24</sup> Institute for Strategic Studies, *Strategic Survey* (2011).

# UZBEKISTAN

Uzbekistan received among the lowest scores in Freedom House's annual report. It ranked among other politically oppressive states such as Burma, North Korea, and Turkmenistan. In early 2011, Uzbekistan's Parliament reduced the President's term from seven to five years. However, this change did not lead to greater political competition in the country. Similar to Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, it remains unclear who will replace President Islam Karimov after he leaves his post.

It is difficult to track changes made in Uzbekistan's security sector through open sources. Most laws on defence, police, and the judicial sector were adopted in the 1990s and few substantive amendments have been introduced since then.

## Justice Sector

In November 2010 Uzbek President Islam Karimov presented a "Concept for further developing democratic reform and formation of civil society in the country."<sup>25</sup> The concept includes details of judicial sector reform plans. One of Karimov's priorities is "consistent democratisation, liberalisation of the judicial-legal system that promotes the rule of law, justice, protection of the rights and interests of individuals."<sup>26</sup>

To achieve that goal, Uzbekistan must implement a set of organisational and legal measures aimed at uniformly strengthening the judicial system, ensuring the independence and sovereignty of the court, turning it from an organ of repression that implements punitive sentences into "a truly independent state institution designed to protect and defend the rights and freedoms" of citizens.<sup>27</sup>

Karimov mentioned that the Law "On courts" was recently amended to improve criminal and civil court procedures and to increase the judiciary's independence from the executive branch. According to these amendments, the Ministry of Justice

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<sup>25</sup> <<http://www.lex.uz/ru/doc/file/konsep.html>>.

<sup>26</sup> Islam Karimov, "Concept for further developing democratic reform and formation of civil society in the country," <[http://mfa.uz/rus/prensa\\_i\\_media\\_servis/znam\\_data/concept/v\\_elyax\\_obespecheniya\\_verxovenstva\\_zakona.mgr](http://mfa.uz/rus/prensa_i_media_servis/znam_data/concept/v_elyax_obespecheniya_verxovenstva_zakona.mgr)> (in Russian).

<sup>27</sup> Ibid.

no longer has the authority to appoint and suspend judges. Instead a special body—the Higher Qualification Commission under the President—is responsible for the selection and recommendation of judges. Amendments to the law were not available on the internet.

Furthermore, a special department responsible for the enforcement of judicial decisions, logistical and financial support of the courts was created within the Ministry of Justice. The President assures that this department will free courts from many administrative duties. Citizen appeals for retrials reportedly became easier as a result. Karimov highlights the fact that these amendments provide greater protection of the human rights of all citizens. He said that, thanks to these changes, in 2009 more than 85 percent of the cases were revisited as a result of appellate and cassation procedures (compared to 50 percent in 2000).

In 2008 amendments were introduced to the law “On introducing amendments and addenda to some legislative acts of Uzbekistan in connection with the bar’s improvement.” The changes aimed at “further strengthening the independence, sovereignty of the legal profession as an essential component of the process of the liberalisation of the judicial-legal system [and] protection of human rights,” the President said. In accordance with the law, the defendant has the right to qualified legal assistance at any stage of criminal proceedings, independent of the actions of state bodies and officials responsible for criminal proceedings. In 2008 Uzbekistan introduced ‘habeas corpus.’ According to Karimov, all of these changes signify a more liberalised, decriminalised, more humane criminal procedural law.

Thanks to these and other changes, about 75 percent of the crimes classified as ‘grave’ and ‘especially grave’ were downgraded to less serious offenses. Economic crimes committed are excluded from the penal system; instead the punishment for these crimes includes confiscation of property. “We assumed that it is not necessary to detain people for criminal cases related to economic activity – it is very costly to the state and does not solve the problem of education and rehabilitation of convicted persons,” Karimov said.

In January 2008, Uzbekistan abolished the death penalty and instead introduced the life sentence and long-term imprisonment. These extreme punishments cannot be handed down to women, juvenile offenders, and men over sixty years old.

Considerable work was done to reform the prosecutor’s office, “Turning it from a repressive weapon in the hands of party elites in the past into an institution that steadily implements laws, promotes democratic reforms in the country, [and is] a reliable defender of human rights and freedoms,” Karimov said.

The President outlined the following eight priorities for reforming the judicial sector:

1. Adopt a new version of the law “On normative legal acts” (dating back to 2000) that would require the creation of new, more efficient regulations and requirements for the judicial sector, given the changing socio-economic and socio-political environments.
2. Make changes to the Criminal Procedure Code to enforce the ‘habeas corpus’ functions.
3. Amend Article 439 of the Criminal Procedure Code to specify that the duty of announcing indictment rests solely with the prosecutor. Under current legislation, the prosecutor’s responsibilities in this area are not clearly defined.
4. Exclude from Article 321 of the Criminal Procedure Code the power of courts to initiate criminal proceedings.
5. Adopt the law “On Operational-Investigative Activities” that would define the principles, bases, forms, and methods of operative-search activity.
6. Adopt a new version of the Code on administrative responsibility (the current code dates back to 1994 and was amended over 60 times). The new version should reflect the trend to decriminalise the administrative law and transfer certain offenses from criminal to administrative jurisdiction.
7. Prepare and adopt legislative acts that determine the specific role of the judiciary in overseeing compliance with the rule of law in the activities of public authorities, law enforcement agencies, and prosecutors. According to Karimov, this should be done based on the example of developed democratic countries.
8. Improve legal awareness and a legal culture among the citizens of Uzbekistan.

## **Military**

Uzbekistan’s latest military doctrine was ratified in 2000 and is available through public sources. According to the changes to the law “On Defence” made in June 2006, the President has reiterated the main directions of Uzbekistan’s defence policy and military development and calls for taking the necessary measures to ensure the defence of the country and the protection of its sovereignty, security and territorial integrity.<sup>28</sup>

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<sup>28</sup> <[http://www.lex.uz/guest/irs\\_html.winLAV?pID=1136106](http://www.lex.uz/guest/irs_html.winLAV?pID=1136106)>.

The President furthermore approves plans for the construction, use and development of the armed forces, as well as other state plans and programmes for defence, as follows:

- Approves the structure, composition and deployment of the armed forces and other military formations in peace- and wartime;
- Makes a decision and issues orders to the armed forces on the conduct of military operations, including participation in international peacekeeping activities, as well as engaging them in tasks when the country is not under attack;
- Appoints and dismisses the Supreme Command of the Armed Forces and confers top military ranks;
- Determines the number of citizens to be called up for military and alternative service, the order of passage of the military and alternative service, the conduct of military conscripts and recruits accounting, standards, and the amount of weapons, military equipment, military technical equipment and clothing, food and other supplies, technology to the needs of defence and the armed forces;
- Makes decisions about calling up citizens for military service, conscript transfers to the reserves and reserve officers to alternative service, as well as on the recruitment of conscripts for military training, issues decrees on conscription for military service and mobilisation in time of war, of termination of demobilisation;
- Approves plans for mobilisation and preparation of the economy, as well as the formation and use of mobilisation and strategic national reserves;
- Creates, reorganises and liquidates the military higher and secondary special, professional education institutions, faculties of military training and military training centers (military department or cycles) in higher educational institutions.

The Cabinet of Ministers is responsible for the following:

- Ensuring the implementation of a unified state policy in the formation of state military orders and the organisation of defence industries;
- Developing plans for mobilisation training of the economy, as well as the formation and use of mobilisation and strategic government reserves, overseeing their implementation;
- Deciding on the material and social support for armed forces personnel;

- Organising and equipping the armed forces with weapons, military and military-technical equipment, clothing, food and other logistical support;
- Controlling the export and import of arms and military equipment and strategic equipment;
- Establishing the procedure for compensation for material expenses incurred by enterprises, institutions, organisations and individuals in connection with the performance of tasks for defence purposes.

The law “On universal military duty and military service” was updated in 2005 as well. More details on conditions for drafting for university students were added: “After graduating from educational institutions [students] are obliged to undergo military service.” The amendments further note that military training for university students who otherwise forego full-time army service is designed and approved by the President. Various government institutions, including the Defence Ministry, must arrange for these trainings to be carried out.

The Defence Ministry oversees military training for students and is responsible for the selection and appointment of officers and deputies to the positions of heads of academic departments of military training. These personnel appointments are made by the Ministry in consultation with the rectors of higher educational institutions. Active-duty soldiers who are assigned to military posts at universities to conduct military training, are guaranteed all social benefits of military service.

Army draft for alternative service is conducted as prescribed for recruits for compulsory military service, and its organisation and conduct are the responsibility of regional (city) draft boards and ‘khokimiyats’ (local governments). Citizens performing alternative service will be paid eighty percent of military wages. Amounts withheld from the wages of citizens performing alternative service are transferred to the state budget. The procedure of organisation and performance of alternative service is determined by the President.

Uzbekistan’s intelligence service consists of the Foreign Intelligence Service (Slujba vneshnei razvedki), the National Security Service (Slujba nazional’noi bezopasnosti), the President’s Security Service (Slujba bezopasnosti prezidenta), and the Ministry of Interior. Virtually no information is available about the functions of these institutions.



## REGIONAL COOPERATION

Central Asian countries are active participants of a number of regional organisations. This is reflected in the nations' strategic security documents: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, in particular, have been engaged in the Russian-led Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO) and Chinese-led Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO). Both organisations try to address the most pressing issues faced by their members. In 2011 the SCO and CSTO convened jointly to discuss the revolutions in the Middle East and North Africa; both also held military drills aimed at preventing an Arab Spring-type scenario on the territories of their member states.<sup>29</sup> Previously, both organisations conducted joint training using scenarios of mass unrest to pre-empt regime changes similar to those that took place in Kyrgyzstan in March 2005 and April 2010.

Both CSTO and SCO are actively planning activities beyond 2014, when NATO troops are expected to withdraw from Afghanistan. The organisations pay particular attention to designing strategies to counter the spread of terrorism in Central Asia and prevent drug trafficking.

Both organisations have created joint military units. By 2010 the CSTO's rapid reaction forces included 20,000 service members, while its peacekeeping troops numbered 3,500.<sup>30</sup> According to its December 2010 joint statement, the CSTO seeks to prevent nuclear terrorism, to develop treaties banning the production of fissile material for nuclear weapons or other nuclear explosive devices, and to prevent the weaponisation of outer space.<sup>31</sup> The statement also noted that CSTO members are against the stationing of conventional arms in Europe and seek to improve relations in the OSCE region.

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<sup>29</sup> Jushua Kucera, "Russian, Central Asian Militaries To Practice Counterinsurgency, Naval Warfare," *Eurasia Net*, 13 September 2011.

<sup>30</sup> Russian president Dmitry Medvedev's speech, 10 December 2010, <[http://www.dkb.gov.ru/session\\_twelve/a.htm](http://www.dkb.gov.ru/session_twelve/a.htm)>.

<sup>31</sup> <[http://www.dkb.gov.ru/session\\_twelve/a.htm](http://www.dkb.gov.ru/session_twelve/a.htm)>.

The CSTO favours adapting the European way of building security relations “based on respect for the rule of international law and the UN’s central role,” the statement further says. The organisation welcomes collaboration with all Euro-Atlantic and Eurasian partners to consolidate efforts in building “comprehensive and indivisible security.” This includes expanding collaboration with NATO. “The CSTO members will make [efforts on a] national and collective level to increase the contribution to the fight against international terrorist threats, with the UN holding a central coordinating role,” the statement continues.

CSTO members are committed to making Afghanistan a “peaceful, stable and independent nation.” In line with this, the CSTO pledges to “continue to provide individual and group assistance to the process of stabilisation, management and peaceful reconstruction of Afghanistan.” Furthermore, the CSTO is in favour of intensifying joint efforts with the international community to counter the growing threat of the drug economy stemming from Afghanistan.

The statement furthermore reiterates that any conflicts should be resolved peacefully in accordance with universally recognised norms of international law, including the use of mechanisms of preventive diplomacy and peacekeeping capacity. “The CSTO members will continue to closely coordinate their international activities, develop practical cooperation with international and regional organisations, placing special emphasis on cooperation with the UN in accordance with the provisions of the General Assembly resolution on cooperation between the CSTO and the UN,” the statement says. Finally, the statement argues that the CSTO members are in favour of balanced development of the three OSCE dimensions (the politico-military, the economic and environmental and the human) and seek to abide by the principles of the Helsinki Final Act.

The organisation’s latest military drills ‘Tsentr-2011’ focused on helping Central Asian states to meet newly emerging domestic challenges. For over one week, the Russian military trained Central Asian personnel to prevent mass uprisings similar to those in the Middle East and North Africa. According to the Russian Defence Ministry, the main goal of ‘Tsentr-2011’ was to work out a common approach to deploying CSTO troops in the event of armed conflicts in the Central Asian region. CSTO members learned how to jointly prepare and deploy armed forces for stabilisation and carry out military activities in Central Asia.<sup>32</sup> Uzbekistan, however, did not participate in ‘Tsentr-2011.’

Starting in 2011, the SCO plans to apply its five-year Counter-Narcotics Strategy to reduce drug production in Afghanistan. The SCO has wanted deeper in-

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<sup>32</sup> Found on <[structure.mil.ru/mission/practice/all/about.htm?id=10643571@egNews](http://structure.mil.ru/mission/practice/all/about.htm?id=10643571@egNews)>, last accessed on November 25, 2011.

volvement in Afghanistan's security and economy for a number of years. According to the SCO, the organisation strives to strengthen mutual trust and good neighbourly relations among member countries, to maintain peace through collective efforts and to boost security and stability.

For the past eight years the SCO has held regular counterterrorism exercises with the participation of member countries to collectively combat what Beijing defines as the 'three evils' of terrorism, separatism and extremism. Notably, the SCO's terrorist list includes individuals suspected of acts of extremism and separatism and contains roughly 1,000 names. For several years the heads of India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan have held observer status with the SCO, while Belarus and Sri Lanka are SCO's 'dialogue partners.'



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