

**NON- TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN CENTRAL ASIA:
A CASE STUDY OF DRUG TRAFFICKING**

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MEENU



**CENTER FOR RUSSIAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES
SCHOOL OF INTERNATIONAL STUDIES
JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY
NEW DELHI-110067**

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JAWAHARLAL NEHRU UNIVERSITY

School of International Studies
New Delhi - 110067

Tel. : 2670 4365
Fax : (+91)-11-2674 1586

Centre for Russian and Central Asian Studies

Date 26/07/2012

DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN CENTRAL ASIA: A CASE STUDY OF DRUG TRAFFICKING" submitted by me in the partial fulfilment for the award of the degree of MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

Meenu

MEENU

CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

Ahlanain
PROF. AJAY PATNAIK

Chairperson, CRCAS/SIS
Chairperson
Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies
JNU, New Delhi - 110 067

Badan
DR. PHOOL BADAN

Supervisor
ASSISTANT PROFESSOR
Centre for Russian & Central Asian Studies
School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi - 110067

**Dedicated To
My Parents**

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CONTENTS

	Page
Abbreviations	iii
List of Maps	iv
List of Table	v
List of Figure	vi
Chapters	
Chapter- First	
Introduction: Concept of Security and Review of Literature	1-25
I Theoretical Discourse on ‘Security’	2-3
(i) The Core Problem of Defining Security	3-5
(ii) Perspective of Security	5-7
(iii) Critiques of Traditionalist Perspective	7-9
II Security in the Context of Developing Countries	9-13
III Three-Level Security: Individuals, States and International Systems	13-14
IV Security in Five Sectors: Moving from the Traditional National Security to New Security Sectors	14-16
V Non-Traditional Security Perspective in the Context of Central Asian Republics	16-17
Chapter – Second	
Non-Traditional Security Threats in Central Asia	26-52
I Internal Weakness and Security in Central Asia	27-30
II Non-Traditional Security Threats in the Five Republics	30-52

Chapter- Third

Drug Trafficking in Central Asia 53-88

- (i) Historical Background 55
- (ii) Central Asia: Drugs- Dominated Region 55-57
- (iii) The Factors of Afghanistan 57-61
- (iv) Areas of Production in Central Asia 61-63
- (v) Trafficking Routes 63-71
- (vi) Seizure of Drugs in Central Asia 71-75
- (vii) Drugs Prices 75-77
- (viii) Impact of Drug Trafficking 77-88

Chapter- Fourth

Drugs, Terrorism and Organised Crime 89-106

- I Norco-Terrorism 90-95
- II Crime-Terror Nexus 95-99
- III Main Insurgency / Terrorism Operators 99-103
- IV Linkages of Drug Trafficking, Arms Trafficking and Terrorism 103-106

Chapter- Fifth

National, Regional and International Initiatives to Combat 107-132

Drug Trafficking

- I Role of Central Asia States in Combating of Drug Trafficking 108-113
- II Sub- Regional Counter-Narcotics Cooperation in Central Asia 113-121
- III Counter- Narcotics Strategies of International Organizations 121-131
- IV Main Obstacle in Improving Regional Drug Control Cooperation 131-132

Chapter- Sixth

Conclusion 133-139

References 140-148

ABBREVIATIONS

AIDS	Auto Immunodeficiency Syndrome
CAC	Central Asian Community
CADAP	Central Asian Drug Action Program
CAEC	Central Asian Organization for Economic Cooperation
CARICC	Central Asia Regional Information Coordination Center
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CSTO	Collective Security Treaty Organization
DCCU	Drug Control Coordination Unit
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EU	The European Union (EU)
GABO	Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast
HIV	Human Immunodeficiency Virus
IDCC	Interstate Drug Control Commission
IDU	Injecting Drug User
INCB	International Narcotics Board
MT	Million Tons
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
STD	Sexually Transmitted Diseases
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNODC	United Office on Drugs and Crime
UNODCCP	UN Office for Drugs Control and Crime Prevention
WHO	World Health Organization

LIST OF MAPS

Maps No.	Title Name	Page No.
Map No 2.1	Decline of Aral Sea between 2000 and 2011	34
Map.No.3.1.	Afghanistan's Opium Production	60
Map No.3.2.	Opium Cultivation Provinces in Afghanistan Provinces	61
Map No.3.3.	The Northern and Balkan Heroin Route	64
Map No.3.4.	Heroin Flows to the Russian Federation and East Europe-2009	67
Map No.3.5.	Gateway for Afghan Opium	67
Map No.3.6.	Global Seizure of Heroin and Morphine, 2010 (Countries and Terror Tries Reporting Seizures of More Than 100 k	74

LIST OF TABLES

Table No.	Title Name	Page No.
Table 2.1	Distribution of Hydro-Energy Potential in Central Asia	37
Table 2.2	Distribution of Fossil Fuel-Crude Oil, Natural Gas, Coal in Central Asia	37
Table 3.1	Numbers of Drug-Related Crimes, 2004-2010	80
Table 3.2	Annual Prevalence and Number of Illicit drug users at the global level	83
Table 3.3	Estimated Number of Drug-Related Deaths and Rates per Million Populations Aged 15-16	85

LIST OF FIGURES

Fig. No.	Title Name	Page No.
Figure No.2.1.	Opium Cultivation in Afghanistan, 2006-2011 (hectares)	51
Figure No.3.1.	Heroin Seizure in Central Asia by Country, 2009-2010	73
Figure No.3.2.	Wholesale Heroin Price in Central Asia by Country, 2005-2010	76
Figure No.3.3.	Prices and Production in Afghanistan Compared With Retail Heroin in Western and Central Europe, 1998-2011	77
Figure No.3.4.	HIV Incidence Trends, 2001-2010	82
Figure No. 3.5.	Persons Living with H IV per 100,000 People, 2001-2010	84
Figure No.4.1.	The Complex Triad of Corruption, Terrorism and Opium Industry	93

CHAPTER-FIRST

INTRODUCTION: CONCEPT OF SECURITY AND REVIEW OF LITERATURE

The concept of security incorporates within its meaning, at the same time, political, social and cultural connotations. It essentially entails a certain malleability that may, at times, escape any aim for legal structure. Without a doubt, no contemporary theory of international law, no international relations approach, and no political or humanistic discourse can currently avoid it, regardless of the angle according to which it is dealt with. As to the notion of governance, it has been described as the sum of the many ways individuals and institutions, public and private manage their common affairs through a dynamic and complex process of interactive decision-making. As such, it has occupied a preeminence place in the sphere of International Relations since the treaty of Westphalia. However, the concept of security is age old as the civilization itself. In contrast to the contemporary perspective of security, the traditional view of security is purely state-centric in which military threats occupy the heart of national security. Today, there is growing consensus that security is much more than the mere perception of military security. With the changing time, the nature and contour of security has also gone under rapid transformation. State centric view security has shifted its position towards the security of people. Therefore, the changing meaning of security is much more about the security of people. However, there are no agreed and universal definitions of the concept of security. But conceptual understanding of security is quite evident from international security studies defined in terms of sovereignty, war, anarchy, security dilemma, etc. The ambiguity of the concept of security is also manifested in the context of its connection with national security. In international literature, security and national security are sometimes and in most of cases, used interchangeably. Nevertheless, security in the contemporary times marches beyond traditional conception security of state. Let us see some of the definitions of security for a comprehensive understanding of the theme in study.

I Theoretical Discourse on ‘Security’

Security is a primary concern of every nation. The concept of the security has been defined by various scholars. Some of them consider it as freedom from danger or attack while others have viewed it as an absence of threat or ability of a nation to protect its internal values from external threats. According to Walter Lippmann, “A nation is secure to the extent to which it is not in danger of having to sacrifice core values, if it wishes to avoid war, and is able, if challenged, to maintain them by victory in such a war”(Iqbalur, Rahman 1992: 4). He is of the opinion that state security is about a state's ability to deter or defeat an attack. It appears that security of a nation is closely tied with the capability of a state to protect its core values such as maintain the integrity of the state and protect the territory from external threats. Arnold Wolfers defines security as “Security, in any objective sense, measures the absence of threats to acquired values and in a subjective sense, the absence of fear that such values will be attacked” (Arnold Wolfers 1962: 147). Stephen M. Walt argues that the main focus of security studies is the phenomenon of war. Thus security studies may be defined as the study of the threat, use, and control of military force (Stephen M. Walt 1991: 212). On the other hand, Richard Ullman (1983) has suggested that a decrease in vulnerability is security (Ullman, Richard 1983:129-153). However, Stephen M. Walt gives probably the strongest statement of the traditionalist position. He argues that security studies are about “the phenomenon of war and that can be defined as the study of threat, use and control of military force” (Walt, Stephen. M. 1991:211-39). Talukder Maniruzzaman (1982) states, “By Security we mean the protection and preservation of the minimum core values of any nation: independence and territorial integrity” (Talukder Maniruzzaman 1982:15). However, there is no universal definition of the concept of the security, but the concepts in international security studies have been defined, such as sovereignty, war, anarchy and security dilemma, etc.

What makes security an important issue in international politics? Conventionally, the answer can be found in the traditional military political understanding of security. In this context, security is about survival. Here, the referent object is the state. In defining what constitutes ‘security’, certain question need to be answered. First, what values are being threatened? Second, what is threatening those values? Third, what means are available to counter the threat? Fourth, who is expected to provide the

protection against threat? Fifth and finally, who will pay for the cost of protection or security? All the answers are hidden in the traditional paradigm of the security. Realist theory has occupied the traditional heart of the international security concern. It has been dominant theory of international relations since the conception of security. Realists claim that the referent object is the sovereign state. In this context, security is about survival. State is the ultimate actor in the international politics and the main defender of the security of the people. The traditional studies of the national security tend to concentrate on military threats arising from beyond the borders.

(i) The Core Problem of Defining Security

There is no universal definition of security. There are some definitions which characterizes security only in terms of military capability and the state as main factor are insufficient. Several scholars have attributed different new definitions of security. According to new definitions of security “non-traditional threats, like terrorism, global warming, and drug trafficking, organized crime is also not complete itself. There are ideological clashes between schools of thought that never lead to a commonly accepted definition of security. On the one hand, realists argue that mutually assured destruction (MAD) is the best deterrent and guarantees peace at least on the state level. On the other hand, Constructivists such as Manchanda argues that “stability is never possible with the ultimate weapons in the hands of a few” (Manchanda 2001: 3-4).

The broadening of the concept of the security to include concerns like revitalization of the economy or safe environment that do not involve violent conflict is controversial. Some analysts label the linking of non-conventional sector like environment as “muddled thinking”(Alagappa 1998: 46). The critique has several standards. First, there is a problem of defining what constitutes economic or environmental security. These can be defined in many ways. For example economic security may be defined variously as “accepted levels of welfare”, unrestricted access to resources of production and markets for goods and services maintenance of a healthy international economic system. In the case of environmental security, there is no agreement-upon definition of “the environment or of what would constitute a secure environment (Alagappa, Muthiagah 1998: 46).

Secondly, the problem is to identify threats to economic and environment security. There is no agreement on what constitutes the greatest threat to the environment. Is it population growth? Bourgeois lifestyle? Or is it industrial pollution? These all are responsible to it. Thirdly, some scholar criticize that these new non-military threats are not as serious as military threats. Therefore, nation rather than common security is still the focus of mainstream thinking.

These criticisms have considerable merit, but they have also weaknesses in several respect. Although, the nation-state is dominant actor of the national security but there are other actors of security for example individual and groups are equally important. This is accepted fact that issues related to political survival are addressed primarily at the national level but some economic and environmental issues must be addressed at the regional and global levels. It is admitted that there may be tensions between the approaches at the different levels and between the different issue areas. But such tensions are not unavoidable and will have to be managed.

Secondly, national security became predominant only after World War II. In the early post war period analysts such as Harold Lasswell and Arnold Wolfers emphasized both military and non military means, warning on over reliance on armaments to ensure national security (Baldwin 1995). They also linked security to domestic affairs, including economic matters, civil liberty and the democratic political process.

Apart from this, globalization is also the main factors that have contributed too many transnational threats such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, organized crime and money laundering, etc. There are many scholars who argue that one of the most important trends at the end of the twentieth century is the broad process of globalization, which has brought the new risks and dangers. These include the development of easy communication which brought the remote regions closer than ever before. Technological advancement has enhanced drug production capacity and involvement of drug mafias, organized crimes and terrorist groups, etc. All these have contributed to the global reach of the illegal drug trade. Thus, unfortunately, this illegal drug trade has become fuel of terrorist activities. In the era of globalization, these threats to security on planetary level are largely out of control of the nation-state. These threats can deal only with the development of 'global community'.

In sum, it is clear from the discussion that the traditional definitions of the security which define security only in terms of threat, use, and control of military force are misleading. They all exclude critical dimensions relating even to the core concern of political survival. Security is a broader concept that includes defense but is not limited to it. Therefore, security must be conceptualized in what, that goes beyond the concern of force. But this must not be done indiscriminately, because it carries the risk of making the concept of a grabbing bag and further increasing its potential for political and intellectual abuse. There is a need to conceptualize security to allow for variations in referent, scope and approach (Alagappa, Muthiagah 1998:63).

- As the most attractive and most powerful form of political organization, the state will continue to be the primary actor of security. However, it is important to recognize that state coexists with other actors at the sub-national and international levels. It should be because of their potential to provide the rationale for alternative political communities. Reason is that actors at the sub-national level may take priority over the state, especially when the identity and legitimacy of the state are contested.
- The bottom line for all actors is survival. From the perspective of the state, political survival defined in terms of political and territorial integrity which is a minimum requirement. But political survival also may be threatened not only by military means but also and in some cases even more critically, by political and socio-cultural threats.
- The challenges to political survival need not be issued all the time only from others state, they can come from within the state as well. Therefore, it is necessary to integrate the international and intrastate security problems.
- Lastly, the scope of the security should be broadened but not indiscriminately.

(ii) Perspective of Security

The treaty of Westphalia took place in 1648 which made possible to end the war of thirty years in Europe. As a result of this treaty states have been regarded as the

powerful actors in the international system. States have been the universal standards of political legitimacy with no higher authority to regulate their relations with each other. There are two perspectives of security. They are- Realist and Neo-realist. Realism has been the most dominant theoretical tradition in international relations and security studies. From the beginning of the academic study of international politics, the concept of security has focused on sovereign states, military power and preservation of international order. According to realist, state is the main defender of the security of the people. Therefore, there should be no higher political loyalty than the state and no higher power of decision making. While traditionalists believe that state is inherently aggressive because of human nature that derives the state behavior. Neo-realists have emphasized the causal power of the structure of the international system. Realists have neglected the distinction between “high politics” (such as military) and “low politics” (such as human rights).

A key claim of realist is to describe the world “as it is”. Thus, according to the realist international system is governed by anarchy. It means there is no central authority. Therefore, international politics is the struggle for power between self-interested states. Realism has a strong consensus about the appropriate strategic behavior. In the arena of never-ending conflict and competition, law and morality have always to bend before the interest of the powerful state. Power is the key to survival and successful military strategy is the bedrock of security. Mistrust rather than morality shape the state policy. Realists believe that ethics are considered relevant only in sovereign state.

Thus, the traditional notion of security, in which a sovereign state is bound to defend its political independence, territorial integrity, and its people, occupy the realist heart. Realists such as E. H. Carr and Hans Morgenthau and neo-realists like Kenneth Waltz emphasizes international competition and conflict and consider military force as both the principle threat and the principle means to achieve security concerns.

According to Arnold Wolfers, the minimum national “core values” are national independence and territorial integrity. But beyond this, Wolfers asserts that some states may seek to acquire and protect other values such as rank, respect, material possessions and special privileges,” (Wolfers 1962: 154-55). Realists recognize that the goals of the states may be different but argue that political survival is at the top of

the list. Thus, the traditional approach of security focuses mainly or exclusively on military concerns.

(iii) Critiques of Traditionalist Perspective

The excessively militarized character of national security has been severely criticized by many experts of the subject. To define the security merely in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of the concept because it draws attention away from the non-military threats which could be even more harmful and dangerous to the security of a nation. Besides, it also motivates the nations for excessive militarization that in a long way may increase international insecurity, which can be considered as insecurity of all nations. One of the most important facts is that the conceptualization of national security merely in terms of external military threats has failed to capture the large variety of problem facing by nation particularly developing countries. In spite of all these, it has lack of the meaning, scope and nature of national security.

One of the criticisms of traditional paradigm is that not state but individual should be the main referent of the security. Protection of the people, not of the state should be the ultimate goal of security. If state is the main referent then it can lead to abuse, particularly in countries where the legitimacy of the nation-state or government is contested. Secondly, the state is too large to satisfy human needs and too small to cope with problem that are increasing at regional and global level. Thirdly, the state acts as an oppressor and a producer of insecurity. This argument has its root in classical liberalism, which considers state as a necessary evil that must be limited and checked. Another school of thought views state as the agent of a particular class. According to Marxist scholars, the poor, women, minorities and children are often victims of structural violence. Therefore, instead of providing security, state can threat the security of some of their citizen (Alagappa, Muthiagah1998: 30-31).

These arguments hold that the main focus of the security should be people centric not state centric. Political institution like nation-state and government gain their legitimacy by fulfilling the safety, identity and welfare of the people. Without the consent and support of the people, they have no legitimacy. Similarly threats make sense when it is physically and morally harmful to people and their livelihood. For example a hole in the ozone layer is the concern of security because it can negatively affect the people. Thus, it can be said that fundamental object of the security is

people. Therefore, the state should not be uncritically accepted as the sole referent of security (Alagappa, Muthiagah 1998: 31-33).

Neo-realists continue to state that national survival as the basic goal in anarchy. For Kenneth Waltz, survival means the preservation of the political autonomy of the states. Waltz's neo-realism contends that the effect of structure must be taken into account in explaining state behavior. Therefore, he claims that anarchic structure and distribution of power are the critical determinants of war and peace.

The neo-realists theory of international politics is challenged by constructivism. The Constructivists reject the realists and neo-realists logic of anarchy. This theory argues in the words of Alexander Wendt (1992) that "anarchy is what states make of it". They believe that negative effect of anarchy, considered by neo-realism as essential features, can be transformed because anarchy is socially constructed. Further, they argue that power relations do not matter as neo-realists claim for it. Where a high level of institutionalization has taken place, power will be much less relevant in explaining state behavior. The appropriate example of it is the Western Europe. Therefore, the key of constructivism is the belief that "International politics is shaped by power of ideas, collective values, historical experience, culture, and social identities." By "ideas" Constructivists refer to the goals, threats, fears, identities, and other elements of perceived reality that influence states and non-state actors within the international system. Thus, the failure of either realism or liberalism to predict the end of the Cold War boosted the relevance of constructivist theory.

On the other hand, according to liberalism, national security is secured when there is cooperation and independence among the states in the international system, international organization and international law. Classical liberalism argues that growing trade and economic interdependence will minimize the negative effects of anarchy and gradually transform the nature of international politics. The growing trade and interdependence of the international politics will move the world in the direction of "trading world". Therefore, cooperation rather than competition and conflict is the more rational approach to security in these circumstances. Thus, the traditional concern with political survival and military threats are seen as no longer applicable to the states (Alagappa, Muthiagah 1998: 40-41).

Neo-liberalism also challenges the neo-realist's claims that cooperation is difficult to achieve. This theory believes that anarchy permits a variety of interactions among states and higher degree of cooperation is possible under anarchy. When and where mutual interests exist state will engage itself in cooperation. States behavior can be constrained through the operation of rules and institutions can facilitate peaceful change. Further, they argue that peace has become addictive. War is not rational now and has become ineffective and undesirable. It is even no longer an option.

In sum, the various systemic theories (neo-realism, neo-liberalism, commercial liberalism and constructivism) have often been presented as competing and compatible paradigms. The reality of international politics is complex and changing and it is not uniform throughout the world. No single existing theory can adequately capture and generalize about all of reality. Even Waltz admits that "realist theory can by itself handle some, but not all, of the problems that concern us" (Waltz 1986: 331).

Therefore, the analysis and explanation of security cannot be limited to a single paradigm. However, it can begin with Realism, because it clearly articulates a security problem. Neo-liberalism is concerned only with mitigating the problem raised by the realist logic of anarchy. Though, constructivism holds that there can be more than one logic, it does not specify which will prevail. However, some of the core theoretical assumptions such as state is the central actor; anarchy is the ordering principle of neo-realism have gained acceptance by policy makers. For this reason, the realist paradigm provides a good starting point for analysis. But it must be limited and modified by insights provided by the others theories. Thus, the social practice of security is not limited by any specific theory.

II Security in the context of Developing Countries

The meaning and nature of the security differs from nation to nation as each nation is threatened by different kinds of threats. It depends on the condition of the nations. When nations are strong then national security is considered primarily in terms of protection from external threats. In the contrast, when nations are week, they concentrate on domestic threats more than external ones. This is the condition of most of the third world countries such as sub-Saharan Africa, former Soviet states and some parts of Asian and Latin American countries. Thus, particularly the weak states

and to some extent all the states, face the threat to their security which come from within the nations rather than outside the boundaries of those nations. Further, the threats to the security of a nation undermine the security of the nation, as well as the security of its inhabitants because their security is interlinked with the security of the nation. It does not matter whether the threats are internal or external. Hobbes said, “It did not much matter whether the threats come from within or outside one’s nations. A victim is just as dead if the bullet that kills him is fired by a neighbor attempting to seize his property as if it comes from an invading army. Therefore, a citizen to the state is for protection against both types of threats” (Ullman, R. 1983:130).

Many scholars of developing countries criticize the traditional paradigm as it does not stress the domestic challenges that are more serious rather than others. There are some analysts as Job 1992; Jakson and Rosberg 1982 who arguing that international security dilemma does not apply to Afro-Asian & Latin American states because they are preoccupied with internal rather than external security (Alagappa, Muthiagah 1998:41).

There are many developing countries that appear to emphasize the domestic as well as the economic and social dimensions of security. Scholars of security studies have long neglected the security situation in the developing countries where the most members of the international system are located and where most of the conflicts are concentrated (Ayoob Mohammed 1997:123). Here is a more fundamental challenge to the realist articulation of security. It is posed by analysts who favor to broaden the scope of the security. According to them , security should be defined to include the intrastate level as well as it should be expanded to include problems and threats in economic, environmental, demographic, socio-cultural and others non conventional sectors. However, these criticisms have merit but they do not stop the continued importance of the problem of international political survival and military threats for large number of countries.

(a) Redefining Security

Recently, the debate over the scope of security has several dimensions. These are important first, should security be defined to include the intrastate level? Second, the

traditional concern of the security with international survival and the emphasis on military power still relevant? Third, should the scope of the security be explained to include problems and threats in economic, environmental, demographic, socio-cultural, and other non conventional sectors?

Since the end of the Cold War, the definition of international security has expanded to include more issues and actors. The modern approach covers not only military concerns and national perspectives but also almost all the non-military aspects and non-state factors of security. It covers from economic security to environmental security and from societal to human security. In this case there is no difference between national security and overall security. Security is only an abbreviation of national security.

The concept of security in the Post Cold War period has been widened to include environmental, economic and societal issues, transnational threats and human security issues to insecure the welfare of the individual. Transnational security threats, more particularly drug trafficking has become salient. It has societal, economic and political ramifications that are disturbing the social fabric of the society and weakening the conventional economy and governance. Conventional definitions of security have been challenged by many scholars since the end of the Cold War. The first signs of a trend towards the expansion of the notion of security can be traced back to the late 1960s. This was the time when Robert Mc Namara (1966) suggested that security implied the freedom of a state to develop and improve its position in the future:

‘Security is development and without development there can be no security development means economic, social and political progress. It means a reasonable standard of living, and reasonable in this context requires continual redefinition; what is reasonable in an earlier stage of development will become unreasonable at a later stage’ (Mc Namara 1968: 149-150).

Since the late 1970 there have been growing acceptance to redefine security to include economic, environmental and other nonmilitary dimensions. The case for inclusion of this concern has been argued more vigorously since the end of the Cold War. But it should be noted here that a broad view of security was common among certain Asian countries even during the Cold War era. Since the end of the Cold War such a

comprehensive view of security has met with greater acceptance among some policy maker in the West as well (Alagappa, Muthiagah, 1998: 43).

In the Post Cold War era, the focus has shifted from “hard” military security to “softer” issues and societal, political, environmental and economic security has become more prominent. These changes in the perception of security have created a debate among the scholars who wish to see a wider security definition on the one hand, and want to keep it narrow on the other hand. These debates can be divided into traditional versus non-traditional sources of threats and state versus non-state actors.

On the contrast, Emma Rothschild argues that many of the ‘new ideas’ about security have eighteenth-century antecedents. It has been argued that the basic conceptual tools for rethinking security have been available at least since the publication of Wolfers’ article in 1952. The multi dimensions of security have not changed with the end of the Cold War. But the issues that were appropriate during the Cold War now are likely to differ from those appropriate for the 1990s and 21st century. Economic security, environmental security, identity security, social security, and military security are different forms of security, not fundamentally different concepts.

Therefore, after the end of the Cold War, to call these threats *new* does not mean that they did not exist before and during the Cold War but refers to the new characters “ that previously had not been perceived, or were given little attention (Li Li 2009:13).

Richard Ullman (1983) is one of the first scholars who criticizes the almost exclusive focus on military threat in conventional (realist) thinking of security. Ullman emphasizes that 'defining national security merely (or even primarily) in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality' (Ullman 1983: 123). He argues that the emphasis on military threats arising from beyond the borders of one's own country is doubly misleading. First, it draws attention away from the non-military threats that may undermine the stability of nations. Second, it assumes that threats arising from outside a state are somehow more dangerous to its security than threats that arise within it. Adopting a broader definition of security, Ullman contends that:

‘A threat to national security is an action or sequence of events that threatens drastically and over a relatively brief span of time to degrade the quality of life for the inhabitants of a state, or (2) threatens significantly to narrow the range of policy choices available to the government of a state or to private, nongovernmental entities

(persons, groups, corporations) within the state' (Ullman 1983: 133).

Some experts and policy makers believe that it is impossible to speak of a national security without speaking about economics. In this new era of a globalized world, "the struggle and threat will be economic not military". On the other hand, the environmental problem stresses the threat to the physical survival of a human kind that arises from the environmental degradation. In the words of U.S. Vice President Al Gore, "this process (environmental degradation) threatens not only the quality of life but life itself. The global environment has become an issue of national security" (Alagappa 1998:43-44). Thus, all these scholars draw attention towards the new non-military threats that are equally important as military threats. Barry Buzan (2000) provides a greater understanding of the concept of security. He views the study of international security as more than a study of threats. He also includes the threats that can be tolerated and which require immediate action.

III Three-Level Security: Individuals, States and International Systems

According to Rothschild, since the end of the Cold War it has been growing acceptance among the scholars that the concept of security should include international as well as domestic challenges. They also argue that security should be extended at three levels as individuals, state and international system. According to Barry Buzan the new principles of the security in 1990s is extended in four main forms

- (i) The concept of security has been extended from the security of nations to the security of groups and individuals;
- (ii) It is extended from the security of nations to the security of the international system. It is extended upwards, from nation to the biosphere;
- (iii) The concept of security is extended from military to political, economic, social, environmental or "human" security;
- (iv) Operation of the political responsibility for ensuring security is extended itself. It is diffused (spread over a wide area) from national states, including

upwards to international institutions, downwards to regional or local government, and sideways to nongovernmental organizations to public opinion and the press and to the abstract forces of nature or of the market (Rothschild, 2007:2-3).

IV Security in Five Sectors: Moving from the Traditional National Security to New Security Sectors

A broader view of national security has its social, political, economic and military dimension that gives a wide meaning to the idea of national security. The reason behind this is that security cannot be maintained and achieved unless the social, economic and political life of the nation is sustained. Buzan addresses the different sectors of security. In his article “New Patterns of Global Security in the Twenty-First Century”, Buzan analyses how five sectors of security (Military, Political, Economic, Societal, and Environmental) do not operate in isolation from each other (Refer figure no.1). Each defines a focal point within the security problematique, and a way of ordering priorities, but all are woven together in a strong web of linkage” (Buzan 1991: 19-20). The obvious threats that would seem to present the most pressing concerns are military, which are capable of posing threats to the state on several levels.

(a) Military Security

Military threats can affect all components of the state. It can put into question the very basic duty of a state to be able to protect its citizens as well as have an adverse effect on the “layers of social and individual interest” (Barry Buzan 1987:119). The level and objectives of military threat can take on different levels of importance. It is the fact that they involve the use of force that puts them in a special category when it comes to security.

(b) Political Security

Political security means freedom from political threats. The core of this sector is about non-military threats to state sovereignty. Generally, the target of political threats is supposed to be the idea of the state, particularly its organizing ideology and institutions express it (Barry Buzan 1987:76). In other words, the objective of political

threats are first against the internal legitimacy of the political unit, which relates ideologies and other issues defining the state and second, the external position of the state and its external legitimacy (Buzan, Barry, Waever, and Wilde 1998:114). e.g. cultivating an anti-ideology as the Americans have done with anti communism and the Soviet with anti-imperialism during the Cold War period. It may constitute a political threat to the state that represents this ideology. Political threats “are not less significant than military threats as ignorance of political threats may drastically hamper the security of a nation” (Rahman, Iqbalur 1992:10).

(c) Economic Security

Economic security is the top sector of security perceptions after the end of the Cold War. According to Barry Buzan, economic security refers to “access to the resources, finance and markets necessary to sustain acceptable levels of welfare and state power” (Buzan, Barry 1991:19) Economic threats include all those activities that could hamper the state’s economic growth and erode citizens ‘standard of living (Li Li 2009:14). The objective of a state’s economic security is to ensure access to global markets continuity of supply of essential resources and to buffer vulnerability to turbulent global market changes. Energy security is therefore is a part of economic security (Buzan, Barry 1991:237-242).

(d) Societal Security

Societal security is possibly the most intriguing of the five to consider. It is difficult to separate societal security from the political sector. Societal threats are about identity and the balance. It can be found within any given state. Weak states are often ill-equipped to deal with differences in identity and culture. If Afghanistan is used as an example, one can see that the differences in culture, ideology and ethnicity, which make up tribal boundaries found within the state, are not easily reconciled with the state itself, “a Western construction” – according to some critics. These issues spill over into neighboring Pakistan, which shares ethnicities and identities. It is clear with this example that societal security is deeply connected with political and even military security. Most conflicts that are prevalent now are those that have a societal element. It is, therefore, important to take this sector into account when studying security on a macro level. However, it is also important to stress that the notion of “societal security” is difficult to apply since it deals with identities and cultures – essentially

subjective and contextual constructions. It can easily lead to politics of discrimination and exclusive.¹

(e) Environmental Security

Environmental security “concerns the maintenance of the local and the planetary biosphere as the essential support system on which all the other human enterprises depend” (Buzan, Barry 1991:19-20). The threat posed by environmental factors to human survival was not largely recognized until 1972. The United Nations Conference on the Human Environment was held in 1972 which discussed the matter in detailed. Environmental threats are very broad and complex, ranging from scarcity of clean air and water, fuel and arable land, degradation of lands, forest and fisheries, to impact of climate change and population growth (Li Li 2009:15). Most of these threats come from human activities. Industrialization plays a significant role in such phenomena as global warming, ozone depletion and acid rain. Nuclear accidents or proliferation of weapons of mass destruction may lead to man-made environmental disasters. Environmental security can be a cause of political instability and conflict. For example, the scarcity of water in the Middle East is cited as one reason for worsening of the Arab-Israeli conflict and a future war. In the 21st century ecological sectors particularly the issue of global warming has become the hot issue of debate. The possible initiatives to address these issues will be dependent of economic security as well as political security, because these issues can be considered not only a threat to an individual state, but also global threats that will have a widespread effect.

V Non-Traditional Security Perspective in the context of Central Asian Republics

The CARs present before the security analysts and scholars a clear case of a region facing multiple security issues that do not appear to fall in the realm of traditional security threats. In fact, the conditions in the region spanned by all the five republics and adjoining areas seem to provide one of the most valid grounds for enlargement of the concept of security. The region has its share of problems that affect security at the

¹Security Discussion Papers Series 1, Spring 2009, “*Security According to Buzan: A Comprehensive Security Analysis*”, Available at: http://geest.msh-paris.fr/img/pdf/security_for_buzan.mp3.pdf.

human level—problems that defy borders, are transnational and difficult to fight with due to their multidimensional character. Environment, water, economic and organized crime as well as terrorism threaten the security of the region. The lack of the economic development has created a base for insurgency and terrorism and strengthening the position of illegal economic activities as well. The water issue also brings states to war and in extreme case deprive some states from any chance of human sustainability in the region. The tension of water distribution is particularly high between upstream states (Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan) and downstream states (Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and to certain extent to Turkmenistan). Drug trafficking is one such problem that pervades the region. It's a problem that has become a salient feature of this region. Multidimensional in character due to its societal, economic, political, and human dimension, it is disturbing the social fabric of the society and also weakening the political and economic structure of the state. It primarily thrives on states that promotes corruption at lower and higher levels, enhances shadow economy, poverty and unemployment. Furthermore, the crime and terror nexus threatens the stability and security at the national, regional and international levels (Swanstrom 2010). Neerja Aggrawal is of opinion that, the debilitating effects of drug trafficking on various aspect of security is glaring visible in Central Asia. The region which is geographically located between Afghanistan and Europe is a center of the narcotics production and consumption. Due to the largest production of opium in the war-torn Afghanistan and northward transshipment of narcotics through Central Asia to the world largest market of Europe and Russia have an adverse impact on the security of the region. It clearly demonstrates that the two issues as drug trafficking and security are closely interlinked and cannot be studied in isolation (Aggrawal 2010:5).

Review of Literature:

Concept of security

Despite the various efforts by scholars of security studies to conceptualize 'security' in a coherent and systematic way, no single, generally accepted definition of security has been produced. Walter Lippmann (1943) is of the opinion that state security is about a state's ability to deter or defeat an attack. It appears that security of a nation is

closely tied with the capability of a state to protect its core values. It includes maintain the integrity of the state and protect the territory from external threats. However, Walt emphasizes that military power is the central focus of the field, yet he concedes that 'military power is not the only source of national security, and military threats are not the only dangers that states face' (Walt 1991: 213). On the other hand, broadening the concept of security McNamara argues that 'Security is development and without development there can be no security development means economic, social and political progress. It means a reasonable standard of living, and reasonable in this context requires continual redefinition; what is reasonable in an earlier stage of development will become unreasonable at a later stage' (McNamara 1968: 149-150). Ullman emphasizes that 'defining national security merely in military terms conveys a profoundly false image of reality' (Ullman 1983: 123).

The Non-Traditional Security Threats:

Since the end of the cold war, the concept of security has widened and there has also been a subsequent raise of the non-traditional security threats. Svante E. Cornell has stressed on distinguishing between "Hard" and "Soft" security threats that has been accepted by academics and policy maker. Among the transnational threats, the trade in illicit drugs arguably carries the largest social, political and economic consequences following terrorism.(Cornell 2006). Olcott & Udalov opine that the reasons for the emergence of non-traditional threats like drugs lie in the situations that have followed after the collapse of the Soviet Union. They write, "The map of the world has been changed forever. New states have emerged, borders have opened, and new relations have been established. Unfortunately, this has also meant more opportunities for drug trafficking and proliferation. This is especially true because the newly independent states of Central Asia cannot easily cut themselves off from the situation in Afghanistan."(Olcott & Udalova 2000) .The strategic location of Central Asia makes it a hub of drug trafficking. Besides, the prevalent political, social and economic conditions provide propitious ground for it to flourish (Aggarwal 2010).

However, Deepali Singh also attributes the problem to the traditional factor that has more to do with the history of cultivation. According to Singh, the region has had a long history of production and consumption of drugs. She writes, "Afghanistan is the fountain head of the poppy cultivation thus, it is facilitating drug trade." She raises the

question that why one particular country rather than other, become the world's biggest opium producer in the short span of two decades? (Singh 2010).

Socio-Economic Background of Central Asia:

After the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991, Central Asian region became an independent region. The region was very ambitious and bold to shift from a single party power structure to a pluralistic electoral system and move from a centralized state economy to a market-oriented economy. However, the USSR's break-up soon brought chaos and uncertainty to the lives of the people of the region due to the various economic crises. New governments in the region have failed to provide better condition to the people especially to the young people. The region has been described as "Drug-Dominated Region". (Olcott &Udalova 2000) Olcott &Udalova write that these states are situated between the world's largest illicit opium producers and the most lucrative markets in Western Europe. In their opinion, the proliferation of drugs is undermining Central Asian society. It is a plight on the economic and social environment and a threat to the traditional system of values. It is wreaking havoc among the younger generation particularly. It has fuelled the organized crimes. The growing drug problem has put a further burden on government budgets, increased crime rates leading to diminishing public safety, raised the levels of domestic violence, child abuse, and costs of health care, stimulated the rapid spread of several deadly infectious diseases, and further adding to decrease in economic productivity.

In one of her other works, Olcott has shown the nexus of radical groups and the drug traffickers even more clearly by explaining how the opium and heroin produced from Afghanistan's poppy crops remain a ready source of income for radical groups throughout Central Asia. Afghanistan also remains an arms bazaar and serves as a source of small arms for Central Asia, which already had a lot of small arms and larger weapons available after the breakup of Soviet forces (Olcott 2002).

The Causes and Impacts of Drug Trafficking:

Central Asia has a long geo-strategic location because of its proximity to the interests of several great powers. The dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991, created a situation of political vacuum in Central Asia. Poverty, unemployment and lack of any alternative means of livelihood forced the people to involve in illegal drug trafficking.

The causes that the literature discusses are the range of socio-economic conditions like poverty , unemployment and low spending in health and education etc. (Mohapatra 2007; Olcott & Udalov 2000) Drug trafficking has the power to weaken economies as it produces a criminalized economy which also in turn affects the global economy. Lubin captures the problem in her words- “Cultivation and trafficking is a way of life and some time a matter of survival for many in the region. The increasing number of improvised people likewise willing to risk the harsh legal penalties of drug trafficking because they view opium as their only ticket to survival .These realities keep the drug trade vibrant and have spawned a range of policies and programs on the part of western governments and donor to stem the production and trafficking of drugs in this part of world” (Lubin 2001). In this context, Swanstrom has drawn attention to the instable polity as one of the factors that is encouraging the drug trafficking in the region (Swanstrom2010).

On the impact, the literature is equally vocal and almost unanimous. Madi argues how the economy is affected by drug trafficking. This results in “White collar crime” like money laundering where illegal money from drug trafficking is legalized. This makes the economy totally dependent on drugs. As a result of this there is hardly any chance for other industry or agriculture based industry (Madi 2004).

Esfandiari has drawn attention regarding big gap between the rich and poor (Esfandiari 2010). The problem motivated by drug trafficking has been the concern for many scholars. Makarenko raises the issue of narco-terrorism. The study states that the term “crime terror nexus” refers tom a security continue with traditional organized crime on one hand of the spectrum and terrorism , on the other hand, drug trafficking has been the strong factor for sponsoring terrorism (Makarenko 2002). Savnte E. Cornell also discusses the relationship between radicalism narcotic’s and arms conflict.

National and International Initiatives to Combat Drug Trafficking:

J.K. Mohanty (2006) is of the view that Constitutional provisions are the foundations on which the efforts of republics to fight against terrorism and violence is based. It provides the guiding principles to move further in that direction without harming the

basic fundamental rights of the people. However, in order to combat terrorism, the legal provisions of the Central Asian countries are sufficient themselves. But the governments have taken many legal steps to counter the evil of drug trafficking as well as terrorism. SCO is the most prominent regional organization in order to tackle the problem of drug trafficking as well as terrorism (Stefanie, Hoffman, 2011).

The UN is active in funding drug control efforts in Central Asia. Mostly international assistance comes from its office. The UN's Office of Drug Control and Crime Prevention (UN ODCCP), has worked for over a decade in context of reducing opium cultivation through rural development activities in Afghanistan. Post 9/11, the US has shown a keen interest in combating drug trafficking in the CARs. The E.U. has contributed through its innovative border management programs. Martha Brill Olcott, raises the question that, "Could the International Community have been More Effective in Central Asia?", she says that the international community could have made a more effective presence in Central Asia, but this would have required changing the basic assumptions of international assistance, which is designed to spur development rather than to pay the costs associated with economic transition. The role of United States has been panned.

The international and regional approaches have also been analysed. Lubin has studied the efforts taken by U.N. ODCCP (U N's office of drug control and crime prevention), and U.S. Bilateral programs with Central Asian Countries to control illegal drug trafficking in the region (Lubin 2001). Zhang Yao has analysed the security situation of Central Asia and stressed on the role of USA, Europe, NATO, OSCE, UN and other relevant international organizations regarding fighting against terrorism and other extremists, and keeping Central Asia away from the major production area of international drugs market and channel (Yao 2010).

There are scholars who look towards the solutions, for instance, Niklas Swanstrom believes that currently the regional organizations are in a need of external power to create increased confidence and trust between the regional powers, but in a long run it is necessary for the region to create a functional Central Asian Organization. On the other hand, he argues that if the US and Europe want to be more effective in cooperation with Central Asian states they need to be more sensitive to Central Asian

needs and perceptions. He stresses on long -term oriented conflict prevention strategies rather than focus on crisis management.

The above literature does not fall short of solutions yet the history of all the attempts that have been made so far to reduce the threat emerging from drugs trafficking is not enough. The moot questions are -Do Central Asian Republics possess the legal, economic, and political framework to deal with this transnational threat? Is stopping of cultivation of opium capable of removing the threat of drug trafficking, or a more regulatory approach is required? The Republics have the experiences of Colombia before their eyes, but surely one size fits all approach is potentially devastating. Therefore, this proposed study will seeks to analyse the problem in the context of this region. It will also focus on the local conditions that prevail in the region. The main aim of the study will be to study the viability of certain approaches that can cut the flow of drugs. The two of them being the regulatory approach and stopping of cultivation of the crop itself. Therefore, a study of socio-economic conditions like poverty and unemployment will be an integral part of this study.

Rationale and Scope of the Study:

The aim of this study is to examine the perception of new types of threats as drug trafficking, organized crime, corruption and terrorism, etc. However, this study looks specifically at the problem of drug trafficking in the Central Asian region because drug trafficking is a serious threat to the national security of the CARs. It is closely intertwined with the new emerging threats. Drug trafficking is amplified by the fact that the Central Asian republics are positioned between the biggest opiate-based drugs producer Afghanistan and the largest consumer market in the Western Europe. The study is relevant as a contribution to the security studies because no significant academic work has written about new types of security threats.

Aims and Objectives of the Study:

The aims and objectives of the research are to study various dimensions of drug trafficking in Central Asia and how it is posing a serious security threat to the Central Asian Countries. This has been stated in the form of the following specific objectives;

- To understand the changing concept of security and to study the linkage between

- existing security threats (soft and hard) in Central Asian region.
- To study the various dimensions of drug trafficking in Central Asia.
 - To examine the main causes and its socio-political & economic effects of drug trafficking on Central Asian States.
 - To study the various routes of drug trafficking through Central Asian States.
 - To examine how drug trafficking has become a global problem affecting all the regions of the world
 - To find out the twin relationship between organized crime and drug trafficking, as well as the link between narcotics and terrorist groups.
 - To study the failure of the Central Asian states to combat drug trafficking in the region
 - To search out most effective strategies and tactics to counter drug smuggling in Central Asia
 - To analyze the regional and international initiatives to combat drug trafficking in the CARs.

Research Questions:

Following research questions have been addressed during the course of the research:

- What is drug trafficking and who does traffic of illicit drugs in Central Asia?
- What are the main causes and socio-economic and political effects of drug trafficking in Central Asia? And what are the implications for national security?
- Which are the main routes for drug trafficking through Central Asia?
- Why is Afghanistan the main source of drug trafficking in Central Asia?
- How are Islamic groups involved in narcotic trade?
- What are the common problems of CARs to face the security threats in the region?
- What is the role of international community to combat drug smuggling in Central Asia?
- Which effective strategies and tactics are more acceptable and applicable to combat drug trafficking in Central Asia?

Hypotheses:

Following are the hypotheses of the study:

1. The Geo-strategic location of Central Asia and its proximity with other countries especially with Afghanistan makes it the main center for transportation of narcotic substances across the world.
2. The weak mechanism to regulate the drugs market is the main cause of the increasing flow of drug trafficking in the region.

Research Methodology:

The study is based on descriptive and analytical method of research. It is based on both Primary and Secondary source materials available in English language. Primary source materials include various government documents, resolution, reports, decrees, laws and speeches of the Central Asian leaders as well as other leaders of the world. Besides, the UN reports and other international agencies and organizations reports have been used as Primary source materials. The books, research journals and materials available at websites have been consulted for the study as Secondary source materials. The study is qualitative in nature because it focuses on one or a small number of cases. Inductive method has been used in this research. There are two hypotheses in this study, first is the geo-strategic location of Central Asia and its proximity with other countries especially with Afghanistan is the independent variable. It is the main reason for drug trafficking in this region. Hence drug trafficking is the dependent variable here. Secondly, weak regulatory system of the CARs is also the independent variable and increasing drug trafficking is the dependent variable. Therefore, this study analyses the problem within the context of these two hypotheses.

Scheme of the Research:

Following are the tentative scheme of the chapterisation of the study:

Chapter 1: Introduction: Concept of Security and Review of Literature

The first chapter deals with a brief introduction of the subject as well as the concept of security. Besides a detailed literature review of relevant material is scanned and discussed. The chapter discusses the objectives of the present study as well as stress

on research question and states the methodology of the research.

Chapter 2: Non-Traditional Security Threats in Central Asia

The second chapter analyzes the new non-military threats such as drug trafficking, transnational crime, terrorism, climate change, information security, money laundering, migration of population etc. This chapter also attempts to explore how these non-traditional security threats affect the national security of the CARs.

Chapter 3: Drug Trafficking in Central Asia

Chapter third discusses the drug trafficking in Central Asia. This chapter focuses on the various areas of production and the drug trafficking routes in the CARs. The area of supply and the market have been identified and highlighted. This chapter also throws light on the social, economic and political impacts of drug trafficking on Central Asia. It further discusses the effects of drug trafficking as addiction in youth, drugs abuse and HIV/AIDS, rising criminality; and how drug trafficking affects women, etc.

Chapter 4: Drugs, Terrorism and Organized Crime

In this chapter an attempt has been made to understand the nature of the relationship between drugs and terrorism. The revenue generated from the production of poppy cultivation and illegal trade in drugs and its derivatives go to the funding of terrorist activities.

Chapter 5: National, Regional and International Initiatives to Combat Drug Trafficking

The fifth chapter focuses on the attempts made by both regional and international organization. It specially deals with local initiatives, regional cooperation as well as international efforts to combat drug trafficking in Central Asia.

Chapter 6: Conclusion

This chapter summarises the basic findings and presents the final conclusion of the study.

CHAPTER –SECOND

NON-TRADITIONAL SECURITY THREATS IN CENTRAL ASIA

The end of the Cold War has marked a shift in the study and analysis of security and world order from a traditional framework to a non-traditional approach. The nature of threats and security discourses are incessantly changing and this expanding security agenda has gone beyond state and military security. According to Mely Caballero-Anthony Non-traditional security threats may be defined as “challenges to the survival and well-being of peoples and states that arise primarily out of non-military sources, like climate change, cross-border environmental degradation and resource depletion, infectious diseases, natural disasters, irregular migration, food shortages, people smuggling, drug trafficking, and other forms of transnational crime.” In context of Central Asian countries, these non-traditional threats come in the form of terrorism; drug trafficking, organized crime, infectious diseases such as HIV AIDS, illegal immigration, environmental security, economic security, water security. Arguably, these threats have been raised earlier but it is the end of the Cold War that made it possible to have a more attention on these issues. For example, in the Soviet Union, the environmental problems like Aral Sea and social problems such as AIDS, poverty and narcotics abuse were prevalent even before 1991, but they had been overshadowed by the military security and the threat from the West. However, amongst all transnational threats, drug trafficking has become the most prominent activity which has threaten the fabric of the society through addiction, crime and diseases and enables the insurgent and terrorist groups to generate big profit as well. Drug trafficking is more lucrative than trafficking in human and arms. It has tremendous impact on political security, economic security as well as societal security of the Central Asian republics. The evil of drug abuse is not only destroying the life of young people but also poses a threat to social stability and family well being by involving the women as drug traffickers. The trafficking of drugs and its linkages with other organized crimes makes it more dangerous. Apart from it, advanced technology, improved means of communication or transportation and diabolical ingenuity available to drugs traffickers all over the world has steadily made the task of enforcement more complicated, challenging and hazardous.

Thus, today, challenges from non-traditional threats are greater than traditional. For example crime, corruption, terrorism, drug, human trafficking, arms smuggling and ethnic conflict and civil strife are creating instability in the region. Similarly, poverty, hunger, unemployment and unequal distribution of resources/ wealth are related to economic insecurity have also threatened the security of the region. Environmental issues are going to pose the biggest challenges to the Central Asian states in the near future as well. The drying up of the Aral Sea is affecting the health and lives of hundreds of thousands of people cutting across republics (Patnaik, Chenoy 2010: XIV). Apart from this water related confrontations is also threatening the security of the region. Lack of experience in managing independent statehoods, transitional economic conditions and absence of effective democratic structures are some of the other problems which the five Republics are confronting at the border level.

I Internal Weakness and Security in Central Asia

According to Niklas Swanstrom (2010) internal weakness is closely interlinked with the development of security. Central Asian republics namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan all suffer from internal weaknesses in their political and economic function at different level and degrees. There is a most serious impact of the political and economic instability on the development of the security of the region. Internal weakness has been a growing problem for many of the states of the CAR. But potentially more important is the regional weakness that enables organised crime, extremism, drug trafficking, arms smugglings to grow and prevent effective multilateral cooperation to combat the problems. However, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has taken a number of far reaching measures to combat different form of soft and hard security threats. But, the result is not so much positive. This is mainly due to the inability and unwillingness of the Central Asian members to act actually to combat the problem.

This is not only affecting the security of the Central Asian Republics but it has been a negative development since the independence, disturbing to the regional and international security. Corruption and political co-option by non-political actors are especially apparent in states which are suffering from internal weaknesses. Criminal and shady economic structures have the potential to destabilize and corrupt a weak state or region as well. This promotes the production and transit of narcotics and

increase terrorist and extremist behavior. The environmental problem is another serious problem in the Central Asian region. Therefore, internal weaknesses of the states are crucial component in the context of the security discussion on the Central Asian republics. There is a need to look at the state's weakness because it is important as the impact of insecurity does not only affect the state itself but also the surrounding states. Holsti had argued that: "The security between states in the Third World, among some of former republics of the Soviet Union, and elsewhere has become increasingly dependent upon security within those states" (Madi, Maral 2005: 16).

Swanstrom (2010) analyses that lack of Cooperation regarding regional security among the Central Asian states is not because of lack of common interest but because the national interest that is primarily directed inwards rather than outwards. The failure of any state is apparent when the potential of the soft security threats are high and transnational in character. The domino effect of it may spread from one state to the other. Afghanistan and Tajikistan are the worst affected states in this regard. The overlap of security threats and geography between these states is disturbing. On the other hand, Ferghana Valley is a region where the transnational aspects are apparently and increasingly problematic (Swanstrom 2010: 41-42).

Buzan has argued that states are considered to be strong when the "National Security can be viewed primarily in terms of protecting the components of the states from outside threat and interference, and where the idea of state, its institution and its territory will be cleared defined and stable in their own right" (Buzan, Barry 1991: 100).

The point is here that strong states do not have internal issues as primary security threats because the political institution can deal sufficiently with any internal problem to an acceptable degree. The capacity of strong states to withstand internal security issues has not included "soft "threats which is also known as non-traditional security threats such as economic crisis and environmental degradation, etc. It also includes the situation when a large part of the population is forced to move due to drought for example Aral Sea issues. It is not only the problem of drought when a state fails but also when its fail to take account economic deprivation, the abuse of narcotic, the corruption of the state, and that the level of criminality and health issue become as serious as they become the reason of productivity decreases. This is a situation that is

quite prevalent in many of the Central Asian states today (Swanstrom 2010: 42-43).

For the weaker states in Central Asia, the socio-political cohesion and internal challenges to the legitimacy of the government have led to endemic political instability. Therefore, these weak states are more vulnerable to the internally generated threats than strong states, and their primary objective is to consolidate their internal stability (political control), rather than focusing on threats originating from other states (Swanstrom 2010: 43). Ayoob has argued at a general level that the “major concern indeed obsession” of elites of developing states “is with security at the level of both states structures and governing regimes” (Ayoob, Mohammed 1995: 4).

Weak states are, therefore (to a higher degree than strong states), preoccupied with the possibility to stay in power which is an often undemocratic system and they are willing to go to great lengths to accomplish this. The often forceful action against domestic opposition or even perceived opposition is common in Central Asia. Financial support (corruption) is one of these means to stay in power and weak political leaders who seek resources to hold on to their power. In 2005, the people behind the Kyrgyz revolution were financed by means of drug money. This would put the current regime in an inter-dependent relationship with narcotics dealers that threaten their internal, as well as international legitimacy. Such security threats come in a wide variety of shapes but the common problem is that it threatens the stability of the regime in power. Afghanistan is a clear-cut case where the narcotics industry has become the primary industry in the country, and which has seeped into the core of the institutions and power relationships present there (Swanstrom 2010:43-44).

Apart from this, Weak states tend to have much less resources and abilities to act on soft security threats, such as the environmental challenges that are often not even seen as a serious threat or at least not the governments. This is despite the fact that water and agricultural areas are in high demand and dwindling due to poor environmental track records. The result of this is a substantial threat to the physical survival of the state or at least regions, such as the Aral Sea area. Overall, this makes weak states a growing ground for soft security threats and the spread tends to be much faster in comparison to a state with a more stable political and economic environment (Swanstrom 2010: 43-44). Therefore, it is clear from the above discussion that there are several non-traditional security threats in Central Asia and mainly internal

weakness of these states are responsible for this as they are not capable to handle these new emerging threats.

II Non-Traditional Security Threats in the five Republics

These non-traditional security threats are given below-

(a) Environmental Challenges in Central Asia

Central Asia has states many common environmental problems. The entire region suffers from ecological disaster on a vast scale with many more occurrences. According to UN report, Central Asia is a vulnerable to desertification and expert are saying that all countries in the region urgently need to develop a joint strategy to combat the threat. The report warns that climate change, over exploitation of land and unsustainable irrigation practices are degrading the quality of soil. As a result, some million people could be displaced in the next decade.²

According to the Eurasia Insight report (2007), The United Nation's Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC Report 2007) predicted that by the end of this century disappearance of glaciers in the Tien Shan, Pamir and Hindu Kush mountain ranges will result in the shortage of water in the region. The temperature could increase dramatically, resulting in the fall of crop yields to the tune 30 percent by 2050. The cotton industry may be doomed because of the lack of irrigation due to decreased quantity of water. The collapse of cotton sector could lead to mass unemployment in an already unstable Ferghana Valley. In Tajikistan, the cotton occupation employs about 80 percent of country's rural labor force and it is also the second largest export commodity. In Uzbekistan, cotton employs three million people, generates 24 percent of country's 8.7 billion GDP, providing it an annual income of over \$ 1 billion and these exports account for about 60 percent of the hard currency exports of the country.³ Therefore, environmental degradation and water scarcity have the potential of leading to serious conflict situation in the region. Water is fast becoming a scare commodity in the region.

²Eurasia Insight (2007), "Central Asia Faces Grim Environmental Future: UN report", Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav042607a.shtml>.

³Ibid.

The problem in Aral Sea

The Aral Sea in Central Asia was once the world's fourth largest lake now turned a shadow of it. Since 1960, it has lost 40% of its area and has become so salty that 20 of its 24 native fish species have disappeared. The Aral Sea has been shrunk by almost 30 percent in the past two decades because of various reasons. Flow of the water in the Amu Darya and Syr Darya which are the major river of the region, has been reduced. The intensified water demand for purpose of irrigation and industrial use has created a situation of acute shortages. Even the size of the sea is reduced and depth of the water has decreased alarmingly. For instance, from the depth of 53 meters in 1960 it has gone down by 23 to 30 meters by 2008 (singh, Kuldeep 2011:194). This has seriously affected the occupation of fishing and health of people in the Aral Sea area. Thus, these are the serious consequences for the Central Asian states, because it is a developing region which is marked by high share of agricultural production, low industrialization, mass unemployment and high population growth.

The mismatch between the supply of the water and its demand is noticeable. It is the fact that downstream countries like Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are heavily dependent on water resources of the upper stream countries of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. These two countries have a large quantity of water resources. The main basin of the Syr Darya and Amu Darya rivers are shared by several states in Central Asian republics but the downstream populous states (Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan) are in a disadvantageous position as compared with less populous upper stream countries (Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan). Syr Darya is divided among four countries as it originates in Kyrgyzstan, passing through Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and finally running into Kazakhstan but its water is not equally distributed (Singh, Kuldeep 2011: 194).

Similarly, mismatch between quantities of water required and its availability is discernible in the Amu Darya water. The region suffers tensions over water use between the upstream countries of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and their downstream neighbors - Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. "The upstream countries build hydro-projects, but in the summer the downstream countries want water for irrigation while the upstream countries want to accumulate it for winter power generation," said Dairov. "In Soviet times there was a system of compensation for the upstream countries with oil and gas from the downstream countries. Now, all five countries of

the region pursue their own interests.”⁴ Thus, mismatch between quantities of water required and its availability is discernible in the Amu Darya water between the less populous Turkmenistan and More populous Uzbekistan. Divergence of interest has created the situation of conflict between upper stream and lower stream states on the issue of utilization of water for generating hydro power by Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. For instance, in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan the share of hydro power in energy consumption is more than 50 percent, while Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan are less dependent on hydro power. Russian President Dmitry Medvedev, during his visit to Uzbekistan in January 2009, after meeting his Uzbek counterparts Islam Karimov on January on 23 declared that Russian investment for building of hydro-electric power station in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan would be undertaken only if schemes took into account the interest of other states of the region (Singh, Kuldeep 2011: 195).

The global warming is another issue which should be taken seriously in the context of the Central Asian countries. The region has its own specificities which make it vulnerable to the ill effects of environmental degradation. The region is heavily dependent on the water of the two major rivers and due to the problem of global warming it may result in excess rain or in its shortage. The shrinking of glaciers in the mountain ranges would seriously hamper the water supplies as glaciers are important source of water. The ill effects of environmental degradation have already been seen in the context of Aral Sea, which shrank from 68,000 square kilometers in 1960 to ten percent of its flora and fauna.⁵

Apart from the above said the shortage of water has destroyed the fishing industry in Aral Sea and leaving thousands without work. The infant mortality rate is at 10 percent that is four times the Russia’s national rate. Throat cancer rates have soared and traces of agricultural chemicals have been found in mothers’ milk since 1975. Ninety percent of the area’s population depends upon contaminated water for drinking. According to The Millennium Development Goals Report 2011, “The region is also approaching water scarcity, as it is withdrawing 56 percent of its internal

⁴Isabel Hillton (2009), “Central Asia’s Water Problem”, Available at: [http:// www. opendemocracy. net/article/ openecconomy/central-asias-water-problem](http://www.opendemocracy.net/article/openecconomy/central-asias-water-problem).

⁵Isabel Hillton (2009) “Water Tension in Central Asia”, Available at: <http://www.chinadialogue.net/article/show/single/en/3267>.

renewable water resources. Once the share surpasses 60 per cent, regional water sources will not be enough to meet people's daily needs".⁶ Due to the drying up of the Sea fisheries and the communities that depended on them have collapsed. The increasingly salty water became polluted with fertilizer and pesticides. The blowing dust from the exposed lakebed, contaminated with agricultural chemicals, becomes a public health hazard. The salty dust blew off the lakebed and settled onto fields, degrading the soil. The loss of the moderating influence of such a large body of water made winters colder and summers hotter and drier. The entire Central Asian leader has recognised that water patterns have created a potential security risk but they understood the problem through the prism of their own national interests (Olcott 2005:15-16).

In an effort to save some part of the lake, Kazakhstan built a dam between the northern and southern parts of the Aral Sea. Completed in 2005, the dam was basically a death sentence for the southern Aral Sea, which was judged to be beyond saving. All of the water flowing into the desert basin from the Syr Darya now stays in the Northern Aral Sea. Between 2005 and 2006, the water levels in that part of the lake rebounded significantly and very small increases are visible throughout the rest of the time period. The differences in water color are due to changes in sediment.

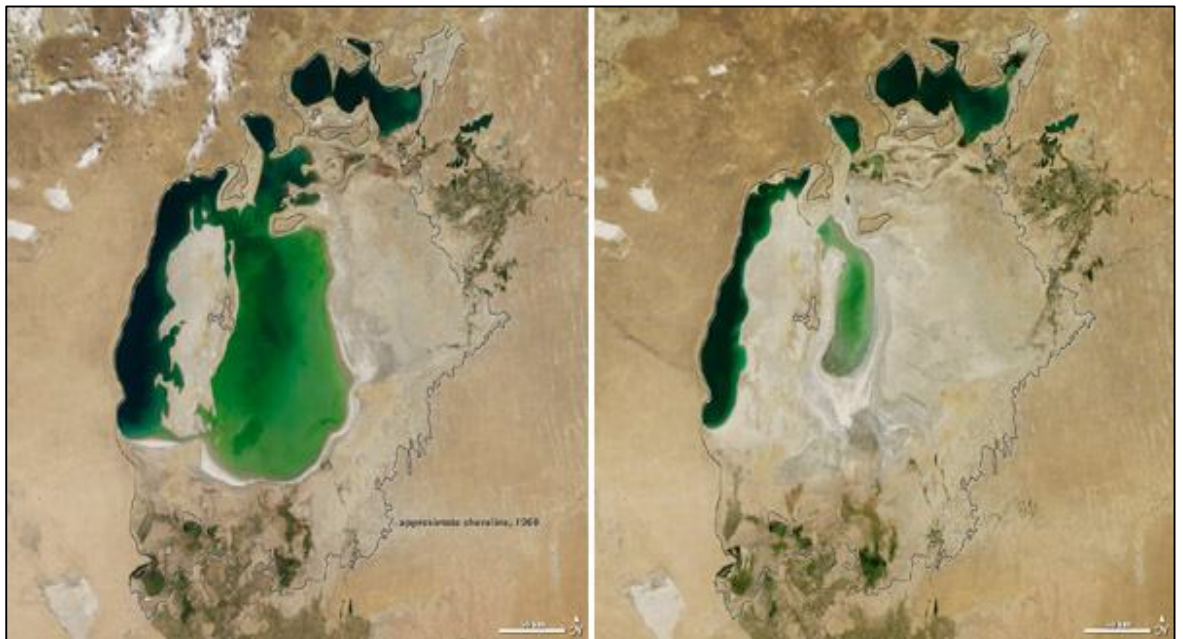
On the borders of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, the Aral Sea was once the world's fourth biggest inland sea. Today it is mostly deserting. The Aral Sea basin is now a devastated saline landscape which is heavily polluted since the time of Soviet weapons testing and chemical weapons. Most water is heavily contaminated with agricultural chemicals and bacteria, and does not reach international drinking water standards but is the only option for local people (UNEP, 2005). Operation of uranium mining and processing in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan has created a situation that poses the serious health risk and has adverse consequences for the environment. Central Asia as region was widely used by the former Soviet Union for uranium mining and nuclear testing. The ill effects of testing are continuing even today. It is believed that toxic dust is still carried on in Central Asian winds, which

⁶Millennium Development Goals Report 2011, Available at:
www.un.org/millenniumgoals/11_MDG%20Report_EN.pdf

has become the reason of reducing body of water. All the Central Asian countries excluding Turkmenistan face the common problem of the residues which left from uranium mining and milling activities carried on more than 50 years. Kazakhstan has been affected by nuclear weapons testing that have done at several places. So there are serious popular concerns for the possible impact of the release of radioactivity in to the environment (Singh, Kuldeep 2011: 196-197).

Apart from this, Water pollution has also become another serious threat to the health of people of the region. The Report's findings show that Tajikistan's death rate from unsafe drinking water (751 per million people annually) is the highest. In Central Asia It is placing it between South Asia (443) and sub-Saharan Africa (1,286 deaths per million), which has the world's most acute contamination problems. So due to the shortage of drinking water, most of the population of the Aral Sea Region drinks and uses the water that does not meet the international quality standards recommended by the World Health Organization (UNDP 2007).

Map No. 2.1
DECLINE OF ARAL SEA BETWEEN 2000 AND 2011



Source: <http://www.rtcc.org/nature/why-are-the-worlds-lakes-disappearing/>

The security implications of climate change are attracting increased attention. Scientific evidence shows that the earth is warming due to largely human activities and at a potentially unprecedented rate. There are long-term changes in climate that already have occurred and projected to continue, including sea-level rises, more intense and longer droughts, more intense tropical storms, and more frequent heat waves and heavy precipitation events. The potential consequences of these changes and of the environmental degradation associated with them are grave. They include food and water shortages, population shifts and economic losses. These in turn may increase a range of risks to human security, including the risk of deadly conflict. There is a failure of regional cooperation to save the Aral Sea. It seems that there is a long way to go before cooperation on the impending water crisis. The global warming has global consequences therefore; all countries should show their concerns and commit themselves to actions for saving global environment.

The Aral Sea crisis has not only led to wide scale environmental degradation, but also economical, social, and medical problems. It has become a human crisis. There is an emergency to extend practical help to people in this region; First of all in solving the water problem, it is necessary to create an international coordinating body at the UN level to monitor water distribution in Central Asia. Every nation should follow a limit in the use of water for irrigation and development and practices that will ensure safe water for drinking. These rights should be protected on an international level. There is an acute necessity of taking wide-scale measures to relieve the negative impact of environmental factors on human health and to consolidate efforts to render practical support to improve the situation.

(b) Threat of Energy Security

The water serves dual purposes in the region- (a) Irrigation in case of downstream states and (b) production of hydro-power energy in case of upstream states. The Central Asian states consider water as national resources to serve their national interests. In this context, compromise has not been easy particularly when national economic and political interests have been at stake. The upstream states of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have abundance of water but are deficit in Hydrocarbon energy resources of oil and natural gas. High prices for oil and natural gas that have prevailed in the recent years have qualitatively changed economic fortune of Kazakhstan and

Turkmenistan. Uzbekistan is also endowed with natural gas resources. But both Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan Republics are not endowed with oil and natural gas. Therefore, both are dependent on the supply of these hydrocarbon resources from their Central Asian neighbors. The issue of sharing water and energy among Central Asian states did not arise during Soviet era, but the situation has drastically changed after the Soviet break-up. The ideal solution of problem is that there should be cooperation and interdependence among all the Central Asian states. But the reality is quite different (Gidadhubli 2011: 29-30).

R.G.Gidadhubli (2011) argues that the upstream states are relatively small in terms of territory as compared to Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. They are less economically poor and have been facing acute financial problems. Therefore, as a result, the Kyrgyzstan has sometimes been defaulting on payment for imports of oil and natural gas from Uzbekistan as it happened in October 2001. To reduce their dependence on import of oil and natural gas, these two states have proposed to exercise their sovereign rights to produce hydro-electric power for which there is need to construct dams. But this has raised conflicts among the Central Asian states. In fact the Kyrgyzstan has partly privatized energy sector and attracted foreign capital for the purpose. In 2005, Tajikistan proposed to build the fourth dam on the Vaksh Cascade to produce more electricity. As a result, the construction of these dams would automatically reduce water supply to downstream countries which has affected the interests of downstream states of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. For instance, in April 2009, at the summit meeting of heads of Central Asian states, the President of Kyrgyz Republic raised the issue of energy shortage in his state and conveyed his decision to build hydrocarbon power station. The move was opposed by the Uzbek President Islam Karimov. He said that it would reduce water availability for the state and affect the agriculture sector. Uzbekistan has been waging a campaign over the last more than a decade, against the construction of large hydro-power station in Kyrgyzstan (Kambae-Ata) and in Tajikistan (Roghun). In fact both these projects were initiated before the Soviet breakup but not yet completed. On this issue the Tajik President Imomali Rahmon is of the view that Hydro projects that being built in Tajikistan would not harm the neighboring states (R.G. Gidadhubli 2011:31).

Table.2.1
DISTRIBUTION OF HYDRO-ENERGY POTENTIAL IN CENTRAL ASIA

Name of Countries	Percentages
Tajikistan	60.50%
Kyrgyzstan	31.10%
Kazakhstan	5.20%
Uzbekistan	2.90%
Turkmenistan	0.40%

Source: Abdurahim, Juraev (2011), "Tajikistan On a Way to Energy Independence", in Patnaik, Ajay and Chenoy, Anuradha (eds.), Non- Traditional Threats to the Security in Central Asia, New Delhi:K.W Publisher p.231.

Table.2.2
DISTRIBUTION OF FOSSIL FUEL-CRUDE OIL, NATURAL GAS, COAL IN CENTRAL ASIA

Name of Countries	Percentages
Kazakhstan	77%
Uzbekistan	12.70%
Turkmenistan	6.7
Kyrgyzstan	1.70%
Tajikistan	1.50%

Source: Ibid. p.230.

Thus, these issues are quite complex and sensitive. But what is needed is greater regional cooperation. According to World Bank and UNDEP experts the solution to the energy and water problems of Central Asian countries is mainly dependent upon agreement and cooperation among the concerned states.

(c) Problems of Social Security

Prior to the 1991, the Central Asian republics were part of the former Soviet Union. In other words, we can say that these Central Asian republics were governed by the Moscow. During the Soviet Period, these five republics enjoyed the political as well

as social security. After the disintegration of the former USSR, there was a social and political vacuum. Even the communist ideology lost its relevance. During the last two decades under conditions of transition from centrally planned command economy to market economy, a substantial section of population has faced problems of unemployment, poverty, beggary, crime and so on. For instance Tajikistan has been the worst affected state which is forcing its younger generation to seek employment outside the state including Russia. Even, the money sent by the Tajik who are living abroad has been a major source for the people of the state. According to current estimates 70 percent of young people in Tajikistan are growing up on less than \$1 a day. Moreover, income disparities are increasing among various sections of the population which was inconceivable during Soviet era. These problems are relatively less in oil-rich states of Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan. Income disparities and problem of unemployment, poverty, beggary, and crime are causing the threats to social security to the Central Asian states (Gidadhubli 2011: 23-24).

On the other hand, globalization has influenced the cultural ethos of the Central Asian people due to industrialization, urbanization, rural-urban mobility and new markets leading to merger of national culture with international one. During the educational and material pursuits within integrated economic framework, the migrant folk, the younger boys and girls are caught up in a conflict between legacy and modernity. A. Kaw Mushtaq (2011) is opinion of that they are in the process of making distance from their families, villages land, and customs and tradition taboos and practices and in fact from the bequeathed heritage. They experience a change in every walk of life and from a simple life pattern to a globalised culture of Jeans, cafe, restaurants, and bars so on. They are overwhelming absorbed by western movies, literature and music at the cost of the most enthralling classical *Sufiyana* music. Thus, global culture is influencing the unique culture of the native people. Thus, in the context of Central Asia globalization presents a coin with two faces such as bright and dark, one is symbol of economic prosperity and another is social conflicts and contradictions in the Central Asian context (Mushtaq 2010: 207-208).

Today, the world is facing a growing youth employment crisis. So far as Central Asia is concerned, there is the rapid population growth and young people who are poor, facing the serious crisis despite the declining the poverty rate. Youth role and issues

related to the factors that disable youth would remain of key concern. Another problem is related to the education system because education is not helping to youth to find a decent earning and not making able to contribute to the society as well. In the era of globalization the learning part of the youth's life is not efficient. Therefore, working part of the youth life is full of uncertainties. Marginality and disadvantage are common to both rural population as well as semi-urban youth. But, it particularly affects the urban population more because they are socially excluded also. It is estimated that 70% of Tajik population in the rural area is not incorporated in employment growth opportunities. They are marginalized and excluded primarily due to the fact that for the last 20 years, no new jobs have been created in the rural areas. Despite higher level of literacy, there are little opportunities to place the people in any productive activity. Even, skilled university educated workers have problems finding in decent job. Henceforth, this result is a painful human waste. However, emphasizing on education alone may not be bringing the necessary improvement unless the other aspects in the context of transition are considered. What happens to the youth after their education, this need to be priority concern? Appropriate programs need to be developed for providing adequate preparation and qualification. Otherwise merely providing access to education may not provide a solution (Abbas, Najam 2010: 157-166).

(d) Somatic Diseases Related Threats

Today Central Asia is facing myriad of security threats including somatic diseases such as HIV/AIDS and various infectious diseases. There are growing use of drug, sexually transmitted infections (STIs), tuberculosis (TB), and HIV/AIDS all are taking their cost on crumbling health care systems in the Central Asian republics. The Central Asian states which are located at the intersection of trafficking routes are flooded with cheap drugs. On the other hand human trafficking and commercial sex trade are also on the rise. International experience demonstrates that somatic diseases present a clear danger to states, their citizens and institutions.

With the poor health care systems, Central Asia is at the risk of epidemics of various diseases. The potential consequences are so devastating that Central Asian states should have no doubt that there is a the need to take adequate action before the situation gets out of control. Serious somatic illness leads to functional and organic

disturbances. Peculiar characteristic of the somatic diseases are very important for treatment because they pose complicated psychological problems for the patients. In these cases patient shows increased fatigue, annoyance, susceptibility and low labor efficiency. Low labor efficiency results in economic losses. Thus somatic diseases are threatening to the security, viability and prosperity of the Central Asian region.

Under the effects of somatic diseases, economic production and state revenues are declining. In the given situation the health care system and social benefits needs to be increased so that situation of the citizens can be improved. Thus, somatic diseases pose unparalleled challenges to human development, security and prosperity of the nation .The analysis shows that these infectious diseases would pose a serious security threats to Central Asia. The current trends indicate that the problem continues to increase rapidly due to local and regional factors such as socio-economic hardships, widespread ignorance and failing health care systems (Kakhkharova, Feruzakhon 2011:187).

Drug users are on the increase in Central Asia. Along the Silk Road many people are engaged in this illegal activity. Central Asia is a major route for drug trafficking from Afghanistan to Russia and then on to Europe. Also, sexual promiscuity has also increased the rate of HIV/AIDS. Unemployment has driven vast numbers of men and women away from home in search of work. Many spend 6-8 months a year away from their families. Most of them are sexually active with other women and prostitutes while away from home and many women who work away from home work in the sex industry.⁷

However, Central Asian countries can turn many of these challenges into opportunities to carry out an effective prevention and care program. For example, the governments of the region may lay a foundation for programs related to health education, risk and harm reduction efforts, and treatment of drug use, STIs and TB.⁸ According to UN Report of The Millennium Development Goals (2011) “Women’s and children’s lives improving in Caucasus and Central Asia with advances on Millennium Development Goals but poverty, HIV and AIDS and environmental

⁷“HIV/AIDS on the Rise Along the Silk Road”, Available at: <http://living-for-all.blogspot.in/2011/01/hiv-aids-on-rise-along-silk-road-in.html>

⁸Ibid.

sustainability remain big challenges”.⁹

Further, the report says, Child mortality has declined substantially in the Caucasus and Central Asia, dropping from a rate of 78 per cent in 1990 to 37 per cent in 2009. Progress has also been made towards reducing maternal deaths in the Caucasus and Central Asia. The region’s maternal mortality ratio has fallen from 70 maternal deaths per 100,000 live births in 1990 to 54 in 2008, making it the second lowest level of maternal mortality among all developing regions. However, gains made in the 1990s to reduce adolescent fertility have stalled since 2000 and the adolescent birth rate remained at 29 births per 1,000 women aged 15-19 in 2008.

According to the report, the region is not on track to meet the target of halving poverty by 2015, according to the report because the proportion of people living on less than \$1.25 a day (the international poverty line defined by the World Bank – actually increased from 6 per cent to 19 per cent between 1990 and 2005) so far as health is concerned Central Asia is the only region where the incidence of new HIV infections is increasing. Treatment for HIV and AIDS has expanded rapidly. But, the proportion of people living with HIV, receive antiretroviral therapy. But it remains low, at 26 per cent in 2009 (up from 2 per cent in 2004).

(e) Threats of Economic and Social Development

Lack of economic growth in the Central Asian region with the exceptions of some major cities and specific areas such as the energy sectors, have emerged as one of the largest threats against stability in the region. Organized crime has become one of the providers of social-economic stability and development in the many states of the region. The failure of the state structures to provide economic development has raised internal levels dissatisfaction and promoted the emergence of militant organizations or criminal organizations. People take alternatives to sustain themselves and their families. Sometimes, they leave the region to seek better life (Swanstrom 2010: 47). The people who finds limited opportunities, have engaged themselves in illegal activities such as drug trafficking. On the other hand, high rate of poverty force youth

⁹The Millennium Development Goals Report 2011, Available at:
www.un.org/millenniumgoals/11_MDG%20Report_EN.pdf

and even women to act as couriers for drugs to defend their families ignoring severe punishment for their indulgence in such crimes (Aggarwal 2010: 8).

Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan are the poorest countries in the CA region (168th and 167th respectively) on the World Bank gross national income (GNI) index; Tajikistan GNI per capita is \$800; Kyrgyzstan is \$840. Both states are widely considered to be economically and politically fragile.¹⁰ Both states are widely considered to be economically and politically fragile. Weak economic bases and small private sectors mean few growth opportunities. The rapid growth of populations has impacted the young population with poor education and few prospects except outward migration. Migration for work and consequent remittances are vital (Tajikistan is one of the most remittance-dependent countries in the world – accounting for 39% of GDP in 2010).¹¹ The populations rely heavily on external assistance. As key socio-economic and governance indicators deteriorate, both countries are prone to political instability and rising radicalism.

Tajikistan is very unlikely to achieve the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and education and health systems are deteriorating compared to the pre-1991 Soviet period. The relative poverty rate is 47.2%¹², with absolute poverty at 17.5%¹³. Due to the global financial crisis, progress on the MDGs has been slow on all fronts. Kyrgyzstan has done better, despite a challenging political, economic and social situation. As a result, national poverty rate has fallen from 35% to 32%¹⁴ during the period of 2007-2009 and the economy showing steady growth. But progress in delivering the benefits of growth to the poor needs to be accelerated, and the infant under five and maternal mortality rates remain unacceptably high. Most poor households in the region have a high number of children and are female-headed. With many men working abroad, women make up the majority of agricultural workers in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, working in low paid, harsh and exploitative conditions.

¹⁰DFID Central Asia Operational Plan 2011-2015, (2012), Available at: www.dfid.gov.uk/Documents/publications1/op/central-asia-2011.pdf.

¹¹Ibid.

¹²Ibid.

¹³Ibid.

¹⁴Ibid.

Women also bear increased responsibilities for childcare, elderly relations, and running the household; as well as facing constraints in exercising their legal rights to land, property and money. According to World Health Organization Survey in Tajikistan, approximately 50 per cent of women aged 15 and older had experienced physical, psychological or sexual violence by a family member. In addition, 35 per cent of girls under 15 had reported physical violence.¹⁵ In Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, where income poverty often correlates with inadequate access to reliable energy supplies, many citizens in rural areas live on, or just above, the poverty line. An abnormally cold winter or a drought can push vulnerable households below the poverty line. Social protection should target these people.¹⁶

Central Asia is facing severe problems as a result of the global financial crisis with decrease in growth, increased unemployment, return of migrant workers (mainly from Russia) with resulting decrease in remittances, and falling exchange rates, etc. The falling currencies of the region have made external debt much more expensive and inflation rates are soaring. Weak infrastructure investments have emerged as a major problem in Central Asian region.

Since the end of 2007, countries of the region have been struck by two major consecutive shocks: (i) the food and fuel price increase in 2007-08, and (ii) the global economic and financial crisis that began at the end of 2008. Households, both poor and rich, are directly and adversely affected by the crisis. The multi-dimensionality of the crises and the volatile economic environment challenge the ability of vulnerable households to cope up and to maintain their living standards. Social protection programs play an important role in the response to a crisis. In preparation for the April 2011 conference devoted to the United Nations Central Asia Regional Risk Assessment in Almaty, UNICEF sponsored a background paper to provide an overview of the social and economic vulnerabilities of households and assess social protection systems in the region. The results are alarming. While poverty rates have declined and living standards have improved due to growth in income and consumption, the global financial crisis showed how easily and quickly improvements

¹⁵Ibid.

¹⁶UNDP (2011), UNICEF/ CEEE/CIS-Economic and Social Policies- social Protection in Central Asia, Available at: http://www.unicef.org/ceecis/16401_18790.html.

can be eradicated. The surge in food prices during the first half of 2011 alone created significant stresses on poorest households in the region.¹⁷ The continuing growth of remittances into the region shows that many vulnerable households are trying to escape poverty by sending one family member abroad. But while remittances can raise household incomes and living standards in the short and medium term, they may not be a sustainable income source in the long run.

(f) Terrorism and Extremism as a Threat to Security

Today, Terrorism and Extremism has become the new factors of destabilization to the Central Asian countries. Central Asian states are facing common security challenges from crime corruption, terrorism and economic crisis and problem of democratic reforms as well. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan's future are most clouded by ethnic and territorial tension and in Kazakhstan corruption could spoil benefits from the development of their large energy resources. Authoritarianism and poverty in Uzbekistan could contribute a succession crisis. However, Kyrgyzstan is growing but still vulnerable civil society might help the relatively small nation safeguard its independence. Turkmenistan could spoil benefits from the development of their ample energy resources (Nurdavetova, Saniya 2011:173-177).

Along with drugs a serious threat to the security of individual states and the entire region is posed by the activity of religious extremist organizations such as Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) and Hizbut- Tahrir. The purpose of these radical groups is to disturb the security of the region and prevent secular development in these countries. Radicalism has increasingly become a serious threat to all Central Asia states in the region. According to some experts like Graham Fuller is of the opinion that political deprivation, economic deterioration and corruption are the main cause of extremism. But another analysts namely Shirin Akiner argues that strong religious extremist elements are the main causes of radical Islam rather than the social-economic factors. Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have been rocked by serious internal violence in the past. However, most of the scholars argue that much of the problem lies in the growing unemployment, low spending on health, education and social welfare. Today, there is a network of militants in the southern part of the

¹⁷Ibid.

Central Asia, especially in neighboring country Afghanistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. The problem is that the militants derive their strength and freedom of operation from the soft security threats that the governments have failed to act on. The social and economic deprivation gives extremist organization a reason to act against the governments. The current socio-economic situation in the region has legitimized many radical organizations action against the government. Thus, drugs have become the main source of financing to the extremist and terrorist's activities in the region.

One of the main reasons of Islamic extremists' threat to the regimes may be the economic distress in the region. Heavy unemployment and poverty rates among youth in the Ferghana Valley are growing in a large number. The problem of poverty and unemployment force the youth to join the radical organizations for their survival. Much of attraction of Islamic extremism in Central Asia is generated by factors such as poverty and dissatisfaction. But it is also facilitated by groups in Afghanistan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia that provide funding, education, training and manpower to the extremists group of Central Asia. There are some analysts who argue that other activities which also threats to the security of Central Asian republics such as hijacking, kidnapping, robbery, assault and murder are often carried out by individuals and groups for economic benefits (Nichol, Jim 2011:3). "There is also a problem of differentiating between the radical and criminal organizations because they overlap and benefit from each other's strong points of social legitimacy and financial strength respectively"(Swanstrom 2010:47). Overall there is an increasing problem in differentiating between the different securities threats in the region. There is a need of strong cooperation among all the Central Asian states to establish security in the region.

(g) Problems of Food Security

Problems of Food security remains a sensitive matter for Central Asia. According to Central Asia Online Report 2011, In the case of the landlocked Central Asian states rising global food and fuel prices, the region's widespread poverty, inflationary pressures, and lack of cooperation on water and trade, macroeconomic stability issues, difficult climatic and geographic conditions are for the main cause for increasing the food insecurity. Food security in most of the central Asian region is low, with the exception of Kazakhstan and to a lesser extent Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan due to

higher export potential for both countries of cotton and oil/gas respectively. However distribution of the income from these exports is not shared equitably. It is resulting in ongoing food insecurity for particularly the rural workers. There are a number of undernourished people in the region.

Food insecurity is defined as the inability to “get enough food to support an active, healthy lifestyle,” according to the WFP. About 30% of Tajiks and 27% of Kyrgyz suffer from food insecurity.¹⁸ The inefficient farming systems, trade policies and structural deficiencies, contribute to poor outcomes for the rural poor. The Central Asian region has also suffered from high global food prices. Kazakhstan is a strong exporter of grains and may have even benefited from higher grain prices, but Uzbekistan with almost 4 million hectares of irrigated land still relies on imports for some basic grains as well as for 50 percent of potato consumption. Turkmenistan, with 1.75 million hectares and 97 percent of total water use allocated to agriculture is also a net importer of basic foods. The dry winter of 2008 combined with a hot summer left water supplies low. Due to drought supplying of grain was not sufficient to feed farmers and livestock. Most of the available water is being used for cotton in the downstream countries. As a result, food insecurity has increased.

Food security serves as an indicator of any country’s ability to ensure supply, affordability, and security of food for its population. It can also be a barometer of testing the effectiveness of public institutions and legitimacy of governments. In the case of the landlocked Central Asian states, this barometer is yet to be stabilized. This is because of rising global food and fuel prices, the region’s widespread poverty, inflationary pressures, lack of cooperation on water and trade, macroeconomic stability issues, difficult climatic and geographic conditions. The food security reports recently issued by the United Nations and the World Bank warned about the potentially negative socio-political consequences for the region.¹⁹

According to the report of Eurasia Daily Monitor (2011), On February 15, 2011, the

¹⁸Central Asia Online (2011), “Central Asia fights for food security, Tajiks, Kyrgyz are worst off” Available at: http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2011/05/17/feature-01.

¹⁹Muzalevsky, Roman (2011), “Food Security Problems in Central Asia Challenge Local Regimes”, Eurasia Daily Monitor, Vol.8, Issue. 51, Available at: <http://www.jamestown.org>.

Head of the World Bank, Robert Zoellick, stated that global food prices have reached at “dangerous levels”, cautioning that this could negatively affect Central Asia. “Central Asia is a region where these food prices have increased substantially and given the poverty levels ... there is a real stress point that could have social and political implications,” Zoellick suggested. The UN global food price monitor reported a rise in prices for basic foodstuffs across the region.

In Tajikistan, the situation is portrayed as critical. It has been reported that the price for only one product (flour) has been recently increased by 80 percent in 2011. This is when 60 percent of an average Tajik family’s diet consists of bread stuffs. Tajikistan’s own food production currently covers 70 percent of its consumption. The government decided to use its strategic grain reserves to reduce grain prices by 15 percent and examine the price formation in the grain market²⁰. In addition, in 2010, the FAO and World Food Program (WFP) listed Tajikistan as one of 22 countries suffering a “protracted crisis” of food insecurity, meaning that it had suffered food crises for at least eight years and receives more than 10% of foreign aid as humanitarian relief. According to WFP report of 2010, there is about 30% of Tajiks and 27% of Kyrgyz suffer from food insecurity. Apart from it, In Tajikistan, about 2 million populations of the country’s 7 million people do not eat proper diet. The country has not achieved food self-sufficiency yet. “Over the past two years, grain production has grown 7% to more than 1.2m tones (annually), But this is still too little (about 50% of what is needed) to procure enough bread for all.” Tajikistan needs to develop a special program of import substitution to make the republic fully self-sufficient in terms of food.²¹

The instability that swept Kyrgyzstan in 2010 has disturbed the local food security situation. Struggling to revive its damaged economy, the country now also confronts spikes in food prices of about 20 percent to 30 percent in Bishkek and up to 50 percent to 100 percent in the provinces. Kyrgyzstan imports 35 percent of its food, while its grain consumption is covered to the level of 73 percent. Additionally, 70

²⁰Ibid.

²¹Central Asia Online (2011), “Central Asia fights for food security, Tajiks, Kyrgyz are worst off” Available at: http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2011/05/17/feature-01.

percent of local farmers face financial and technical work difficulties. UN agencies agree that Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have failed to feed their population. Farmers in those two countries have had to contend with rugged topography and political turmoil. They also lack an oil and gas industry to prop up the economy.²²

Food security conditions in Turkmenistan are also aggravated. The desert terrain and arable land use of 4.5 percent suggest that crop cultivation is difficult in the country, especially because Turkmenistan relies on upstream countries for 95 percent of its water resources. But production targets set by the state are reportedly fulfilled. In 2010, the country produced 1.4 million tons of wheat, although other estimates put the figure at 800,000 tons. In 2011, its aim was to produce 1.6 million tons of wheat. The authorities claim that Turkmenistan is already able to export high quality wheat for the first time. But there was a report that people often replace more expensive potatoes with pumpkins and that their incomes cannot catch up with rapidly rising food prices, which have increased at least 20 percent to 25 percent.²³

In Uzbekistan, food security has been associated with government attempts to gain self-sufficiency and reduce grain imports from Kazakhstan. Uzbekistan reportedly needs 4 million tons of grain annually for its population of 27 million, while its strategic wheat reserves are now in the range of 400,000 to 600,000 tons.²⁴ In 2010, Uzbekistan allegedly collected 7 million tons of grain, but prices have increased more than 100 percent on virtually all foodstuffs over the last year. With retail grain prices is jumping by as much as 200 percent. Meanwhile, Kazakh companies have managed to gain control over 90 percent of the Uzbek domestic grain market, which for some experts reflects an “utter failure” of the government’s self-sufficiency policy.²⁵ Kazakhstan has not been immune to food security challenges. Food price increases vary in the 12 percent to 60 percent range.²⁶ Apart from the rising global food and

²²Muzalevsky, Roman (2011), “Food Security Problems in Central Asia Challenge Local Regimes”, Eurasia Daily Monitor, Vol.8, Issue. 51, Available at: <http://www.jamestown.org>.

²³Ibid.

²⁴Ibid.

²⁵Ibid.

²⁶Ibid.

fuel prices, the country's membership in the Customs Union (with Belarus and Russia) and the 20 percent increase tariffs on imports from China have contributed to the increases.²⁷

Thus, there are clear differences in food security conditions in the region, but there are also common factors. The Central Asian countries suffer from their landlocked status, relatively weak public institutions and harsh climatic conditions, impeded regional trade, water disputes, and extremely high poverty rates of 25 percent to 60 percent. They also exhibit a low starting point for economic growth, which partially explains higher inflation rates and food price increases, especially in the oil and gas producing countries of Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan. To improve food security, experts suggest the need for the governments to work to curb the prevalent corruption and poverty, resolve macroeconomic issues, promote agricultural diversification, and pursue expanded and more efficient regional cooperation on water and trade.²⁸

(h) Drug Trafficking and Security in Central Asia

“The trafficking and use of illegal narcotics in Central Asia endanger the security, independence, and development of the states by stunting economic and political reforms and exacerbating terrorism, crime, corruption, and health problems”.²⁹ However, transnational organized crime is a multifaceted phenomenon which manifests itself in different activities such as drug trafficking, human trafficking, arms smuggling and money laundering. But amongst them drug trafficking is the most prominent activity of organized criminal groups that enable them to generate huge profit. Drug trafficking has become more lucrative than any other form of trafficking in the region. It has become the serious threats to the security of Central Asian Region. It has societal, economic and political ramifications that disturb the social fabric of society and also contribute to decline in economy and capacity of the governments as well. There are government officials at the district, provincial and national levels who are involved in drug trafficking and interested in making money than serving their populations. It is quite evident that officials are engaged in

²⁷Ibid.

²⁸Ibid.

²⁹ Nichol, Jim, (2011), “Central Asia's Security: Issues and Implications for U.S. Interests” CRS Report 7-5700, p.27

providing protection to crime groups. It is not only a failure of state institutions but it has become a means for enrichment and empowerment of political elites (Aggarwal 2010: 5).

According to the United Nations Office on Drugs & Crime and the Ministry of Counter of Narcotics of Afghanistan, 7 percent of opium cultivation has increased in 2011. Ninety-five percent of total cultivation took place in the southern and western regions of Afghanistan, which are the most insecure regions of the country. Afghanistan has been dominating the worldwide opium market for more than a decade. It has left tremendous negative impact on the Central Asian republics. This is because of geographical location of Central Asia and its proximity with Afghanistan makes it a hub for transportation of narcotic substances. Three of Central Asian states, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan share their borders with Afghanistan.

Tajikistan is the gateway for Afghan drugs to Central Asia. According to the Annual Report of International Narcotics Control Board one third of Afghanistan's opium crop passed through Tajikistan and Kazakhstan."The emergence of Central Asia as a transit route for drugs is directly linked to the growing spread of drug addiction amongst the Central Asian people. Injecting drug use is also common, with shares ranging from 46% of drug users in Uzbekistan to around 70% in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan".³⁰ Opiates injecting drug use with unsafe injecting practices such as sharing needles has become the main reason of an expanded HIV/AIDS epidemic. Thus, drug addiction and increase in HIV/AIDS cases in Central Asia has the potential to bring widespread negative impact on society.

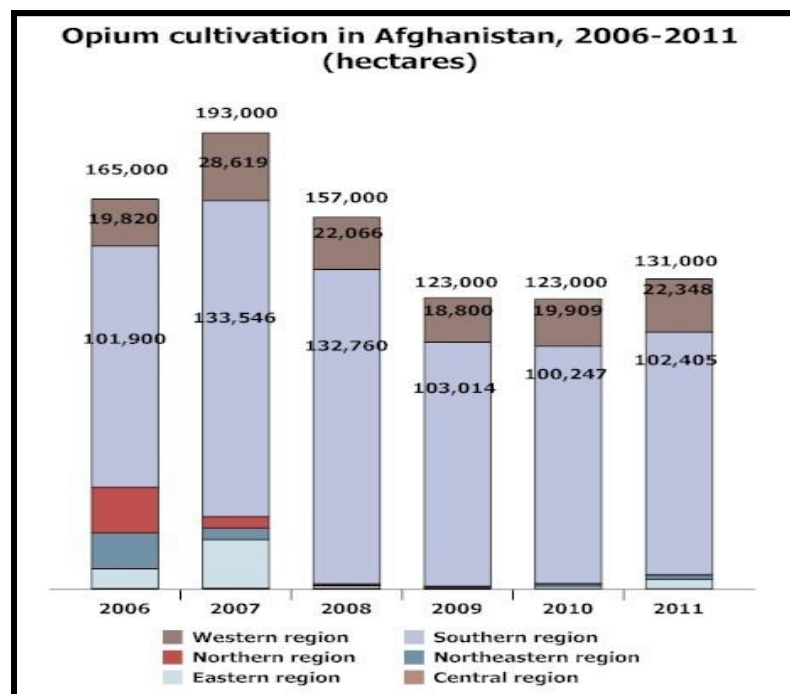
It has been reported that IMU is strongly involved in the drug trafficking. IMU needs funds to carry out its long lasting movement. Profit through crime and particularly from drug trade has become the motivation for the existence of the movement. Thus, there is obvious a close link between drug trade, terrorism and insurgency.

The failure of the government to control it, pose a serious threat to the security of the region. Some organized crime groups based in producer countries have been able to expand their influence into the region because of poorly patrolled borders, lack of

³⁰UNODC, World Drug Report 2011, Available at: <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and.../WDR-2011.html>.

cooperation among the states, lawlessness, and corruption among officials, police, and border guards(Nichol 2011 : 28). According to UNDCCP (United Nations Office for Drug Control and Crime Prevention) estimate 80-120 tons of heroin per year are channeled from Afghanistan through Tajikistan to Russia and European markets. Drug trafficking is not only linked to militant insurgencies but the smuggling route are used to assist terrorist groups for moving across the Central Asian borders. The drug trade is considered major revenue for anti-government forces, organized crime and widespread public corruption contaminating power.

Fig.2.1



Source: Perera, David (2011), “Poppy cultivation increases in Afghanistan, says U.N.” Available at: <http://www.fiercehomelandsecurity.com/story/poppy-cultivation-increases-afghanistan-says-un/2011-10-16>

According to Obyek Makhmudov (2011) the militants not only concentrate their activities on opium and heroin trafficking but they also convert their profit to money, small arms and some other material. For instance drug money creates opportunities for organized crime groups and terrorist groups to have additional capacity for militants’ activities in the region. The spread of small arms from Afghanistan has greatly contributed to militants activities in the Central Asian republics. Thus,

Afghanistan provides permanent sources with a variety of weapons. The huge quantities of small arms ranging from assault rifles to hand grenades are supplied from Afghanistan to the militants in the region. Kyrgyzstan is particularly worried about weapons which are coming into the country from Tajikistan (Makhmudov, Obyek :163-164). Thus, illicit drug trade has become the serious threats to the Central Asian security as it does not only damage human health, but generates corruption, weakens governance, strengthen criminal organization with potential to disturb peace and stability as well in the region.

CHAPTER-THIRD

DRUG TRAFFICKING IN CENTRAL ASIA

In the 21st century, drug trafficking has become a global problem which is not only affecting the Central Asian region but all the regions of the world as well. It is the process of globalization, development of easy communication, technology advancement and involvement of drug mafias, organized criminal and terrorist groups, which have contributed to the global reach of the illegal drug trade. On the other hand, increased stress and pressure on individuals due to economic crisis, unemployment, and decline in the standards of life have led the affected persons to recognize the drugs. Therefore, all these factors are pushing up the demand for drug. (K. Warikoo 2010:1)

Central Asia has recently emerged as a major international drug trafficking center. According to the UNODC, ROCA Report 2011, and UNODC estimates that in 2010, 90 metric tons of heroin are trafficked from Afghanistan through Central Asian countries to the Russian Federation and European countries. UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:9). The various historical, geographical, social, and political factors have all worked in favor of the traffickers. The role of Central Asia has increased as Iran, which has traditionally been an important smuggling route, has been relatively successful in its war against narcotics and made the Iranian route more difficult to use. In simple economic terms, the transaction costs are relatively low in Central Asia. However, Central Asia has the weakest political structures, with little determination to combat the drug trade, which makes it the most reliable link to the consumer markets in Europe. This also makes it more profitable for the Southeast Asian and Northeast Asian drug traders to direct their trade through Central Asia rather than the more insecure water or airways to Europe.

Central Asia has become a major trafficking route for Afghan narcotics exports because of its strategic location, weak border controls, and ineffective law enforcement. The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that ninety percent of the world's opium is harvested in Afghanistan. Twenty-five percent of that opium is trafficked through the Central Asian Republics of Uzbekistan,

Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Kazakhstan route to large drug markets in Europe. On the other hand, it is not the quantum of value that makes drug trade a grave threat but its tremendous impact on various components of security as political, economic and societal. Drug trafficking is closely interlinked with organized crime. These criminal groups are sometimes able to find potential partners among some of the region's opposition forces. The most extreme Islamic radical groups are thus attracted to alliances with the drug trade because of seeking guns and other weapons.

The increased presence of drugs in Central Asia has also created an expanded drug problem among the Central Asian population. The growing drug problem furthers burden on government budgets, increases crime rates, child abuse and costs of health care and diminishes public safety. It also stimulates the rapid spread of several deadly infectious diseases such as HIV/AIDS and decreases economic productivity also. A chain of causation can be seen between drug trafficking, opiate use, and HIV in Central Asia. Central Asia's location on drug trafficking routes from Afghanistan results in wide availability and lower opiate prices, which encourages abuse. Injecting drug use with unsafe injecting practices contributes to higher rates of HIV and has produced a concentrated HIV epidemic among the people of the region.

The proliferation of drugs is undermined by Central Asian society. It has negative impact on the economic and social environment and also poses a threat to the traditional values of the Central Asian society. Drug addiction damages the physical, psychological and emotional health of all parts of the society to include women and children also. It is not only women and children but particularly the young generation who has badly affected by drug addiction. Therefore, Central Asian society is at risk from drugs in a number of different ways. The flourishing drug trade also enables separatist, radical religious and terrorist movement in the region. These Central Asian state, lack fund and technical expertise to wage a successful war against drugs (Olcott & Udalova 2000: 4). Partly, the governments in the region also don not have will power to combat the drug trafficking.

(i) Historical Background

Since the ancient times, Central Asia has been a region which is blessed with open borders and trade with people from all corners of the world. This blessing has turned into a double-edged sword in the 21st century. The lack of effective border controls and weak infrastructure have created borders that are very easy to penetrate for goods that need to avoid official routes, such as drugs, weapons and human trafficking. Secondly, after early post- Soviet period, these newly independent states had no resources or incentives to set up agencies to tackle the problem. Thirdly, due to the control government system, it was not easy to find out exact profile of drug users. Drug users themselves also kept a low profile. Therefore, when the problem seemed apparent, there were huge number of drug users and problem had already taken root. Besides, political and economic influence of drug trade made it difficult to crack down the situation. By the time, serious efforts were made to combat the drug trade the problem had grown to the point where not only Central Asian states but the world was affected as well (ICG Report 2001:1).

(ii) Central Asia: Drugs-Dominated Region

According to Olcott & Udalova, geography and history make Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan attractive areas for drug trafficking (Olcott & Udalova 2000:5). On the other hand, Nerja Aggrawal also states that the strategic location of Central Asia makes it a hub of drug trafficking (Aggrawal 2010:7). Besides, its strategic location, socio-political and economic conditions of the region also provide fertile ground for drug trafficking. The weak economic and social situation in these transition countries has led to an increase in drug trafficking with increased availability and low prices of heroin and other drugs as well.

The Central Asian states are situated between the world's largest illicit opium producers and the most lucrative markets in Western Europe. All five Central Asian countries are also located in close proximity to the Golden Crescent (Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran) and the Golden of Triangle (Burma, Laos and Thailand) which are the world's largest producers of illicit opiates. The estimated 380 mt of heroin produced in Afganistan, approximately 5 mt stay in the country for local consumption

or is seized by local law enforcement. The remaining 375 mt are exported to the world via routes flowing into and through the neighboring countries of Pakistan (150 mt), the Islamic Republic of Iran (105 mt) and the Central Asian countries of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan (95 mt) towards their final destinations in Europe, the Russian Federation and Asia (World Drug Report 2010: 46).

As mentioned above, the role of Central Asia has increased as trafficking routes through Iran is declining as the Iranian government have relatively been successful in its war against narcotics and have made this route more difficult. Opium prices are especially high in Iran and law enforcement is also strict. According to UN drug report of 2011, Iran accounts for highest rate of opium and heroin seizures in the world, intercepting 89% of all seized opium in the world.³¹ The vulnerable and weak political fabric of Central Asian republics, the porous borders and the other geographical advantages of this region have proved to be a blessing for the traffickers. Thus, such a combination of history and geography pre-determined a flood of drugs into the region. In short, there are some factors which are influencing the development of the drug situation in Central Asia since the 1990s (Kairat Osmonaliev 2005:13-14).

- Steady growth of drug production in Afghanistan and increase in the volume of smuggling.
- Increase in demand for drugs in the CIS countries and Europe. The establishment of new “Northern route” via the countries of the former USSR, the importance of which is increasing due to the strengthening of controls along the Iranian border.
- A worsening social and economic situation in the region, which has encouraged the involvement of some layers of society in the drug trade.
- Poor condition of drug abuse prevention systems and a lack of medical clinics and rehabilitation centers.
- Changes in the use of narcotic substances, which have been a crucial factor in the spread of HIV/AIDS, Hepatitis, Tuberculosis and other infectious diseases.

³¹UN News Centre (2011), “UN agency foresees increased collaboration with Iran in fight against drugs”, July, Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=39101&Cr=unodc&Cr1>.

- The emergence of new synthetic drugs (such as ecstasy), as well as an increase in the number of users of these drugs.

It should be noted that some of the western experts have occasionally misrepresented the amount of local hemp and poppy cultivation. For example, one researcher declares that “within Central Asia, over 4.5 million hectares of hemp is planted in the Chuy Valley - an amount capable of producing approximately 6,000 tons of hashish annually.” This statement contradicts the data from the UNODC project “Mapping the extent of illicit drug cultivation in Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan.”

The area of wild growth of cannabis in Kazakhstan covers more than 400,000 ha (329,628 ha found in 1998 plus 72,049 ha identified in 1999 in districts not covered by the 1998 survey). An estimated total amount of 3,900 metric tons of marijuana was harvested (approximately 1,000 metric tons of hashish) in the surveyed areas during 1998-1999. According to UNODC survey carried out in 1998 and 1999 in selected parts of Central Asia, the total harvested opium poppy area was 3.6 hectares in 1999 (86 % in Tajikistan) and 10 hectares in 1998 (93 % in Tajikistan). These are small plots compared to areas under opium poppy cultivation in Afghanistan (Kairat Osmonaliev 2005:14).

There are variety of factors that give rise to drug economy but poverty is the main reason which constrains people of the region to associate in drug trafficking. Apart from it, social and economic problems have been the important factors. The main reason is that poor and underdeveloped regions frequently have subsistence problems, food shortage and lack of opportunities for non- agricultural activities. They are often located in remote areas, which imply social, economic and political marginalization of the population. As a consequence, income opportunities, access to markets, health facilities, education and the participation in the decision-making process are limited. Cultivation of opium poppy or coca is one of few options, which subsists the people. Thus, poverty is an important factor provoking drug consumption.

(iii) The Factor of Afghanistan

Afghanistan is the world’s largest opium producer and exporter in the world. Around

90 per cent of the world's opium comes from Afghanistan.³² The Afghanistan opium survey of 2011 showed that the area of land used for opium poppy cultivation in 2011 is 131,000 hectares, 7 per cent higher than in 2010. The amount of opium production increased by 61 per cent, from 3,600 metric tons in 2010 to 5,800 metric tons in 2011. Further, according to this survey, the gross income from opium is 11 times higher than that from wheat, the biggest difference in income since 2003. Almost 60 per cent of farmers surveyed in 2011, said that they were motivated primarily by the high prices fetched by opium poppy cultivation, which will continue to remain attractive if it reaps bumper profit.³³ Thus “high sales price of opium” is the predominant reason (77%) for growing opium (39% in 2010). After many years of decreasing trends, the opium price has sharply increased in 2010 making opium more and more attractive to farmers. About 19% of respondents also cited ‘poverty’ as the most dominant reason. (UNODC, ORAS Report 201: 7) Moreover, there is lack of government control, little possibility of getting loans, no support from government, high demand for opium, high income from little land, and suitable climatic conditions along with no market for other crops which motivates the farmers of Afghanistan for opium cultivation.

According to the report based on Wall Street Journal 2011, there is spike in production and cultivation in Afghanistan despite renewed eradication efforts by Afghan authorities, which reported a 65% increase in the area where they had destroyed poppy crops. The United States have spent hundreds of millions of dollars on programs to encourage Afghan farmers to embrace alternative crops, such as wheat and saffron, to replace their poppy fields. But according to U.N. Report of 2011, that initiative was hampered by lower wheat prices, combined with a new surge in the sale price of opium.³⁴

³²UNODC (2012), “Afghan Opium Prices Soar as Production Rises” January, Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/afghanistan/en/frontpage/afghan-opium-prices.html>.

³³UN News Centre (2012), “Afghanistan: UN-backed Survey Shows Sharp Rise in Opium Production and Prices”, January, Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=40927&Cr=afghan&Cr1=>

³⁴UNODC (2012), “Afghan Opium Prices Soar as Production Rises”, Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/afghanistan/en/frontpage/afghan-opium-prices.html>.

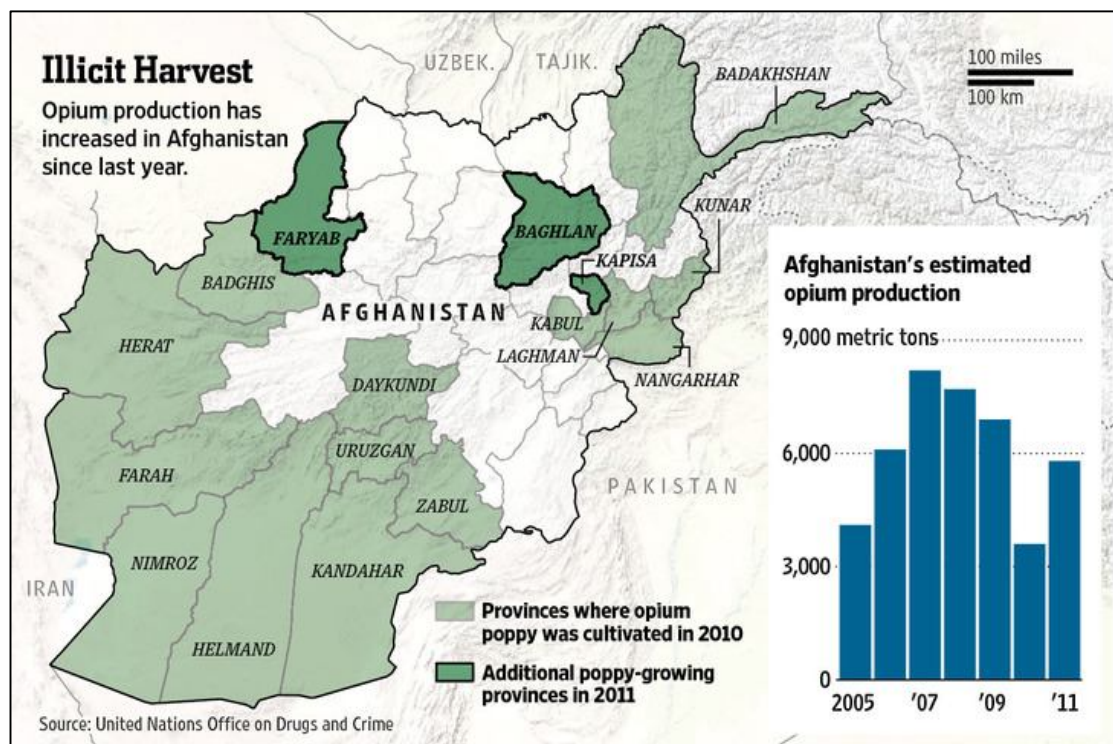
Badakhshan, Badghis, Helmand, Nangarhar have been main drug production provinces in Afghanistan. Helmand province was Afghanistan's top producer in 2000. However, according to UNODC Afghanistan Opium Survey 2011, the high price of opium did not produce an increase in opium cultivation in the highest cultivating provinces of Helmand and Kandahar. In these two provinces the cultivation is expected to decrease in 2011. The reasons for this development are multiple and differed from area to area. In parts of Helmand and Kandahar, farmers reported the persistence of cold and dry climatic conditions which led to crop failure as the poppy would not germinate. There has also been a changing political environment in Helmand with the Governor taking initiatives to convince elders and farmers to reduce the amount of poppy planted. Now, Herat and Ghor are two provinces of Afghanistan where increase in poppy cultivation has been reported. Even more striking is the potential income which derived from opium production. Export earnings from Afghan opiates may be worth \$2.4 billion - equivalent to 15 per cent of GDP. Such vast sums cannot easily be earned in other ways. "Opium is, therefore, a significant part of the Afghan economy and provides considerable funding to the insurgency and fuels corruption," said Yury Fedotov, Executive Director of UNODC.³⁵ Afghanistan drug has directly affected the social, political and economic condition of Central Asian republics. This is the major concern of not only the local governments but also for the whole international community.

Central Asia's strategic location between the World's largest opium producer 'Afghanistan' and the biggest consumer market of 'Russia and Europe' place it at the crossroad for illicit trafficking. Thus, due to the CARs proximity to the Golden Crescent of Afghanistan and Pakistan and the closeness of the traditional route of the Balkans to the Western markets, Central Asia has become a major transit hub for drug trafficking. The civil war in Tajikistan between 1992-1997 was another factor. During the civil war many Tajik regional warlord also encouraged the production of narcotics to get revenue for their war activities. Apart from the unstable political situation, regional and ethnic tension and lack of effective internal governance also provide additional leverage for production and transportation of drugs in Tajikistan (Nalin Kumar Mohapatra 2007:160).

³⁵Ibid.

The former Soviet Union disintegration held in December 1991. In the aftermath of the disintegration of the USSR, the Central Asian states inherited a well established air and road communication system that link them to Russia and the West. The Soviet break-up also led to more open borders and free foreign travels (Olcott & Udalova (2000: 10). The important factor is that all the Central Asian states are members of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan are members of the CIS Customs Union, and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan are members of the Central Asian Economic Community. Kyrgyzstan is also a member of the World Trade Organization. These organizations make drug trafficking easier by providing a visa-free travel regime for the citizens of the CIS countries and they also have various bilateral agreements that facilitate free trade between countries (Olcott & Udalova (2000: 11). Thus, due to all these factors, Central Asian region has become the obvious choice as the most accessible and easiest transit route to Russia and Europe.

Map No.3.1. AFGHANISTAN'S OPIUM PRODUCTION



Source: IN THE NEWS: AFGHAN OPIUM OUTPUT SURGES (OCTOBER 12, 2011)

Available at: <http://www.immigvanheugten.nl/?p=8518>

Map No.3.2. OPIUM CULTIVATION PROVINCES IN AFGHANISTAN



Source: Mansfield, Mark (2010), "U.S. to Take Control of Opium Smuggling in Afghanistan", Available at: <http://www.disinfo.com/2010/06/u-s-to-take-control-of-opium-smuggling-in-afghanistan/>.

(iv) Areas of Production in Central Asia

The Central Asian states are no strangers to drug cultivation and consumption. Opium has been cultivated in the region and record of opium cultivation in Kyrgyzstan goes back to 19th century (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 9). During the colonial period, opium was generally used for medical purposes. Traditionally, there were opium growing areas in Kyrgyzstan and cannabis also grows in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan but as its effects are less dangerous. It has not attracted as much attention or impacted as negatively as opium and its processed derivative heroin (ICG Report: 2).

Even in the early 1970s, Kyrgyzstan produced around 16 percent of the world's legal opium. Kyrgyzstan continued to legally grow opium poppy until 1974. According to Olcott and Udalova, some 98 state and collective farms in Kyrgyzstan's Issyk-Kul oblast produced 80 percent of the total illicit opium in the Soviet Union and 16 percent of the world's supply. But in the 1974, when Soviet Union banned opium

production then legal cultivation ended in Kyrgyzstan. On the other hand, according to ICG Report 2001, neither the mountainous terrain of Tajikistan nor Uzbekistan's dry climate provides a hospitable environment for opium or cannabis cultivation. Thus, these countries of Central Asia have never been a major producer.

However, it is notable that these countries have the right kind of terrain and climate for cultivating narcotics. According to Olcott and Udalova, everybody admits that cannabis production is very widespread in the region, although no one is willing to make its eradication. In Kyrgyzstan's Osh, Jalalabad and Chu oblast, the season for Cannabis is April 30 to May 30; in Issyk-Kul and Talas oblasts from May 15 to June 15; and in Naryn oblast, from June 15 to July 5. Kazakhstan also produces considerably more cannabis and it has great difficulty in controlling its growth. Tajikistan also collects two to three crops in a season (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 9).

However, U.S government has not taken so much interest to stop the cultivation of cannabis. In 1999, the US President Clinton, submitted a report to the House Committee on Appropriations and International Relations and the Senate Committee on Appropriations and Foreign Relations and noted that the countries of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Morocco, the Philippines and South Africa are important cannabis producers but in these countries cannabis is either consumed locally or exported to other parts of the world but not in United States, so this crop does not significantly concern United States (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 9). Cannabis resin production estimates were not updated in UN World Drug Report 2011, but based on ARQ (Annual Reports Questionnaire (ARQ) replies to UNODC, Afghanistan and Morocco were major produces and its cultivation is widespread in Central Asia.

Although, the UNDCP is more concerned with drug trafficking than drug production, the regional office for Central Asia maintains that opium cultivation is limited, but many in the formed observers in region claim that international monitoring agencies have still not identified all the sources of illegal cultivation. International observers have traced the cultivation of opiates to the Penjikent Valley in Tajikistan. In Turkmenistan it is scattered along the border of Iran, in Akha region and in eastern parts of the Lebap and Mary regions (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 9). Thus, illegal cultivation of opiates is increasing in both of these countries of Central Asian region. In 1998, Kyrgyzstan's drug enforcement agency discovered 1,039 square meters of

illegal opium poppy cultivation in the Issyk-Kul region alone that confiscated 246 kilograms of dry opium poppy. In Uzbekistan most of the opiates are cultivated in Samarkand-Surkhandaria region with the border of Tajikistan. Kazakhstan also has about 2,000 hectares of illicit opium poppy and is capable of producing about 30 tons of opium (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 9).

Again Olcott and Udalova argues that the government of Kazakhstan estimates that 15, 000 acres of land is covered with wildly growing opium poppy, cannabis and ephedra. One-third of the Kyrgyz population cultivates cannabis. For example, in a day, a child can collect an equivalent of 80 grams of hashish that cost \$25, and certain villages can produce up to 100 kilograms in a season. Thus, the cultivation of the opiates and other narcotics is increasing but no serious effort is being made to control the situation. The existing legal structure is fragile and permeable and does not seem to affect it. This makes the current environment more suited to illicit drug trade than widespread opium production (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 10).

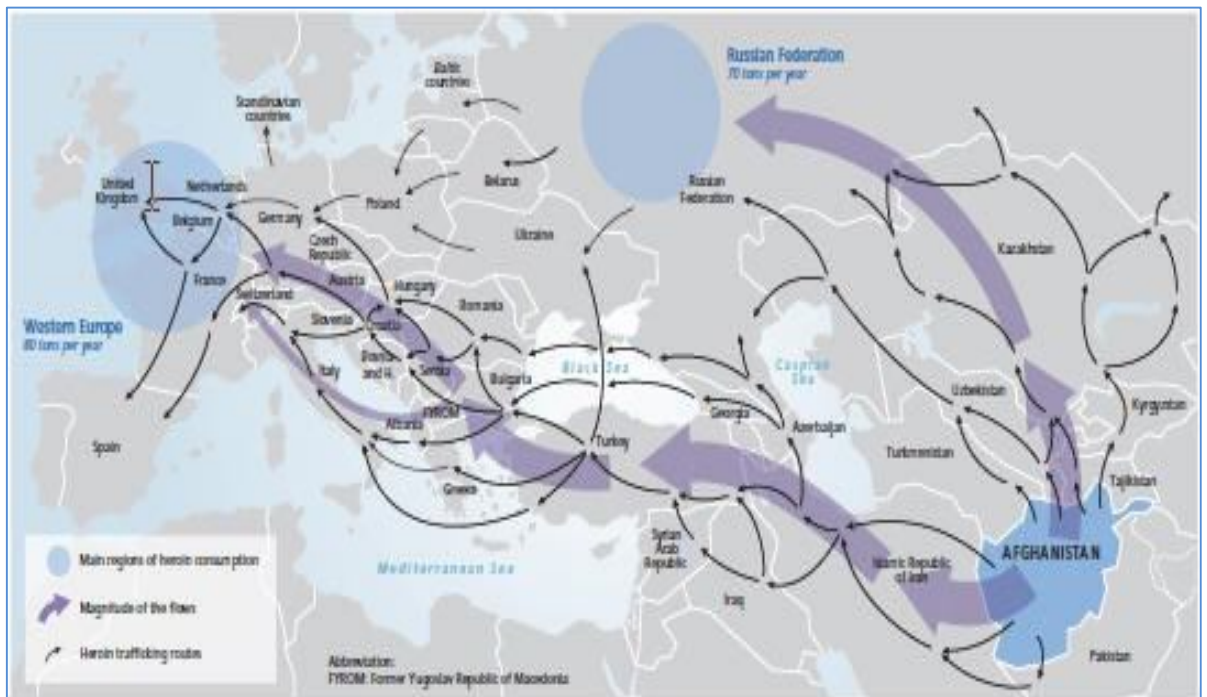
(v) Trafficking Routes

For centuries, the Silk Road carried silks, spices and other goods across Central Asia between East and West. Today, there is a new Central Asian trade route — the Northern Route, which stretch from Afghanistan through Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. But the goods travelling the Northern Route are debilitating, deadly and fund to terror. The revenues of those goods provide funds to terrorist organization and other campaigns of extremists against governments and civilians. According to Rustam Nazarov, director of the Tajik Drug Control Agency, there are several ways to transport narcotics via Central Asia: from the Afghan province of Herat, via Turkmenistan, to Russia and further to Europe; or from Qunduz, Afghanistan via Tajikistan to Russia. A third route runs from Qunduz, across Tajikistan to Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Russia. Smugglers also deliver the goods from the Afghan province of Balkh, via Mazar-I-Sharif, to Uzbekistan's Termez, Qarshi, Bukhara, Urgench and Nuqus, then to Kazakhstan and Russia.³⁶ UNODC estimates that 25% of all Afghan

³⁶Saadi, Shaqar (2010), "Taliban exploits Central Asian instability to facilitate drug smuggling", *Central Asia Online*, Available at: http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2010/03/10/feature-02.

heroin (95 mt) are trafficked each year to the Central Asian Republics (CARs) and further, towards the Russian Federation (World Drug Report 2010: 48).

Map No 3.3. THE NORTHERN AND BALKAN HEROIN ROUTE



Source: UNODC World Drug Report 2010, p.54

(a) Opium Routes of Afghanistan

The United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) estimates that Afghanistan produces 90 percent of the world's opium and accounts for 82 percent of the global area under opium poppy cultivation.³⁷ The Balkan Route was traditionally the main drug traffic route, but in the 1990s the Northern Route, which covered territory from Central Asia's ancient Silk Route, also emerged as main drug trafficking route for Afghan opium supply. "Northern Route" which is used for Opiate trafficking is also known as the "Silk Route" which starts at the northern border of Afghanistan. Further this Northern route goes through the Central Asian countries of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan before ending up in Russian or European markets. Drug trafficking on the Northern Route has increased in recent years. This route has been used by drug traffickers since mid-90s to smuggle drugs

³⁷Hashimova, Umida (2009), "New Supply Routes to Afghanistan Could Boost Drug Trafficking", *Central Asia-Caucasus Analyst (CACI)*, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/5115>.

originating in Afghanistan to Russia and Europe via Central Asia. According to various estimates, about a third of all Afghan opiates are smuggled via this "Northern Route." Drug traffickers rely mostly on various land routes to move opium and opium products such as morphine and heroin to supply them from Afghanistan to profitable markets of West especially Russia, U.K. and Italy. Afghan drug production increased dramatically after the U.S.-led invasion toppled the Taliban in 2001 and Russia have been one of the most affected countries, with heroin consumption rising steeply. Around 30,000 Russians die from heroin abuse every year, 90% of it coming from Afghanistan smuggled through other Central Asian countries, including Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.³⁸

Once this Northern Route is activated, there are many factors that make the new transport route appealing to drug traffickers. First, the weak Afghan government and its law enforcement bodies have almost no capacity to fight drug trafficking effectively. Secondly, the trains that go to Europe directly, without have any stops encouraged the smuggler having no inspections. Third, the railroad is the cheapest way of smuggling drugs, which offers large volumes and has no middlemen. These are the reasons behind the increasing traffic on the northern route since it can bypass the tough enforcement of the Iranian route as well as the emergence of new routes of Central Asian borders where drug trafficking is easy due to the poor control of borders security .

(b) Drug Trafficking Routes through Central Asia

UNODC, ROCA, Drug Situation Report 2011 says that the strong demand for heroin in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) and Western Europe has influenced the growth of drug trafficking through Central Asian countries. Central Asia remains main Afghan narco-trafficking route. A number of well-established drug routes are being used. Well-developed informal cross-border transportation and porous borders in Central Asia have made it an attractive option for smuggling drugs through Central Asia.

³⁸RIA Novosti (2012), "Drug trafficking detained in Tajikistan with 100 kg of Afghan hash, heroin", Dushanbe, Available at: <http://en.rian.ru/crime/20120112/170718050.html>.

Drugs trafficked from Afghanistan through Central Asia are mainly destined for markets in Russia, CIS and partly transited to Europe. UNODC estimates that some 121 tons of heroin and 293 tons of opium crossed Central Asia's borders in 2008. The main transport routes have not changed considerably over the past decade. From Afghanistan, drugs enter neighboring Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan to be further transported to Kazakhstan, the Russian Federation and Western Europe. CARICC (Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre) data indicates that in 2008 a new drug supply route through Central Asia was identified that is Afghanistan-Iran-Turkmenistan-the CIS countries-Europe. Recently, UNODC experts have been evaluating possible heroin trafficking routes from Afghanistan to China through Central Asia (UNODC, ROCA online databases 2009:10).

However, various factors are responsible for the choice of a particular routes for drug trafficking. Drug trafficking has exploded in the region in the last decade, particularly since the fall of the Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001. The growth has been spurred by cheap prices, unevenly guarded borders, a global demand for opiates and a central location at the crossroads of Asia. Trafficking also provides a ready source of income for those who are looking to get ahead in an impoverished region. In this case, Tajikistan is increasingly becoming the most important corridor for Afghan opium and heroin.

Map No. 3.4 HEROIN FLOWS TO THE RUSSIAN FEDERATION AND EAST EUROPE-2009



Source: World Drug Report 2011, p. 74

Map No. 3.5



Source: Lasseter, Tom, (2009), "To U.S.-built bridge is windfall — for illegal Afghan drug trade", Available at: <http://www.mcclatchydc.com/2009/06/28/70849/us-built-bridge-is-windfall-for.html>

Tajikistan remains the key area as the gateway of Afghan drugs. The main entry points are the towns of Panj and Moskovkii in the south-west (ICG Report: 6). According to World Drug Report 2010, “Tajik-Afghan border (1,387 km) is becoming more and more elusive”.³⁹ Tajikistan has become the heaviest transit country for opiates in Central Asia. Its capacity for border policing is very low. Geography makes it difficult to guard Tajikistan’s border with Afghanistan. Even during the Soviet era there were many open areas. The substances enter Tajikistan primarily via Payandzh region, where Afghan drug dealers sell it to their Tajik counterparts who in turn deliver it to Dushanbe and then send it to Moscow (Olcott and Udalova 2000:). A large portion of opiates also travels north through Kyrgyzstan to Kazakhstan. The topography of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan is advantageous for drug trafficking activities. According to Olcott and Udalova 93 percent of Tajikistan and two third of Kyrgyzstan’s area is mountainous. The altitude of mountains in Kyrgyzstan varies from 401 to 7439 meters above sea level. Thus, it is difficult to guard the trafficking routes (Aggarwal, Neerja 2010:16). Basically the geography of the region plays an important role to be an advantage of drug traffickers. For example, the Kyrgyz border with Tajikistan is difficult to patrol since large parts of it are more than 13,000 feet above sea level and temperature falls to 40 degree Fahrenheit in winter (Olcott and Udalova 2000:12).

In Kyrgyzstan the southern city of Osh has consistently been identified as a regional hub of trafficking activity. Kyrgyzstan has no common border with Afghanistan. Therefore, the drugs are smuggled in Tajikistan first, mainly in the towns of Panj and Moskovkii then further proceed to Dushanbe or Khujand. Further, from Dushanbe drugs are usually shipped out to Moscow or Western Europe and from Khujand to Siberian cities such as Novosibirsk, Omsk and other eastern Russian areas. This route Moskovskii goes to Osh then Kazakhstan and finally Russia. Almost all opiates bound for Kyrgyzstan via western Tajikistan transit Dushanbe and passing through north to Ayni, move onwards to Kokand in Ferghana Valley region of Tajikistan. Khoran is connected by several routes to Osh. Form Khojand the routes can easily take place to

³⁹UNODC, World Drug Report 2010, p. 49. Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/data-and-analysis/wdr-2010.html>.

Batken in Kyrgyzstan and onwards to Osh (Olcott & Udalova 2000:16). The Russia-Kazakhstan border, which is the lengthiest continuous boundary in the world and extends over more than 7000 kilometers, has the key importance both for drug trafficking and the fight against it. When smugglers cross this border, they find themselves in another region and price zone. This border is one of the largest transit points on the way to the EU, and at the same time, one of the most capacious drug markets. However, Aggrwal (2010) finds out some main routes as:

Routes from Khorog to Bishkek

- Khorog-Darvaz-Dushanbe-Osh-Bishkek

Routes form Dushanbe to Osh

- Dushanbe-Ayni-Khojand-Batken-Osh
- Dushanbe-Ayni-Khojand-Kokand or Andijan (Uzbekistan)-Osh

Afghan opiates go through Uzbekistan, entering Kazakhstan through the towns of Beineu and Shymkent; the drugs also come from Kyrgyzstan through Taraz into Almaty that finally enter Russia.⁴⁰ An estimated 90% of heroin consumed in Russia is trafficked from Afghanistan via Tajikistan and Uzbekistan⁴¹. Another routes start form Dushanbe to Choroju in Turkmenistan via Bukhara and moves north through Atyrau in Kazakhstan and ultimately to the Russian territory. According to Neerja Aggarwal there are several prominent routes which passings through Kazakhstan reach its ultimate destination to Russia. For example:

Route No1. Almaty-Ayaguz, Georgievka-USt-Kamenogorsk-Russia.

Route No2. Almaty-Saryshagan-Balkhash-Karganda-Astana-Kokshetau-Petropavlovsk Russia.

Route No3. Taraz-Shymkent-Kyzlorda-Aktobe-Uralsk-Russia.

⁴⁰Aleksandra Bogatik and Yelena Sorokina (2010), “Central Asia remains main Afghan narco trafficking route”, *Central Asia Online*, Available at: http://centralasiaonline.com/en_GB/articles/caii/features/main/2010/09/16/feature-01.

⁴¹RIA Novosti (2009), “North Afghanistan ‘a bridgehead for drug-trafficking to Russia’”, Available at: <http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/2009/10/23/north-afghanistan-a-bridgehead-for-drug-trafficking-to-russia.html>.

Route No4. Almaty-Semipalatinsk-Novosibirsk (Russia).

Route No5. Beineu-Makat-Atyaru-Ganyushkino-Russia.(Aggarwal, Neerja 2010: 16).

Thus, Kazakhstan has been a major terminal country for Afghanistan drugs to enter Russia and Europe. It is considered that two northern Kazakh cities which are close to Russian Border, Pavlodara and Kustanay are the crucial transit points. However, Turkmenistan also shares a border of 744 km with Afghanistan. It is considered another primary drug route of Central Asian region. There are two main routes for drug trafficking that pass through Turkmenistan: first, westward over the Caspian to Azerbaijan and on to Europe, second, northwards through Kazakhstan to Russia. On the other hand according to information provided by the Ministry of Interior of Kazakhstan, 33 drug types transiting the territory of Kazakhstan have travelled one of the following routes (UNODC, ROCA Report 2001: 18-20).

1. Kyrgyzstan:

- Bishkek – Korday – Almaty – Ayaguz – Georgievka – Ust-Kamenogorsk to the Russian Federation;
- Bishkek – Almaty – Saryshagan – Balkhash – Karaganda – Astana – Kokshetau – Petropavlovsk to the Russian Federation;
- Bishkek – Taraz – Shymkent – Kyzylorda – Aktobe – Uralsk to the Russian Federation;

2. Uzbekistan:

- Tashkent – Saryagash – Shymkent – Taraz – Almaty – Taldykurgan – Ayaguz – Georgievka – Ust-Kamenogorsk to the Russian Federation;
- Tashkent – Saryagash – Shymkent – Taraz – Shu – Birlik – Balkhash – Karaganda – Pavlodar to the Russian Federation;
- Tashkent – Shymkent – Taraz – Almaty – Balkhash – Karaganda – Astana – Kokshetau – Petropavlovsk and to the territory of the Russian Federation;
- Nukus (Uzbekistan) – Beineu – Opornaya – Makat – Atyrau – Ganyushkino to the Russian Federation;

3. Turkmenistan:

- Chorjou (Turkmenistan) – Bekdash – Janaozen – Beineu – Opornaya – Makat – Atyrau – Ganyushkino to the Russian Federation;

- Tashavuz (Turkmenistan) – Bekdash – Janaozen – Beineu – Opornaya – Makat – Atyrau – Ganushkino to the Russian Federation.

According to World Drug Report 2010, 95 mt of heroin are estimated to be trafficked across these three borders of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. But it is an estimate that the largest proportion of the Central Asian flow runs through Tajikistan. Although most opiates are reportedly trafficked by road, traffickers can also move their product by air, including (via) direct routes into the Russian Federation. According to official reports from the Russian Federation, more than 20% of seized heroin enters the Russian Federation through commercial airliner. A smaller proportion, approximately 12%, is reportedly trafficked northward by passenger train. Further UNODC estimates that approximately 25 mt of heroin are trafficked by air or rail, while the bulk, some 50-55 mt is trafficked using the regional road network, mainly via Kazakhstan (World Drug Report 2010: 49-50).

From Afghanistan to the north, traffickers are offered a choice of three countries: Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan. These northern borders span a length of some 2,600 km. The Uzbek and Tajik borders are marked by the Amu Darya River, while the Turkmenistan border is mostly deserted. Although there is no shortage of possibilities for clandestine crossings, it appears that most of the trafficking occurs along established trade and transit routes. There are nine official crossings between Afghanistan and Central Asia, including two river ports, one on the Uzbek border and another on the Tajik border (World Drug Report 2010:49).

They are:

- Hayraton (Afghanistan's Balkh province
Sukhandaraya province of Uzbekistan)
- Ninji Pianj (Afghanistan's Kunduz province
Khatlon province, Tajikistan)

(vi) Seizure of Drugs in Central Asia

In 2010 of the drugs 2.6 tones of heroin (24% less than in 2009) and 2.2 tones of

opium (36% less than in 2009) were seized in Central Asia (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 9) Kazakhstan is a significant transit route for Afghan grown and produced opium and heroin. Most of this northern flow is aimed at the growing domestic drugs market in Russia, but Central Asia is becoming the main transit route for some Afghan heroin trafficked to Europe. The total quantity of drugs seized in Kazakhstan in 2011 was 30 tons. There has been an increase in drugs seized over the years, (2010- 29 tons and 2009- 28 tons), but no change from 2008 where there was a 19% increase on the previous year. The Central Asian Republics recognize the drug threats but have only limited capacity to tackle it, although Kazakhstan is the best equipped.

(a) Opiates

Between 1991 and 2010, Trafficking of Afghan opiates to Central Asia increased significantly during the period of 1991-2010. This happen, because of large-scale opium cultivation and heroin manufacturing in Afghanistan. During the same period, law enforcement agencies in the region strengthened their countermeasures against drug trafficking with the assistance of the international community. Since 1997, opiate seizures in the region have averaged around 9-10 tons per year. It was highest in 1997 (12 tones) and 2000 (14 tones) and lowest in 1998 (6.1 tones), 2005 (6.4 tones) and 2009 (6.9 tones) (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 10).

The dramatic decrease in the total of seized drugs, since 2005 in Central Asia has been influenced mainly by a decline in the level of seizures in Tajikistan. UNODC experts consider that this can be partly attributed to declines in opium production in north-eastern Afghanistan. For example, in neighboring Badakhshan, production declined by 53% in 2005. The level of effectiveness of law enforcement in Central Asian is a contributing factor in this region. The rate of interdiction was low (5%) between 2002 and 2006, hovered around 4% thereafter until falling to 3% in 2009. The seizure rate for 2010 was even lowers (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 10).

(b) Heroin

In 2010, the seizures of heroin in Central Asia decreased by 24%, from 3.4 tons in 2009 to 2.6 tones. Most of the Central Asian heroin appears in the region through Tajikistan. Heroin seizures in Uzbekistan amounted to 1 ton (39% of the total), in

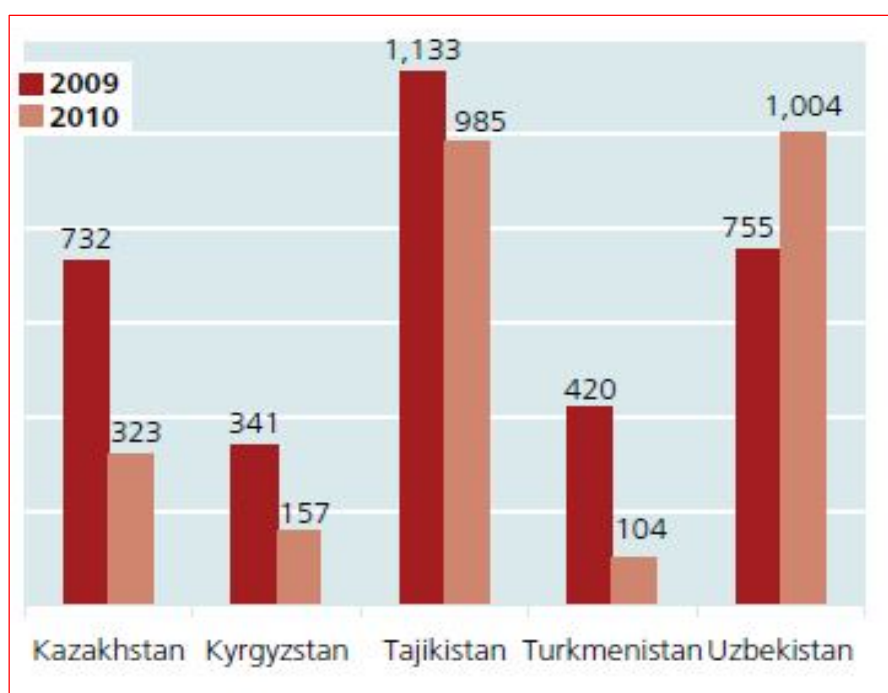
Kazakhstan, 323 kg (13%). Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan seized 6% (157 kg) and 4% (104 kg) of total regional heroin seizures respectively (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 11).

(c) Opium

In 2010, law enforcement agencies of the Central Asian countries seized 2.2 tons of opium which is 36% less than in 2009. Turkmenistan seized the largest amount (757 kg, 34%), followed by Tajikistan (744 kg, 33%), Uzbekistan (519 kg, 23%), Kazakhstan (168 kg, 5%), and Kyrgyzstan (39 kg, 2%). All countries reported a decrease in opium seizures compared to 2009 (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 12).

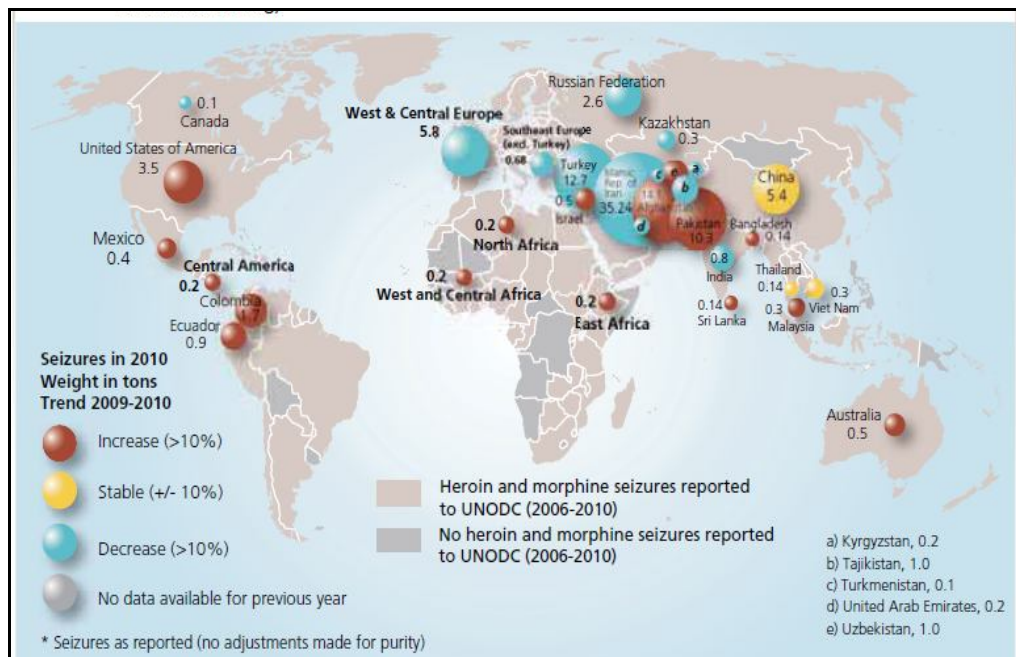
According to the recently data of World Drug Report 2012, except Uzbekistan, it is reported a decline in heroin seizure in the Central Asia. Uzbekistan remains the major transit route used for smuggling heroin from Afghanistan to Russian Federation (World Drug Report 2012: 31)

Fig.3.1. HEROIN SEIZURE IN CENTRAL ASIA BY COUNTRY, 2009-2010



Source: World Drug 2012 p.31

**Map No. 3.6 GLOBAL SEIZURE OF HEROIN AND MORPHINE, 2010
(COUNTRIES AND TERRITORIES REPORTING SEIZURES OF MORE THAN 100KG)**



Source: World Drug Report 2012, p.32

According to Federal Drug Control Service of the Russian Federation, the share of Central Asian nationals in the overall number of persons arrested for drug trafficking in 2008 was 55%. However, the total number of Central Asia nationals arrested in Russia has been decreasing over the period of five years i.e 2004-2008. In 2008, this rate had decreased by 20% compared to 2004. The number of citizens of Tajikistan arrested for smuggling drugs into Russia has also been decreasing, but they still dominate among citizens of other Central Asian countries. The number of citizens of Uzbekistan arrested has increased during the five years. Nationals of other Central Asian countries are involved in drug smuggling to a lesser extent (UNODC, ROCA online databases 2009:10).

Kazakhstan is a larger producer of illicit cannabis and ephedra, with the largest location of wild growing cannabis in southern Kazakhstan. Precursor chemicals (acetic anhydride) are produced of which the vast majority is for legitimate purposes, but some is diverted for heroin production. According to official statistics, there were 49,984 registered drug addicts in Kazakhstan as of the end of 2011, which is 8 per

cent less than the previous year. However, during the last decade the number of drug users in Kazakhstan had increased substantially. UNODC estimate that the real figure is probably higher and that 70% of these are injecting drug users. There has also been reported that an increase has taken place in HIV cases- 15,496 cases in 2010, 13,500 cases in 2009 and 9,378 cases in 2007.

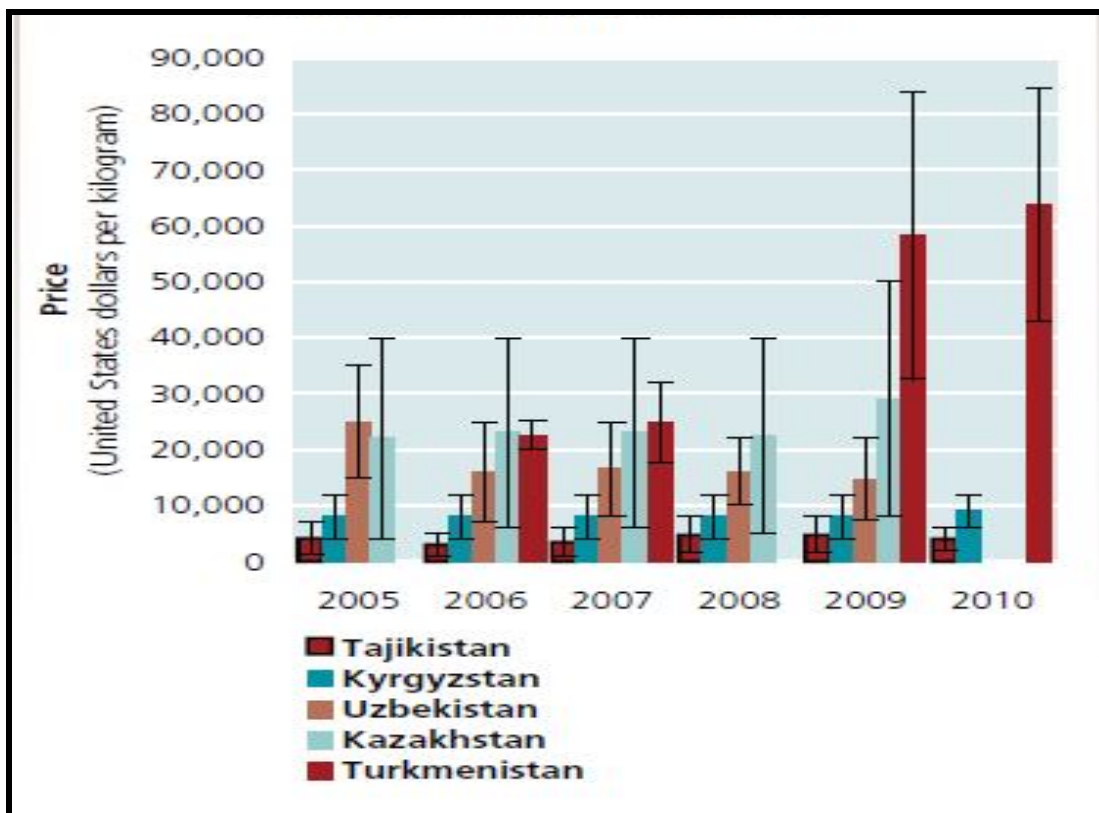
(vii) Drug Prices

The price of heroin increases in value as it distances itself from the source. The estimated value of opiates (at the borders) trafficked through the Afghanistan or Central Asian border area is US\$350-400 million annually. The portion that eventually reaches the Russian Federation becomes 30 times more of this amount. In the Russian Federation, retail distribution of heroin and other drugs is carried out by a variety of criminal groups.⁴² According to Nancy Lubin (2001) if “the price for a kilogram of heroin in Afghanistan may be upwards of \$300, in Moscow the same kilogram can cost as much as one hundred times that amount, and in Western Europe, more than five hundred times that amount, or upwards of \$150,000.”

According to Drug Situation Analysis Report of Central Asia 2011, Wholesale heroin prices for one kg were found to vary dramatically across the region and may reflect relative positioning along the distribution routes from Afghanistan. Further this report analyse that prices were lowest in Tajikistan. In Kyrgyzstan the price was almost twice as high as in Tajikistan, in Uzbekistan they were three times higher, in Turkmenistan, five times and in Kazakhstan six times than that of in Tajikistan. In 2010, in Tajikistan, wholesale prices of heroin of low quality ranged from \$2,000 to \$4,000. These are some similar to 2008-2009 prices, but prices in 2005-2007 were somewhat lower at between \$1,000 and \$2,700. High quality heroin in 2010 was lower than prices in 2008-2009: between \$3,500 and \$6,000 (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:39).

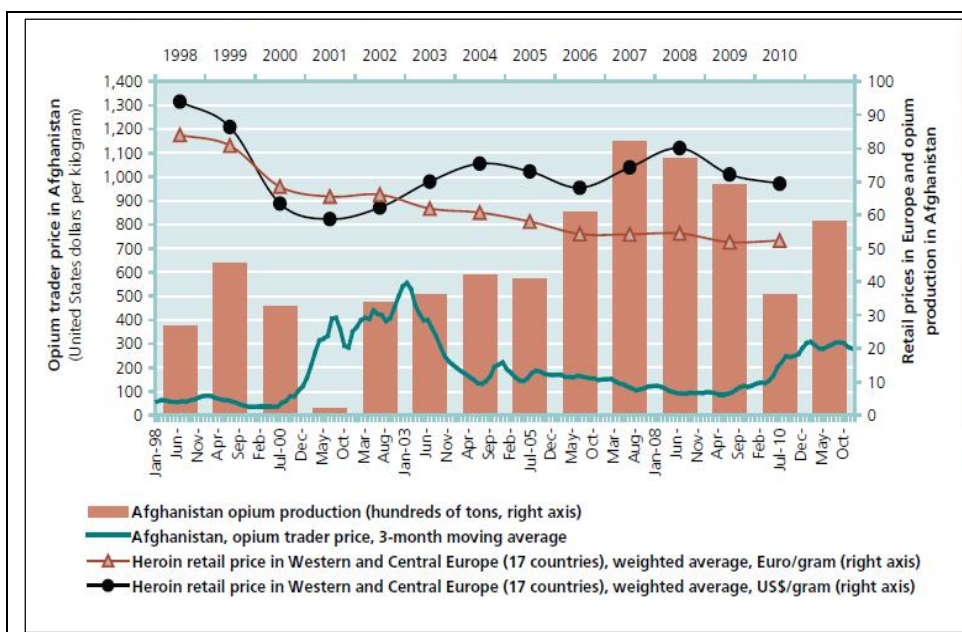
⁴² Lubin, Nancy (2001), “Drug Trafficking in Central Asia: A Matter of Survival for Some, Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav050901.shtml>.

Fig.3.2. WHOLESAL HEROIN PRICE IN CENTRAL ASIA BY COUNTRY, 2005-2010



Source: World Drug Report 2012, p.32

**Fig.3.3. OPIUM PRICES AND PRODUCTION IN AFGHANISTAN
COMPARED WITH RETAIL PRICES OF HEROIN IN WESTERN AND
CENTRAL EUROPE, 1998-2011**



Source: World Drug Report 2012, p. 33

(viii) Impact of Drug Trafficking on Central Asian Republics

(a) Socio-Political Instability

So far as the impact of drug trafficking on the Central Asian society is concluded it has multifaceted implication such as addiction, HIV/AIDS, crime, corruption, and is also a great threat to political instability, decline of economy and environment as well. There are several factors which are responsible for this tremendous impact such as poverty, low spending on health and education as well as government's inability to deal with the situation.

The Central Asian states which have suffered from decades of totalitarian rule, are still struggling to establish effective law enforcement institutions. The Central Asian countries are passing through transition. The level of governance is weak in the region. As a result levels of economic development is low and unemployment rate is

high. These factors contribute to the region's vulnerability to organized crime.

Central Asian countries continue to struggle for their political and socio-economic stability. Democratic, social and economic reforms have been introduced by the Central Asian governments with little success. Economic recovery is slow in the region. Corruption and theft, running like a cancer through the bureaucracy, are eating away at state systems. Massive power has been concentrated in the hands of the presidential hands through referendums to extend the mandates of leaders. Parliaments and constitutional courts have minimal role to play, elections rigged and civil rights systematically suppressed. Opposition groups are not allowed to take part in the political progress of the region and independent media is not allowed.

On the other hand, positive aspect in Central Asia is slowly and gradually emerging from the economic periphery and moving towards greater integration with the global market. The Osh province in Kyrgyzstan received commitments for foreign investment worth \$24 million during an investment forum. Kyrgyzstan also plans to attract investments for the construction of hydroelectric plants that will place the country at the forefront of the region's energy export market. Kazakhstan is looking forward to develop the Kashgan super-oil field, raising its status among oil exporting states. These are remarkable developments considering 2010, ethnic and political upheaval in Kyrgyzstan and the global economic downturn. However, the stability of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan remains on thin ice. The presence of radical Islamic forces, a massive drug trade and instability in the global energy market, all have threaten to shatter the initial successes of these economies. While the Osh investment forum is taking place. Bishkek announced that it will deploy more troops to the Kyrgyz-Tajik border south of Osh province to guard against incursion by radical Islamists militants and narco-traffickers. On the same day, Astana announced the deployment of an unspecified number of its troops as peace keepers to Afghanistan. These actions show how serious both states are in securing a stable region for continued growth and development.⁴³

⁴³Yong Kwon (2011), "Russia frets over Eurasian domino theory" *Asia Times Online*, Available at: http://www.atimes.com/atimes/Central_Asia/MF03Ag01.html.

(b) An Entrenched Corruption

Corruption is the most side effect of drug trafficking in the Central Asia. It has been reported that corruption is the most serious problem in the region. According to the Report of International Watchdog Organization, Transparency International, Central Asian states are among the most corrupt in the world.⁴⁴ However corruption is worldwide phenomena. It poses a serious challenge to democracy and development all over the world. Furthermore, it undermines the legitimacy of government and such democratic values as trust and tolerance. Economically, it undermines development by generating considerable distortions and inefficiency. Low wages of officials, the lack of independent media, public debate over policies, transparency in government system and independent judiciaries all contribute to corruption at the highest levels. Apart from that, government officials are also engaged in this murky deal. There was a report that, it was not only senior officials but law enforcement agencies that were widely involved to make state corrupt. According to ICG report 2001, these officials are facilitated by the low wages. Due to the ignorance, the people of the region do not know their rights which make easy situation for the officials to extract bribes from ordinary citizens in order to increase their low incomes. Many expert argued that illegal drug trafficking is mainly responsible for this rampant corruption in Central Asia. The World Bank, the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) and Western governments also repeatedly called on the Central Asian states to root out the corruption. The corruption is the biggest obstacle in the development of the region. On the other hand, poor economies are also one of the major factors which are contributing in the rise of extremism, crime, corruption, and drug trafficking etc. According to a report this phenomenon of corruption is not only confined to the low level officials but high-profile persons are also involved in this illegal trade. For example, one Tajik government report acknowledged that many drug merchants and couriers are member of Tajik state agencies, including law enforcement bodies and security services. The report criticized the state authorities for ‘failing to implement presidential decrees, government programs and Security Council decisions against narcotic trade’. This report suggested that main cause of the failure of the state is that

⁴⁴ Leshchinski, Geyla (2007), “Corruption Getting Worse in Central Asia – Report, Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav100107a.shtml>.

law enforcement officers are themselves involved in drug trade which makes it possible for the dealers to avoid the law. This report concludes that drug business ‘poses a threat to national security’ (Mohapatra 2007: 168).

In spite of that, if the governments of the region are serious to bring the stability in the region then corruption is one of the most important issues for them to address. On the other hand, to tackle the corruption there is a need of broad program of complementary measures, including legislation, higher salaries, less bureaucracy and stable political leadership.

(c) Drug-Related Crimes

During the period of 2004 and 2009, the total numbers of drug-related crimes in Central Asia were roughly 21,000-22,000 per year. The figures fluctuated between a high of 22,857 crimes in 2008 and a low of 19,973 crimes in 2010. In this period, Kyrgyzstan reported the highest decrease in drug-related crime with a reduction of 1,547 (50%). The 10% decrease was reported by Tajikistan and Kazakhstan. Only Uzbekistan reported the increase, which was 4% between 2004 and 2010 (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:31).

Table3.1. NUMBER OF DRUG-RELATED CRIMES, 2004-2010

	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010	As % of 2004
Kazakhstan	9,748	9,741	10,423	10,502	10,065	9,705	8,795	-10
Kyrgyzstan	3,090	2,565	2,437	1,996	1,905	1,887	1,543	-50
Tajikistan	864	763	726	775	687	796	781	-10
Uzbekistan	8,538	8,367	8,834	9,435	10,200	8,901	8,854	4
Total	22,240	21,436	22,4320	22,708	22,857	21,289	19,973	-10

Source: UNODC, Drug Situation Analysis Report Central Asia, 2011, p.31

When comparison is made regarding the rate of drug crime per 100,000 populations, Kazakhstan comes out the highest. During the period of 2004-2010, Kazakhstan’s rate has hovered around 61-68 crimes per 100,000; in 2010 this rate fell to 55. In

Kyrgyzstan, the rate slumped from 62 crimes in 2004 to 29 in 2010. Drug-related crime rates in Uzbekistan remained relatively stable 2004-2010 at 34-33 per 100,000. During the same period the rate in Tajikistan stayed at around 11-12 crime per 100,000 population (in 2010 there were 11 cases per 100,000) (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:31-32).

There were no major changes reported in the balance between different types of drug offences (such as possession with intent to sell, without intent to sell, smuggling, and illicit cultivation) in Central Asia. In Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, offences of possession with intent to sell in 2010 continued to represent the largest group of drug offences accounting for 4,471 cases (50%) and 464 (59%) respectively. In Kazakhstan, there were 2,584 such offences (or 29% of the total) and 425 cases in Kyrgyzstan (23%). The percentage of offences of possession without intent to sell was greater in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan accounting for 48% (4,221 cases) and 66% (1,051) of the total in 2010 respectively. Uzbekistan and Tajikistan reported these cases to represent about 30% of the total (2,366 and over 200 cases respectively). The proportion of drug smuggling offences in relation to all drug offences is very low at only 3-4% (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:31-33).

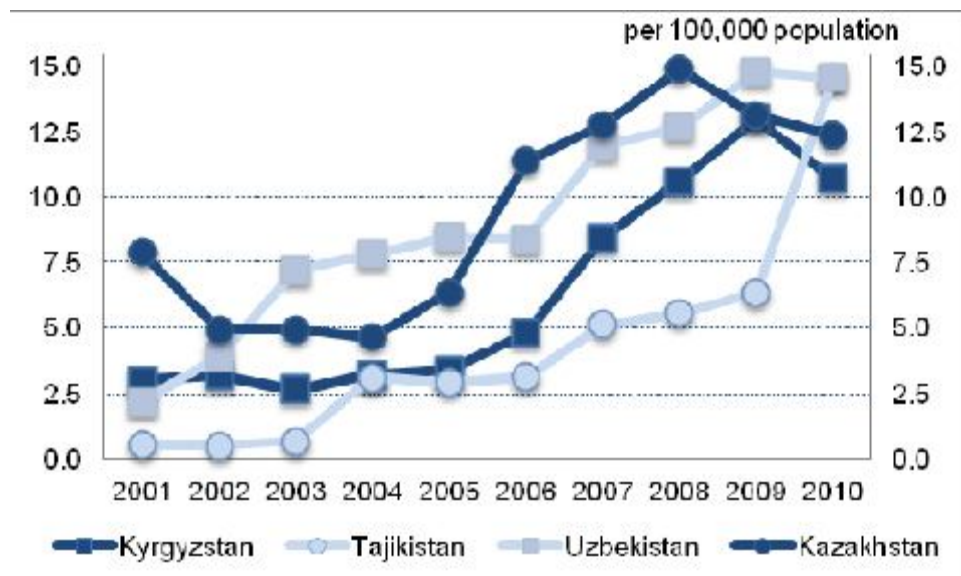
In Central Asia, over 14,000 people were recorded as having committed drug-related crimes in 2010. If we see country wise, the highest crime rate was in Kazakhstan (around 39 per 100,000) and the lowest in Tajikistan (around 12 per 100,000); lower rates were recorded in Uzbekistan (21) and Kyrgyzstan (20). Among those arrested for drug-related crimes most were unemployed. In 2010, the share of women among those arrested didn't change compared to 2009 and accounted for 10%. The highest share of women arrested was reported in Kazakhstan (674 women, 11%). The share of Uzbekistan had been falling in 2007-2009, and likely was above 10% in 2010. Their share of other Central Asian countries was less than 10%: 68 women (6%) in Kyrgyzstan and 53 women (6%) in Tajikistan (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:33).

(d) Drug Addiction and HIV/AIDS

The emergence of Central Asia as a transit route for drugs is directly linked to the growing spread of drug addiction among the Central Asian people. In Central Asia, rising drug trafficking is also affected the health and morale of the people. In Central

Asia, the majority of drug users are heroin dependent (57% of registered drug users in 2010); the proportion dependent on other drugs is a significantly lower: 22% on cannabis, 11% on opium and 10% on other drugs. The 63% of registered drug users in Central Asia in 2010 were injecting drug users. The total number of officially registered HIV cases in Central Asia has increased 2498% from 1,641 cases in 2000 to almost 41,000 cases in late 2010. In 2010 there were 7,500 newly registered cases of HIV/AIDS in the region. Although the HIV/AIDS outbreak in the region is mainly concentrated among injecting drug users (and spread predominately by male injecting drug users aged 20- 49 years), data suggest that the epidemic has spread beyond risk groups and has started to affect the public at large through heterosexual transmission (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011:33).

Fig No. 3.4 HIV INCIDENCE TRENDS, 2001-2010



Source: UNODC, Source: UNODC, ROCA Report, 2011, p.48

Table 3.2

Annual prevalence and number of illicit drug users at the global level, 2010				
	Prevalence (percentage)		Number (thousands)	
	Low	High	Low	High
Cannabis	2.6	5.0	119 420	224 490
Opioids	0.6	0.8	26 380	36 120
Opiates	0.3	0.5	12 980	20 990
Cocaine	0.3	0.4	13 200	19 510
Amphetamine-type stimulants	0.3	1.2	14 340	52 540
"Ecstasy"	0.2	0.6	10 480	28 120
Any illicit drug	3.4	6.6	153 000	300 000

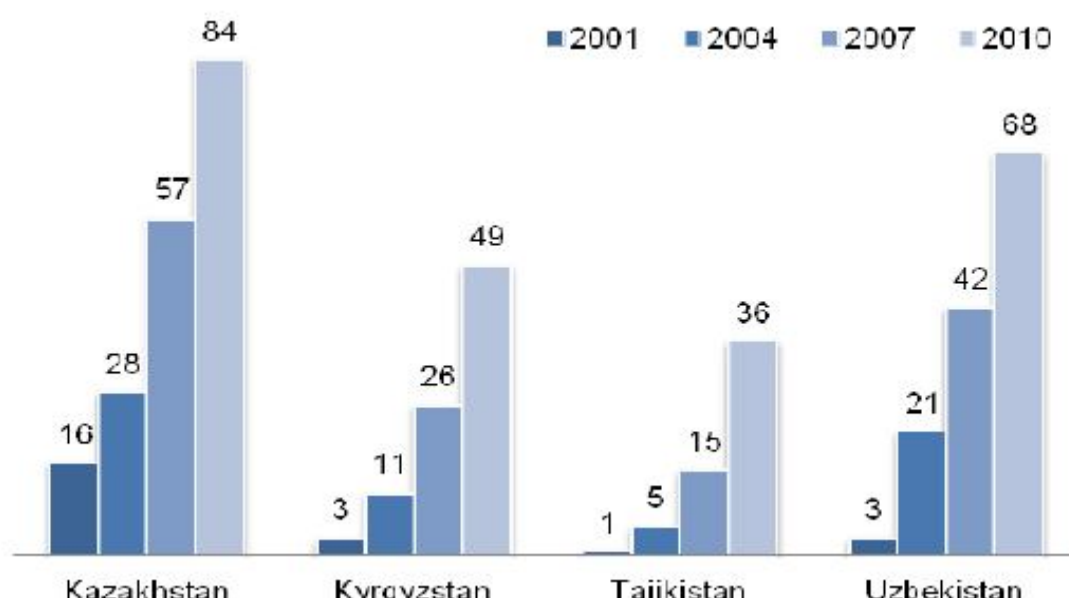
Source: World Drug Report 2012, p.1

In 2010, Central Asian officials have voiced against increasing concern about the destabilizing social impact of trafficking. The HIV/AIDS infection rate in Central Asia is increasing at the fastest pace in the world. For example in 2001, 1,954 new HIV cases were detected in Central Asian countries, while in 2010 the number of new HIV cases registered was over 7,500. The largest absolute number of new HIV cases were observed in Uzbekistan, the highest HIV incidence in 2008 was in Kazakhstan (15.1), followed by Uzbekistan (12.5), Kyrgyzstan (10.2) and Tajikistan (5.5) (UNODC, ROCA Online database 2009: 28). While based on UNODC, ROCA Report 2011, in the year of 2010, the highest incidence of HIV in 2010 was in Tajikistan with 14.6 per 100, 00072 followed by Uzbekistan (13) and Kyrgyzstan (11).

According to the report of UNODC ROCA Report 2011, HIV/AIDS has been found predominantly in the male population in the region. But the proportion of females with HIV/AIDS is growing. This is seen in number of HIV infection among acquired through heterosexual contact. The pregnant women passed it to their children (vertical transmission). In 2010, an increase in percentage of women among newly registered HIV sufferers was reported in Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Kyrgyzstan. During the period of 2006 to 2010 the percentage in Kazakhstan increased from 26%

to 37%, in Uzbekistan it grew from 24% to 46% (in 2009), and in Kyrgyzstan from 26% to 29% in the same years. In Tajikistan, the percentage among newly registered HIV people slightly decreased from 24% in 2006 to 21% in 2010 despite of the number of HIV-positive women increased (49 in 2006 and 207 in 2010). The growth of HIV- HIV is spread primarily among persons aged 20-49 years. However HIV has also been registered in children aged 15 years (UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 48).

Fig No. 3.5 PERSONS LIVING WITH HIV PER 100,000 PEOPLE, 2001-2010



Source: UNODC, ROCA Report, 2011, p. 49

Table 3.3 Estimated Number of Drug-Related Deaths and Rates per Million Populations Aged 15-16

Region	Number of all drug users (thousands)	Prevalence (percentage)	Number of drug-related deaths	Mortality rate per million aged 15-64
Africa	22,000-72,000	3.8-12.5	13,000-41,700	22.9-73.5
North America	45,000-46,000	14.7-15.1	44,800	147.3
South America	10,000-13,000	3.2-4.2	3,800-9,700	12.2-31.1
Asia	38,000-127,000	1.4-4.6	14,900-133,700	5.4-48.6
Europe	36,000-37,000	6.4-6.8	19,900	35.8
Oceania	3,000-5,000	12.3-20.1	3,000	123.0
Global	153,000-300,000	3.4-6.6	99,000-253,000	22.0-55.9

Source: World Drug Report 2012, p.17

It has been reported by the same report that the HIV/AIDS diseases are largely driven by injecting drug use (IDU). Almost half of all new HIV cases reported by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan were attributed to this practice. Data indicate an increase in percentage of new HIV cases related to IDU in Kyrgyzstan (from 50% in 2008 to around 65% in 2009-2010), and Tajikistan (from 48% in 2008 to 55% in 2010). Kazakhstan reported a decrease in percentage terms of IDU-related infections among new HIV cases. E.g. from 60% in 2008 it has reduced to 53% in 2010. This mode of transmission accounts for less than 20% new HIV infections in Uzbekistan. Data of Uzbekistan exhibit increasing trends in over the last three years (from 18% in 2008 to 15% in 2010. ((UNODC, ROCA Report 2011: 48-49).

The UN report draws a direct link between the regional HIV/AIDS crisis and the Afghan drug trade. Opium production contributed to a 600-fold increase in AIDS cases in Central Asia from 1994 to 2001, of which 88 percent were related to injected drug use, the report states.⁴⁵ On the other hand ,UNAIDS Report (2010) on the

⁴⁵Todd Diamond (2003), "Rising Drug Flow out of Afghanistan Threatens Central Asian Neighbors", Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav020603.shtml>.

Global AIDS Epidemic found that the number of people living with HIV in Eastern Europe and Central Asia has nearly tripled since 2000 reaching an estimated total of 1.4 million people in 2009.⁴⁶

According to an estimate by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), over 90 percent of the world's opiates are produced in Afghanistan and up to 30 percent transit through Central Asia annually, mostly via Tajikistan, to lucrative markets in Russia and Europe. In 2009, it included roughly 90 metric tons of heroines. Paradoxically, UNODC figures has also shown that the heroin seized in Tajikistan fell by 58 percent between 2005 and 2010, as production in Afghanistan rose, with area under cultivation increasing by 18 percent.⁴⁷

Experts estimate there may be more than 500,000 intravenous drug users in Central Asia. Many of them share needles, a practice that places users at a high risk of contracting the Human Immunodeficiency Virus (HIV), which causes AIDS. Experts agree that HIV in Central Asia spread mainly through needle sharing. HIV weakens the immune system, making it harder for the body to combat other infectious diseases. That leads to Acquired Immune Deficiency Syndrome, or AIDS. The World Bank warns that the disease could affect the region's economic development if measures are not taken immediately. HIV/AIDS causes to the patients, relatives, and friends, the disease has a potentially devastating effect on economic development. World Bank study estimates that the rampant spread of HIV diminish long-term economic growth rates by roughly 10 percent in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and by about 21 percent in Uzbekistan by 2015.⁴⁸

(e) Impact of Drug trafficking on Women and Children

Apart from the spread of HIV/AIDS, there is another important issue which requires close attention that is the involvement of women and children in a larger scale in drug trafficking. The main reason behind this is the poverty and lack of any alternative

⁴⁶Christina Lau, (2012), "Tackling Tuberculosis in Migrant Populations", USAID, Central Asia", Available at: <http://blog.usaid.gov/tag/central-asia/>.

⁴⁷David Trilling (2012), "Tajikistan: On Afghanistan's Heroin Highway, Corruption Fuels Addiction and HIV" Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/node/65240>.

⁴⁸Antoine Blua (2005), "A silent killer threatens Central Asia", UNHCR, Eurasia Net, Available at: <http://www.unhcr.org/refworld/docid/46c58f213c.html>.

source of livelihood. In fact, drug traffickers also prefer to employ women and children in the hope that they might attract less suspicion from law-enforcement agencies and may be treated less harshly when caught. Tajik television and the press in particular have focused on the involvement of women in drug trafficking. The other Central Asian countries have shown their concern regarding the issue. Colonel Rasulberdy Raimberdiyev is of the opinion that, ‘the drug business is being ‘feminized.’

According to ICG Report 2001, women are increasingly involved in the illegal drug trade. In Tajikistan, where about 80 percent of the population lives below the poverty line, many war widows are reportedly getting involved in drug trafficking to support their children. The same trend can be seen in Turkmenistan where most drug traffickers are women. They have not any legitimate means of earning for living to survive their children, and family. Another reason of increasing women involvement into drug trade is that they often accept lower payment compared to men. According to some experts, the involvement of women in this trade increased from 5 per cent to 12 per cent during the period of 1999 to 2004. In total drug related crime, percentage of women involvement was 12.4 in 1999. Similarly, In Kazakhstan the involvement of women in narcotic trafficking increased from 3 per cent to 12.2 per cent. In Kyrgyzstan an estimated 30 percent of drug addicts and drug traffickers are women.

People in Central Asia also worry about consequences of the drug trade on family life and traditional communities. Drug trafficking, involving children are also becoming a growing concern. According to anecdotal evidence such as a father’s attempt to hide heroin in his children’s shoes and the discovery of three kilos of opium tied to the thighs of three children, ages 9 to 13, traveling with their mother indicates that the involvement of children in the drug trade has grown dramatically. But such stories are rarely covered in the press. This is not only Central Asian women who are involved in illegal drug trafficking but many Afghan women are increasingly involved in this drugs business. In an ODCCP survey in northern Afghanistan, 75 percent of women respondents “supported the decision to cultivate opium poppy.” Only 5 percent viewed the cultivation as “negative.” “If there isn’t poppy cultivation,” one woman said, “poor women will have to work as servants in someone else’s house (Lubin, Alex Klaitis, and Igor Barsegian 2002:16-18). Thus the growing number of women

and children in drug business are breaking the notion of traditional family life.

(f) Impact on Environment

Drug trafficking poses a great threat to environmental security in terms of soil erosion. There is large plantation of cannabis in all Central Asian Republics especially in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan and plants of opium in Tajikistan (Penjikent and Gorno-Badakhshan), Uzbekistan (Samarkand), Kazakhstan (Taldy-Kurgan and Kyzyl-Orda) and Turkmenistan, plant of ephedra in Kyrgyzstan. These plantations apart from the soil eroding also substitutes and push out other important crops due to its more profitability. This leads to the lack of diversification that might lead further serious political, economic, and societal problems as it happened in Afghanistan and states within Golden Triangle.

In addition, these environmental threats result in the migration of the population because of the loss of the fertile lands. The basic reason behind this migration of population is the soil erosion because of opium and cannabis plantation. Erosion affects the quality of the soil negatively in long term and this situation leads the population resettlement. This could leads to political, economic and social problems. It should be learned from the experience of Afghanistan and Latin America. Environmental protection, including water issues, climate change remediation and adaptation, pollution control, and the sustainable management of natural resources are key issues for the region.

There is an impact on environment of the Central Asian republics as natural resources are misused and wasted because of drug production and refinement and resulting problems of deforestation, soil erosion and contamination of water. The use of Chemicals like carbide and Calcium Carbide and toxins like acetone and toluene are extremely harmful to living organisms. This has become more problematic as chemical waste form the production is dumped into the rivers and then it reaches the ground water. In this case the quality of water is severely damaged. Thus the government's action in the environmental field in Central Asia can also bring significant economic and social benefits in terms of poverty reduction and the attainment of some of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).

CHAPTER-FOURTH

DRUGS, TERRORISM AND ORGANISED CRIME

Central Asia has both advantage and the disadvantage of a central location between four historical seats of power. From its central location, it has access to trade routes to all the regional powers. On the other hand, it has been continuously vulnerable to attack from all sides throughout its history which is resulting in political fragmentation in the region. Begin with the 21st century, Central Asia is facing new national security challenges which are mainly drugs, organized crime and terrorism. There is a close link between drug trade, terrorism and organized crime as terrorist groups and criminal actors get their fuel form the illegal money of the drug trafficking. The illegal drug trade generates huge money which ultimately supports the criminal as well as terrorist activities. Many Terrorist groups like Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Hizb-ut-Tahrir-Al Islamic (HT) in the region are relying heavily on illegal drug trade to support their terrorist activities. A major element of the crime- terror nexus in Central Asia is the IMU. The United States have made the IMU one of its counter-terrorist targets.

Central Asian countries are the most affected countries by the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. After the Soviet disintegration, the region has witnessed organized crime syndicates, narcotics traffickers, and Islamic radical factors etc. On the other hand, Corruption is common in the region. After the collapse of Soviet Union, Central Asia emerged as an ethnic hotbed which is prone to instability and conflict. Since the independence, progress towards democracy and market economy is slow. On the other hand, UNODC report hsa identified drug trafficking as the most serious problem within the region. According to the ICG report (2003), there is a strong suspicion within the international community that senior members of the ruling elite are protecting the transit of narcotics from Afghanistan. The UNODC report of an Assessment of Transnational Organized Crime in Central Asia 2007 brings out the fact that due to rugged mountainous terrain and the location of the countries, borders are difficult to monitor. Members of organized criminal groups have wide freedom to move illicit goods across borders easily and with impunity. The reality is that

effective border control in the region is very difficult.

Trafficking of arms and drugs has also become a serious problem in the border region between Kazakhstan and China. Smuggling operations are reportedly being carried out at every checkpoint along the 1,700 km border between the two countries. The main reason behind the drug trafficking is the proximity of the "Golden Crescent" of Pakistan and Afghanistan, which makes Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Turkmenistan, and Kyrgyzstan the crossroads of the opiate trade to Europe and Russia. The International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) has noted that there are estimates that 20 per cent of the opiates leaving Afghanistan pass through the porous borders of Central Asia, particularly Tajikistan. Thus, we can say that, geographical factors have played a major role in the region (Makhmudov, Oybek 2011: 164)

There are also other significant crimes such as human trafficking, arms trafficking, organized crime, money laundering, corruption, terrorism, etc. UN Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon's Special Representative and head of the UN Regional Center for Preventive Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA) said that the region's five countries have not been spared large scale terrorist attacks, and it could not be denied that there is a growing concern about the possibility of increasing activities of various extremist, criminal groups and network operating in Central Asia. This has further been fueled by the instability in the wider region and porous borders through which extremism and criminal networks go through the region. In addition, he is of opinion that it is a matter of global concern because the wider region is becoming the main front on the global war against terror.

I Narco-Terrorism

In 1983, the term "narco-terrorism" was introduced by Peruvian President Belaunde Terry. This terms "narco-terrorism" and "narco-terrorists" have been used to describe this interface between terrorist organizations and narcotics smugglers. This fact is also illustrated by certain international documents. For instance, the UN Convention Against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances (1988) recognizes the links between illicit drug trafficking and other organized criminal activities which undermine the stability, security and legitimacy of sovereign states. Since the terrorist attacks of September 11, 2001, the financing of terrorism through

illicit drug trafficking has remained a major issue. All terrorist organizations need to raise funds to sustain their violent activities and resort to illegal means to finance their illegal acts. Drug trafficking comes at the top of this list of illegal money. In recent years, it has become increasingly evident that terrorism and drug trafficking are closely intertwined. Paragraph 5 of the UN International Narcotics Control Board (INCB)'s 1992 report points out that "illicit cultivation of narcotic plants and illicit trafficking in drugs continue to be a threat to the political, economic and social stability of several countries." Apart from that, the Vienna Declaration and Program of Action adopted at the World Conference on Human Rights (25 June 1993) stresses that "the acts, methods and practices of terrorism in all its forms and manifestations as well as linkage in some countries to drug trafficking are activities aimed at the destruction of human rights, fundamental freedoms and democracy, threatening territorial integrity, security of states and destabilizing legitimate constitutional Governments. Therefore, international community should take the necessary steps to enhance cooperation to prevent and combat terrorism"⁴⁹(Tamara Makarenko 2006).

The situation in Afghanistan, whether deteriorating or improving, is directly reflected in the Central Asian states. The more opium is produced in Afghanistan and the lesser is the domestic control over the opiate cultivation, the more Central Asian states are affected by drug trafficking. Afghanistan poses a serious threat to Central Asia in many ways. Afghanistan's geographical proximity with Central Asian states has greatly facilitated drug trade through the Central Asian region. On the other hand, Afghanistan has emerged as a major drug producer in the world. The situation in Afghanistan is so acute that cultivation, production and sales of narcotic substances have become the main source of livelihood. The profit which comes from the drugs money primarily goes to armed units, rather than of political orientation. Opium and heroin have become major sources of financing the terrorist and extremist activities in the Afghanistan and the Central Asian region. For example the Taliban, Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) and Hizbut ut- Tahrir (HT) all these insurgent groups and terrorist groups get their fuels form the illegal

⁴⁹Tamara Makarenko (2006), "Crime, Terror and Central Asian Drug Trade", *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Online: web)URL: <http://asiaquarterly.com/2006/01/28/ii-88/>

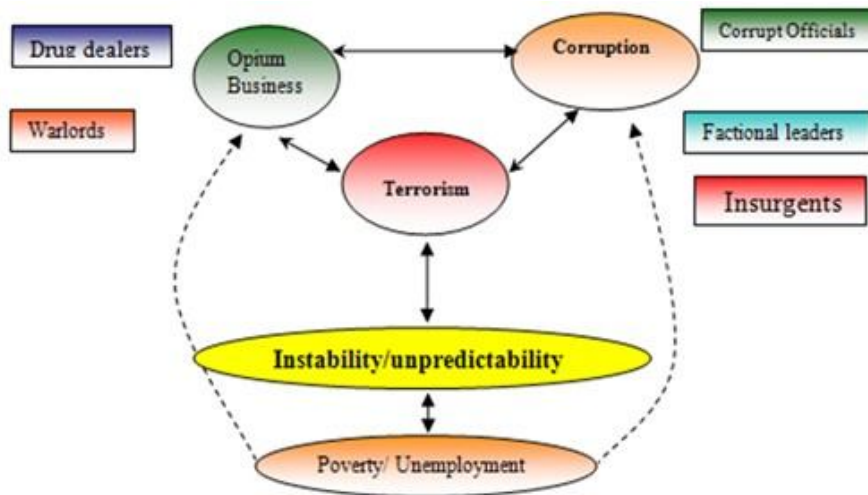
drug trade. Taliban use the illegal money from the opium trade to fund the militants in neighboring countries such as the Islamic Movement of Turkmenistan (IMT) and Chechen resistance (Marat, Erica 2006:42).

“The cost of the war in Afghanistan waged by the Taliban leadership is estimated to be more than 300 million dollars per year”. According to some experts there is some indication that HT is also engaged in narcotics sales. HT’s adoption of violent tactics against Central Asian secular regimes would create a new linkage between organized crime and terrorism. The larger number of HT followers in two key countries and especially the spread of movement into rural areas of these countries provide the HT cells easy access to narcotics profits. Thus, Oybek Makhmudov (2011) is of the view that the financing of terrorist activities in South Asia, Central Asia and Caucasus is almost from the drug trade. These militants produce and sell opium in order to be able to pay cash for war as well as small arms Oybek Makhmudov 2011:161-162). Antonio Maria Costa, the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime, warned of "mounting evidence of drug money being used to finance criminal activities, including terrorism," and declared that "fighting drug trafficking equals fighting terrorism".⁵⁰

The weak economic condition of the region provides fertile ground for drug business. This situation makes citizens more willing to accept the risk associated with the production, transportation and also sale of narcotics. As a result drug businesses have a tremendous impact on Central Asia’s security, stability and development. After the end of the civil war, Afghan drugs became the key issue in Tajik domestic security and a major point of concern for the international community. Tajikistan have already become a narco-state where the income from the drug trade flows into the government treasury. It also fills pocket of the state officials as well (Boris. z. Rumer 2002:139). Thus, there is a close link between opium business, corruption, terrorism and criminal activities.

⁵⁰ Chouvy, Pierre-Arnaud (2004), “Drugs and the Financing of Terrorism”, Terrorism Monitor, Volume 2, Issue 20, October, Available at: <http://geopium.org/243/drugs-and-the-financing-of-terrorism>.

Fig No.4.1.THE COMPLEX TRIAD OF CORRUPTION, TERRORISM AND OPIUM INDUSTRY



Internet Source: <http://www.rawa.org/temp/runews/2008/11/27/corruption-and-warlordism-a-critical-review-of-corruption-situation-in-afghanistan.html>

Apart from weak economic condition, there is a lack of legal economic resources which require purchasing of war supplies. Therefore, drug increasingly has become the most reliable source of money that could be used to purchase weapons and to maintain other activities of the crimes of terrorist groups. The connection between poppy cultivation, the narcotics trade, and insurgency groups became more evident in 2009. For instance, nearly all significant poppy cultivation occurs in areas where insurgent elements are active. Narcotics traffickers provide revenue and material support, such as vehicles, weapons, and shelter, to the insurgent groups. Therefore, drug money has been one of the main sources for the rise of insurgent and extremist groups in Afghanistan as well as in the Central Asian region. According to Jae, Mayong, Koh (2006), there is a need of solid finance for the purpose of recruiting and training for the militants or insurgent groups. For example IMU which aims at establishing an Islamic state is reported to be major employer in the region. It is paying its men between US \$ 100-500 a month. The situation is too worst that young men in the poverty-stricken local area have no choice; either they can go to Russia in looking for work or to join the IMU. Indeed, terrorist groups gain greatly from illegal drug trade in promoting their cause. It is clear that money plays an important role in facilitating terrorist activities not only in the region but worldwide (Jae, Mayong, Koh

2006:12).

There are various financing activities which fund terrorist groups. It can be categorized as criminal activities, donation and legitimate business but criminal activities are believed to be the single most important source for terrorist groups. For example the narcotics trade has given a new breath of life to various terrorist groups by making it possible for them to achieve self-sufficiency. In addition, all the Islamic groups in Central Asia, Balkans and Caucasus are involved in narcotics as they need to be financed to run their wars (Jae, Mayong, Koh 2006:19-20).

The functioning of radical religious groups has long been associated with the illegal economy, and especially with drug trafficking. The IMU is known to control opium trade through Central Asia's routes including at least 70 percent of opium trade which enters in Kyrgyzstan. Al-Qaida has also been alleged to use drug trafficking to finance itself. In fact, almost all terrorist groups identified are being involved in narcotics trafficking (Jae, Mayong, Koh 2002: 19-20). According to the Eurasian net Report 2009, The IMU armed attack of the Kyrgyz border guards on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border in summer 1999, was identified by a number of Central Asian experts as an effort to divert attention from drug trafficking routes by starting a conflict. Similarly, the drug economy was on the rise during the civil war in Tajikistan.

Thus, terrorism has become the great phenomena over the last few decades and it has become as serious threat not only to the Central Asian region but the worldwide. Both illegal drug trade and terrorism together pose a great threat to not only the security, stability, and development of the Central Asian region but all the regions of the world. One of the effective counter strategies will be to launch a financial war on terrorism as solid financing is essential for terrorist groups in order to promote their cause. In recent years, Russia's Deputy Prime Minister Sergey Ivanov also indicated a direct linkage between drug trafficking and terrorism. He pointed out that Afghan drugs finance terrorism worldwide. Afghanistan needs a trustworthy government who can get respect from the majority of the multinational Afghan population to tackle heroin production in the country. It is very risky to incorporate pro-Taliban fighters and particularly their leaders into the new political structure of Afghanistan. Further, he also added that the money from drug trafficking definitely goes to terrorists. "If we want to fight terrorists seriously we need to fight drug trafficking seriously" Sergey

Ivanov said.⁵¹

II Crime-Terror Nexus

Since the end of the Cold War and the subsequent decline of state sponsorship for terrorism, organized criminal activities have become major revenue source for terrorist groups worldwide (Makarenko 2004:129). Transnational organized crime is not only a national problem, but also a regional and international one. Crime cannot, therefore, be seen as a problem affecting one state to the exclusion of others. In this regard, three critical issues must be taken into account: proximity to source, porousness of borders and low levels of regional cooperation.

Globalization is also accountable for the rise of transnational organized criminal networks. The broadened variety of transportation means advanced communication technologies and lowered transaction costs associated with globalization, have intensified the movement of the people, which facilitated the exchange of ideas, and allowed flows of vast capitals. In other words, globalization has facilitated the organized crimes in many ways. States are no longer in a position to control the markets, but markets exercise power over states. New possibilities created by globalized markets have been used instrumentally not only by governments, but also by non-state actors who engaged in criminal activities (Marat, Erica 2006: 10-11).

Weak states, failed economies, and inter-ethnic tensions are the most common causes of the emergence of mafias and criminal gangs in various parts of the world. There are number of common factors that inspire the increase of organized crime in different parts of the world. If we look at Central Asia, even after twenty years of independence, the post-Soviet governments still functions on the basis of that external forces representing the main domestic source (Erica, Marat 2006: 13-14).

Drug money creates opportunities for organized crime. Drug trafficking constituted one of the largest sources of illegal proceeds. It creates a strong financial base for terrorist organizations to conduct illegal traffic in arms also. Billions of dollars of drugs pass through Tajikistan to Russia and China every year. The environment that exists in Central Asia attracted a wide range of groups who are interested in profiting

⁵¹Afghan drugs finance terrorism worldwide – Russian deputy PM, June 9, 2010, Available at: <http://natomission.ru/en/security/article/security/artnews/83/>

from the lucrative trade in illicit opiates.

For several reasons, Central Asia has been one of the regions whose security has been most negatively affected by organized crime. To begin with, the region was geographically positioned between the production and consumption areas of narcotics i.e., Afghanistan and Europe. Secondly, the lack of functioning of state institutions in the region has made it an ideal smuggling route at a time when Turkey and Iran were tightening border controls. Third, the weakness of state institutions has facilitated the growth of corruption as well as the capture of state institutions by private interest groups. Fourth, there is a lack of Consensus over the borders or political systems of several regional states which has weakened the states has also and created violent non-state actors. They have a potential to gain from involvement in the drug trade (Svante E. Cornell 2006: 38). According to Makarenko, (2006) there three types of groups which are involved in the regional narcotics trade. These are (a) drug mafias; (b) transnational criminal organizations; and (c) insurgent/terrorist groups. These groups have developed extensive smuggling networks that supply the growing opiate market in the Russia and European”⁵² (Makarenko, 2006).

(a) Drug Mafias

The first group of actors associated with the Afghan drug trade is drug mafias. These drug mafias are located in Afghanistan and in all the five Central Asian republics. They are identified by their domestic base as they generally do not have an international network in place and also have a membership which is normally restricted to specific clans or ethnic groups. They are clearly motivated by criminal intentions and hold one of the two extreme poles of the crime-terror nexus. In Afghanistan, the drug mafia leverages its enormous financial resources to gain influence in the region. Economic liberalization has been a boon to the drug mafia, as the modern global economy offers a host of opportunities for money laundering⁵³ (Makarenko 2006). In Afghanistan, local mafias distribute opium poppy or seeds to the local farmers. They also provide the financial assistance to farmers to raise poppy crops and purchase the same after the crops are grown. They act as middlemen in

⁵²Tamara Makarenko (2006), “Crime, Terror and the Central Asian Drug Trade”, *Harvard Asia Quarterly*, Online: web)URL: <http://asiaquarterly.com/2006/01/28/ii-88/>

⁵³Ibid.

production, supply, and its distribution. These middlemen are patronized by warlords who give protection to them and facilitate their transportation to other regions (Mohapatra, Nalin Kumar 2007: 164).

According to the Tamara Makarenko (2006), most of the domestic drug mafias in Central Asia are relatively less powerful. Their activities are largely limited to the local production and distribution of hashish. Some groups, however, directly purchase opiates from Afghan traders for distribution within their respective countries of operation. They are not very influential in the broader picture. In Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, these drug mafias maintain a degree of community which influence and have established connections with local officials. But normally, they do not possess greater power because they lack the necessary national and international connections⁵⁴(Makarenko 2006).

(b) Transnational Crime

The transnational criminal organizations constitute the second group of actors, who engage in regional drug trade. These groups pose a serious threat to the region because they are composed of a chain of regional and international players including officials in several governments and their security services. The operations of transnational criminal organizations are not always based in Afghanistan. There are well-known relationships of transnational criminal networks with drug mafias in Afghanistan and in its neighboring countries that enable transnational criminal networks to use Iran, Pakistan and the Central Asian republics as operational bases⁵⁵ (Makarenko 2006).

The transnational organizations use corruption and intimidation to establish and exert its influence. These criminal groups provide their membership to politician, law enforcement agency, and customs and military officials, etc. Comparatively, the intimidation and corruption perpetrated by this group of actors is significantly more destructive for state and regional security than domestic drug mafias. In Tajikistan, for example, transnational groups are believed to be responsible for several bombings in Dushanbe in 1999 and 2000. On the other hand high-ranking Turkmen, Kazakh and

⁵⁴ Ibid.

⁵⁵ Ibid.

Tajik officials have been implicated in the operations of transnational criminal groups over the past few years. There have been allegations that Turkmenistan's President Saparmurat Niyazov and other leading officials were involved in drug trafficking operations based at the Ashgabat airport. It may, thus, be concluded that groups of this nature are all together interested in obtaining the financial gains which is linked with the involvement in the drug trade and in asserting political control to secure their operation.⁵⁶ (Makarenko, 2006).

However, militants which are operating their activities in Central Asia, have criminal linkages in some European countries including Turkey and China. According to experts, some kind of supplier relationship has also developed between Kazakh criminal groups and Italian mafia organizations. According to German Interpol officers, the religious militant groups are responsible for 70 percent of the total amount of heroin and opium transiting through Central Asian countries. That is why the criminal and black economy have dominated essentially in Central Asia. According to UNODC the heroin dealing of religious militants allied with Al-Qaeda in Chechnya have ties to the Caucasus organized crime groups, part of the Russian underworld that operates in thirty countries including the United States. Thus, Drug trade for mutual benefits creates a strong nexus between religious militants and organized crime groups in Central Asia and Eastern Europe. Apart from limiting heroin trafficking by terrorist groups in Central Asia there is need to forcefully pursue the entire networks which are involved in the trafficking, including militants, organized crime organizations and host organization such as the Taliban that offer them a haven (Makhmudov, Oybek 2011: 165-166).

(c) Insurgent/Terrorist Groups

Drug money has been one of the main sources for the rise of insurgent and extremist groups in the Central Asian region. The linkage between Islamic terrorism and illicit drug business is more evident in the region. Central Asia has become the main transit corridor for illicit drugs, mainly opiates of Afghan into Russia and Europe. After independence, the governments of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan faced opposition from small radical groups. Insurgent/Terrorist Groups are commonly associated with the

⁵⁶Ibid

Afghan and Central Asian drug trade. They are mainly the Taliban, Al-Qaeda, IMU, IMT and HT. Although, according to some experts these groups are not necessarily the most powerful or important players in the larger picture. They have been the focus of international observers largely because of their capacity for perpetuating violence and instability in the region. Warlords also continue to be involved in the regional drug trade. Many operational movements of warlords have been restricted since 1998 as a result of cooperating with either the Taliban or the Northern Alliance. For example, warlords helped to collect taxes on behalf of the Taliban⁵⁷ (Makarenko, 2006).

III Main Insurgency/Terrorism Operators:

There are mainly two groups who organize terrorist activities in Central Asia. The groups which are active in the region, given below.

(i) Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

Prior to September 11, several terrorist groups were involved to various degrees in the regional drug trade. Most terrorist groups implicated in the trade, such as Al-Qaeda and the Taliban, played a very limited role and some of their members used their group networks to profit from small-scale trafficking operations. The only group significantly involved in trafficking Afghan opiates was the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU). However, to analyse the organization and operations of the IMU, prior to September 11, it appears that they were driven more by criminal interests than by political or religious purposes. Unlike other insurgent or terrorist groups operating in Afghanistan that are identified by their political motivations, the IMU is the only group that encompasses the entire range of the crime-terror nexus. It is criminal and terrorist in nature; criminal, because of its direct involvement in the drug trade, and terrorist because of its open political declarations (Mohapatra 2007:165).

Although, the leadership of the IMU can be traced back to the Islamic opposition parties that appeared in the Fergana Valley in the 1990s. It was not until the late 1990s that the IMU emerged as an organized force. The IMU's declared intentions were to focus international attention on the persecution of Muslims in Uzbekistan and

⁵⁷Ibid.

to replace the current Uzbek government with an Islamic state. Following this declaration the government of Uzbekistan held the IMU responsible for planning and conducting a terrorist campaign, which included an attack on policemen in Namangan in late 1997. Apart from it, it also carried out a series of bomb attacks in Tashkent in February 1999, which killed sixteen people. By 2000 the IMU had been placed on the US State Department list of terrorist groups. Deirdre Tynan a freelance journalist who is specialized in Central Asian affairs said that the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) is undergoing a change that could transform the Islamic militant group into a far more dynamic foe for Central Asian governments, as well as for the US and NATO troops in Afghanistan ⁵⁸ (Deirdre, Tynan 2009).

Indeed, the IMU was singularly well-placed to control the drug trade from Afghanistan to Central Asia and it had well-established links with the Taliban and Al Qaeda. An increasing consensus has indeed developed that the IMU was strongly involved in the drug trafficking from Afghanistan toward Osh in Kyrgyzstan. “The IMU controlled the majority perhaps up to 70 percent, of the heroin entering Kyrgyzstan” (Aggarwa 2010:18). Ralf Mutschke, of Criminal Intelligence Director of Interpol labeled the IMU “a hybrid organization in which criminal interests often takes priority over ‘political’ goals” adding that “IMU leaders have a vested interest in ongoing unrest and instability in their area in order to secure the routes they use for the transportation of drugs”(Svante E. Cornell 2006: 47). According to Kyrgyz ministry of the interior, membership in the IMU and other radical groups reaches roughly 10,000 in the Ferghana Valley. Most of the IMU members come from Uzbekistan’s eastern cities such as Andijan and Namangan. The IMU’s terrorist acts in Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan in the late 1990s and early 2000s, has made it difficult to separate Islamic militants from drug dealers.

According to the Eurasia net report 2009, there has been a surge of IMU-related activity recently, both in Afghanistan and in Central Asian states. On October 2009, for example, the Kyrgyz Border Service announced that four armed militants surrendered to Tajik security forces in the enclave of Vorukh, a Tajik entity

⁵⁸Deirdre, Tynan (2009), “Central Asia: The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Undergoing Dangerous Transformation”EURASIANET.org, Available at <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/eav102009b.shtml>.

surrounded by Kyrgyzstan's Batken Province. A day earlier, Tajik police killed four suspected IMU members in a shootout in Isfara, a Ferghana Valley town situated near the Kyrgyz and Uzbek borders. The dead militants were suspects in the September assassination of the Tajik Interior Ministry's top criminal investigator in Isfara . The terrorist events, which took place in 2011 in several regions of Kazakhstan Aktobe, Atyrau, Dzhambyl and Almaty oblasts, showed that there is a need to review all work in combating this most dangerous crime⁵⁹ (Deirdre, Tynan 2009).

(ii) Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT)

Apart from IMU, another terrorist organization which is slowly making its presence in Central Asia is known as Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT). Although, HT follows a different strategy. It is slowly radicalizing the Central Asian society. This radical organization aims at establishing an Islamic Caliphate in Central Asia (Mohapatra 2007:166). Hizb ut-Tahrir (HT) is a highly secretive organization with a well-organized structure and strict hierarchy. HT is not originally from Central Asia. It was established in Jordan in 1953 by Taqi al-Din Nabhani who was influenced from the idea of Arab nationalism. HT carries its activities in the Middle East, Central Asia and the Western Europe. It is active in more than 40 countries of the world. The Head Quarter of the organization is located in London, official headquarters are in Jordan. HT began to receive support in Central Asia in the early and the mid of 1990s. In order to widen its base, HT took advantage of the political and ideological vacuum that the sudden fall of the Soviet Union created.

The socio-economic problems such as increasing level of unemployment and poverty have been instrumentalised by HT. According to the ICG report 2005, members gave many reasons for joining Hizb ut –Tehrir. However, there is no single issue but the relevance of socio-economic circumstances for many who join but they point poverty as the main driver in recruitment. According to one of the HT's leader poverty is the main reason which drives people to join the organization. There are well educated Muslim in the West who are members of this organization. This assertion may be true of the West, but socio-economic factors clearly play an important role in Central Asia, where the struggle for daily financial survival is uppermost in most of the people's

⁵⁹Ibid.

mind (ICG Report 2003:14). Thus, it can be said that the Hizb ut-Tahrir is taking advantage of widespread poverty in the region.

According to the Eurasianet information, prior to September 11 terrorist tragedies, Hizb-ut-Tahrir focused most of its activity on Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and southern Kyrgyzstan. However, later, the group's activities distribution of leafleting has spread to the cities in southern Kazakhstan and northern Kyrgyzstan.⁶⁰ In addition, the cell structure of Hizb ut-Tahrir is a well-organized and well-structured which makes it difficult to estimate the real numbers of its members and its sympathizers. In each cell, there are three to seven people headed by a leader. However, the members of a cell have also its own leader. The members of a cell are only known by its own leader and cannot reach other high ranked figures in the organization. This structure makes impossible for state officials to reveal the followers, leaders and activities of the organization. It is said that HT has a very wide base, followers and sympathizers in Central Asia. Some scholars estimate that there are approximately 7,000 HT followers operating only in Uzbekistan, while 15,000 members exist in Central Asia in total. Some of the experts have put the number of Hizb ut-Tahrir's supporters in the region at up to 15,000. 20,000 members only in Central Asia and most of them are located in Uzbek territories. However, the group itself claims that it has hundreds of thousands of members and supporters, including many women in the region⁶¹ (Najibullah, Farangis 2007).

Experts point out that Hizb ut-Tahrir has been trying to recruit more women in the Central Asian region. A court in the Uzbek capital Tashkent sentenced to seven women on July 9, 2007 for their alleged membership in the banned religious group Hizb ut-Tahrir. On the other hand, another Uzbek woman found guilty of similar charges was sentenced to three years in prison. Sanya Sagnaeva, a senior analyst at the regional office of the International Crisis Group in Osh, Kyrgyzstan, is of the opinion that since it is deemed an illegal group; it is easier for Hizb ut-Tahrir to

⁶⁰Alisher, Khamidov (2003), "Hizb-ut-Tahrir Faces Internal Split in Central Asia", Available at: <http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insight/articles/eav202103.shtml>.

⁶¹Farangis Najibullah (2007), "Central Asia: Hizb Ut-Tahrir Gains Support From Women", Available at: <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1077570.htm>

continue with the help of female supporters because the authorities do not usually suspect women of being involved in political campaigns⁶² (Najibullah, Farangis 2007).

However, unlike IMU's financial sources as drug trafficking, HT's source of funding is yet to be ascertained. Some source maintain that there is no evidence regarding HT's involvement in drug trafficking, while others consider that it receives substantial amount of funding from Saudi Arabia and Western Europe. But according to some experts, some of the HT's local cells are possibly engaged in drug business (Mohpatara, Nalin Kumar 2007:166). It has been reported that Hizb ut-Tahrir is officially banned in all the Central Asian countries. It operates in disguised form. Top political leaders and senior officials in law-enforcement agencies in Central Asia especially in Uzbekistan have severely criticized the group, branding it a terrorist organization that threatens the stability of the whole region. But the U.S. State Department does not consider it as a terrorist organization. According to one of Osh-based analysts, Hizb ut-Tahrir will be around for many more years, operating in Central Asia secretly and attracting support from both men and women.

IV Linkages of Drugs, Arms Trafficking and Terrorism

After drug trafficking, the second greatest amount of terrorist-criminal complicity is found between terrorists and arms traffickers. In Central Asia, arms are typically smuggled through the region and destined for both terrorist and criminal groups. Central Asian region remains the primary sources of illegal arms, which are largely trafficked from the West for potential use by terrorist groups. The drug trade is closely connected with arms trafficking (General, Howard and Traughber 2007: 104). According to Deputy Chief of the Kyrgyz General Board of Criminal Investigations (GBCI), all organized criminal groups operating in the Ferghana Valley are involved in drug trafficking and as a consequence, they are able to obtain various types of armaments.

Small arms and drug trafficking are closely intertwined in many ways. First of all, drug trafficking is a highly important source of income for the Afghan belligerents. Both the Taliban and the Northern Alliance need drug money to finance their

⁶² Ibid.

purchases of arms and missiles. Although the parties are not always necessarily directly involved in the smuggling operations but they work in close cooperation with the drug traffickers. Neither the Taliban nor the Northern Alliance has taken serious action to discourage the illicit production of narcotics, and to destroy drug-manufacturing laboratories or to hinder the activities of the smuggling networks. Instead, they have offered protection both to drug producers and traffickers. They regularly receive shares from the illicit sales of Afghan narcotics. Both parties have also collected taxes from drug producers who operate in areas under their control. The Taliban, which controls over 95 per cent of the area where opium poppy is cultivated, work closely with the drug traffickers. In fact, smuggling networks operating in Afghanistan and Pakistan have provided financial support for the Taliban because the movement has serious fighting in many parts of Afghanistan and made the conditions for smuggling activities more favorable. Under the Taliban, whose high-ranking members are said to have strong business interests and even familial ties with the criminal groups, smuggling has grown into a very widespread business. What is worrisome is the proliferation and increase of small arms. The drug smuggling operations also include the illicit trafficking of weapons. Small arms and drugs are shipped together through the same routes, by the same smugglers, and sometimes to the same clients. It is pointed out by the General Assembly of the United Nations that the territory of Afghanistan is continuously used for the sheltering and training of international terrorists.(Pirseyedi, Bobi 2008:31-32).The Taliban especially are believed to collaborate closely with terrorists including Islamic radicals from countries like Egypt, Sudan, Pakistan and Saudi Arabia. In addition to providing training and instruction, the Taliban have armed various terrorist groups and recruited fighters including their own men for their operative cells.

The spread of small arms from Afghanistan has greatly contributed to militants activities in Central Asian republics. Afghanistan provides a permanent source with a variety of weapons in circulation. The huge quantities of small arms, ranging from assault rifles to hand grenades, were supplied from Afghanistan to militants in Central Asian countries. For instance, this created a massive arms arsenal in Tajikistan which includes the various types of small arms such as AK-47; AK-74 assault rifles; SVD sniper rifles; AKSU dub-machine guns; RPK, PK machine guns; RPD-2, RPG-7, RPG-18, RPG-22, SPG-7, and SPG-9 anti tank weapons. As a result of the large

quantity of firearms, there is a strong concern about the trafficking of weapons in Central Asian territory. Kyrgyzstan, in particular, is worried about weapons that are coming from Tajikistan. Some of these weapons move through the old Silk Road from Ishkashim through Gorno-Badakhshan via, Khorog and Murghab to Osh. There is another route which runs from Central Tajikistan to Kyrgyz district of Leilek and Batken and then to the Osh and Bishkek. This trafficking results in clashes between state authorities and militants groups. Thus, the combination of drugs, crime and terrorism, the widespread availability of small arms and light weapons have the potential for much higher escalation to disturb the stability of regional. The trafficking in arms and drugs has become a serious problem in the region's border between Kazakhstan and China. Smuggling operations are reportedly being carried out at every check point along the 1,700 km border between two countries (Makhmudov, Oybek 2011:164).

The economy of arms and drugs has merged into one market said Azamat Kutmanaliyev, representative of GBCI. There are numerous combinations in which drugs and arms are exchanged between religious militant groups with their counterparts in the Central Asian region and Afghanistan. It is difficult for the Kyrgyz or Tajik law enforcement and security agencies to outline these processes of arms and drugs inflows. There is a lack of capacity to control national borders, even in the most strategic parts of the Fergana valley.

Since, 2004, the Kyrgyz Special Forces have been discovering large stocks of armaments and explosives in the southern parts of the country. Islamic radical militants were engaged in attacks against state troops in southern Kyrgyzstan in 2004. As a representative of the Kyrgyz, GBCI concludes that these groups are preparing to set off more offensive activities against government troops, an alarming trend among religious groups is that Kyrgyz security forces have been discovering more and more armaments after detaining Hizb-ut-Tahrir's members. According to Kyrgyz law enforcement officials, religious groups such as IMU, Hizb-ut-Tahrir also obtained arms in large quantities (Erica Marat 2006: 56-58).

Thus, the drug trade is a major source of funding terrorist activities in Central Asia. This drug business ultimately contributes to organized crime, terrorism and arms trafficking in the region. The Central Asian counter-narcotics concept needs to

recognize that success in fighting the drug problem and require a well-balanced approach. It should be based on a wide use of law-enforcement as well as preventive measures that are directed to the achievement of total control of the problem by the state. Further, it should be resulted in a reliable reduction of its negative social consequences. Therefore, for effective mitigation of opium and heroin trade, it requires an intensive program not only to counter terrorism but also to fight against organized crime that is operating in Central Asia.

CHAPTER: FIFTH

NATIONAL, REGIONAL AND INTERNATIONAL INITIATIVES TO COMBAT DRUG TRAFFICKING

The growing illicit drug in Afghanistan has dangerous consequences for both regional and international security. Despite the US support of eradication initiatives of opium cultivation and alternative livelihood programs for farmers, Afghanistan remains the world's primary source of opium production. The Opium is processed into heroin and other drugs in a multibillion dollar illegal trade, which is funding extremist groups and creating the conflict situation in many ways. So the efforts to combat drug production, trafficking and use should be a major part of efforts to stabilize Afghanistan. The stability in Afghanistan will determine the stability in Central Asia region. Although, various anti-narcotics strategies that have been taken by the government, but these policy and programs need reforms.

Situation becomes most dreadful when state representatives at each administrative level from the directors of collective farms to regional authorities and the highest-ranking state officials are directly involved in the drug trade. It has corrupted the entire state structure. Apart from that, this is also the fact that both the political leadership and the Islamic insurgents receive considerable revenues from the drug trade that makes it complicated to apply effective counter measures.

Lack of coordination and limited resources are the major problem in responding to the drug plague in Central Asian countries. In addition, donor's efforts have suffered from a lack of coordination. The drug problem throughout Central Asia can only be overcome with an inclusive development plan that comprise poppy eradication, crop substitution and assistance to rural areas, especially of Afghanistan. Besides, this development plan must be complemented by enhanced interdiction, security, judicial reform and cooperation. Greater efforts should be taking to tackle the poverty that mainly fuels drug production. Without these efforts drugs will remain a grave source of instability in the region (ICG Report 2001: ii).

The drug trafficking has become a global threat. In the given situation, it is very difficult for the Central Asian states to tackle this evil alone. Thus they need of international support and cooperation. Central Asian states cannot tackle this evil alone. The head of the Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Center (CARICC) said that international co-operation and co-ordination is essential to combat drug trafficking in the region. In addition, Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon is also of the opinion that drug trafficking is a leading threat to global peace and security. He admitted that the trans-national nature of the threat means that no country could face it alone. This fight requires a comprehensive international approach based on a strong sense of shared responsibility and states must share intelligence, carry out joint operations, build capacity, and provide mutual legal assistance as well.⁶³

Apart from that, it has seen from the experience of Netherland that excessively liberal or excessively repressed policies have failed to generate desired results so a well-balanced approach needs to adopt in order to tackle the issue. Successful and effective counter-narcotics policies need to control both demand and supply of the drugs. Supply can be reduced through development and security and can be controlled by prevention and treatment.

I Role of the Central Asian States in Combating of Drug Trafficking

The increasing threats of drug trafficking and addiction have need of an effective state response. The most important of these is the creation of efficient legal, organizational and resource base for counter-narcotics policy. An appropriate counter-narcotics policy begins by establishing a legal framework and prioritizing legislative initiative. J.K. Mohanty (2006) is of the view that Constitutional provisions are like the foundations on which the the efforts of republics to fight against terrorism and violence is based. It provides the guiding principles to move ahead in that direction without harming the basic fundamental rights of the people. However, in order to combat terrorism, the legal provisions of the Central Asian countries are inadequate in

⁶³UN News Center (2009), "As drug trafficking undermines peace and security, UN calls for global measures" Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=33180&Cr=drugs&Cr1=>

themselves. The constitutional provisions are subject to proper and correct interpretation. They have also their limitation in dealing with terrorism.

It is need that similar to any other state policy, counter-narcotics must be implemented in accordance with a country's legal system. However, the efficiency of legal regulation depends on the extent to which it reflects the state's political-legal capacities. It also depends on the regulation to social customs and norms of the country.

In spite of the inadequacy of the constitutional provisions, the governments have taken many legal measures to counter the menace of drug trafficking as well as terrorism. They have specific laws in this regards. These provisions directly or indirectly aim at to discourage terrorist activities, militancy, drug trafficking and organized crime etc. The governments of the Central Asian republic have taken several legal measures to counter the menace of drug trafficking and terrorism but some republics have the lack of the specific laws in this regards. However, some of republics like Kyrgyzstan have their anti-terrorism laws, arms laws, anti-drugs laws which specifically address the problem. In April 1998, Kyrgyzstan was the first country in Central Asia to pass a law on 'drugs, illicit narcotics, psychotropic substances and their precursors' based on the UN anti-drug conventions of 1961, 1971 and 1988. Kyrgyzstan has been a signatory of these conventions. Kyrgyzstan, along with Kazakhstan, was among the first republics in Central Asia to acknowledge the dangers come from drug trade and its harmful consequences. The head of the Kyrgyzstan's commissioner for Narcotics control Asker Maumeyev said that the laws did not only regulate production, but also predict measures against illegal drug trafficking. President of Kazakhstan, Nazarbayev, has designated the counter-narcotics programs as a national policy priority (Mohanty 2006: 156).

Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan have passed anti-terrorism law which specifically deals with the threat. After 29, September 2001, all the member nations of UN have determined to pass their anti-terrorism laws as required by UN resolution. However, provisions of some laws in different countries are specifically trying to deal with the problem through legal measures. For example, On 27 February 1996, the Supreme Court, of the Uzbekistan had decided to introduce severe punishment for people who found guilty of illegal possessing arms and associated with smuggling drugs and

weapons (Mohanty 2006:158). In June 1998, the Uzbekistan Supreme Court sentenced two citizens of Kazakhstan to death penalty for attempting to traffic 40 kilograms of heroin (Olcott and Udalova, 2000:21).

Jatin Kumar Mohanty (2006) is of the view that though, Turkmenistan is least affected by militancy and terrorist activities but it is a largely route for Afghanistan and Central Asian drugs to European countries. Therefore, keeping this fact in view, the Turkmenistan Government has declared to take suitable legislative measures to check the fundamentalist activities and drug trafficking. Besides, Turkmenistan has passed several laws to counter the problem of fundamentalism, radicalism and drug trafficking as well. In Turkmenistan, the manufacture, possession, sale or use of illicit narcotics is illegal under the criminal law which is passed in 1997. Turkmenistan introduced capital punishment for drug-dealing in 1993, the new code allowed the death penalty to be used if a suspect possessed two kilograms of heroin or more than that at the time of arrest (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 20). In addition to these legal measures, these countries are member of different international organizations such as UN, OSCE, European Union and also part of CIS Collective Security Agreement. Therefore, the anti- terrorism resolutions of these organizations like UN resolutions, are binding on these states.

In other hand, Tajikistan government has not only taken steps to combat terrorism but also the source which support militancy and extremism. On 12 April 1996, President Rahmonov issued a decree spell out "urgent measures" to deal with growing drug problem in the republic. The decree is designed to curb drug smuggling and tighten up on the production and marketing of drugs in Tajikistan (Mohanty 2006: 167) Apart from that, President Rahmonov of Tajikistan has declared 1999 as a year of 'fight against terrorism, organized crime, drug business and corruption (Olcott and Udalova 2000:14).

In spite of above steps, the Tajikistan's government set up a national headquarters to coordinate the poppy-96 anti-drugs campaign under the leadership of Deputy Prime Minister Jamalidelin Mansurov. The government also through a resolution made it compulsory for all to seek out illegal plantations. (Mohanty 2006: 167). Tajikistan also took stringent judicial measures to curb the drug trafficking. Tajikistan's penalties for drug trafficking are strict. Under article 200 of the Criminal Code, the death

penalty may employ and fifteen to twenty years sentences are not uncommon. The death penalty depends upon the quantity of drug caught on a person rather than whether it is a repeated offence (ICG Report 2001:17).

Kazakhstan has also modified its criminal code to ensure law enforcement agencies to catch the dealers rather than users. However, now drug trafficking has become so serious that some officials have planned to initiate the death penalty for trafficking (Mohanty, 2006:173). Health Ministry expert Botagoz Smagulova of Kazakhstan was speaking at the Third International Scientific and Practical Conference 'Pharmacological Control and Adulteration of Drugs, on 10 April 2012. She is of the view of that "Today it's necessary to take qualitatively new measures to detect and prevent the spread of counterfeit products." According to her opinion, it is necessary to toughen the laws against counterfeit products, including the criminalization of the production and distribution of counterfeit product⁶⁴ (Mukhtarov, Trend D. 2012).

However, cracking down on the terrorist groups cannot be successful without cutting down their source of supply in terms of drug, money, arms etc. Therefore, in order to curb terrorist activities, Kazakhstan authorities have applied some measures to weaken them financially. As discussed earlier, the main source of the extremists finances are drugs and arms trafficking. Therefore, Kazakh Government has drafted a required strategy to curb them. Kyrgyz Government has also taken several operational steps to control drug trafficking as well as arms proliferation. Tough laws have been passed by the Kyrgyz parliament to control the drug trafficking and arms proliferation.

In June 2003, the new Drug Control Agency (DCA) of Kyrgyzstan was established on the basis of the previous State Commission for Drugs Control. The DCA is a central body which is coordinating activities of all agencies combating illegal drug trafficking. The DCA comprises about 200 personnel, mainly law enforcement agents and researchers. It is funded by UNODC, the US and Kyrgyz Government.

In addition to all the above said, all these five countries are parties to the United Nations Conventions. Tajikistan is also party to the World Customs Organization's

⁶⁴ Mukhtarov, Trend D. (2012), "Kazakhstan to toughen penalties for counterfeit drug distribution", Available at: <http://en.trend.az/regions/casia/kazakhstan/2012708.html>.

International Convention on mutual Administrative Assistance for Prevention, Investigation, and Repression of Customs Offences (the Nairobi convention, annex X on Narcotics Cases). Besides, in 1996 the five Central Asian states signed a memorandum of understanding between them and the UNDCP. Russia and Aga Khan Development Network also joined then in 1998. In 1994 Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan formed the Central Asian Economic Commission and pledged to cooperate in the battle against illegal drugs. Tajikistan also joined it later in 1998 (Olcott and Udalova 2000: 19).

Apart from above legal provisions, all the Central Asian states are also working on the eradication of poppy opium and cannabis fields. Each of countries has adopted its own version of the "Black Poppy" program. To support these efforts, in 1998, 4,465 hectares land were cleared of wild growing cannabis in Kazakhstan along with over 4,000 hectares in Kyrgyzstan, 65 hectares in Tajikistan, and 2.9 hectares in Uzbekistan. In 1998, 107 incidents of illegal opium cultivation were registered in Kyrgyzstan's Issyk-Kul oblast alone and 1,039 square kilometers of such plantation were eradicated (Olcott and Udalova 2000:21).

According to Osmonaliev (2005) all the five Central Asian states are signatories to major UN anti- narcotics conventions. These conventions reflect the efforts of the world community to cooperate in fighting drug abuse and to limit the use of drugs to medical and scientific purposes. These Conventions are:

- Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961
- Convention on Psychotropic Substances, 1971
- United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances, 1988
- Convention Against Transnational Organized Crime, 2000

However, Central Asia states are making efforts to curb the drug trafficking by making laws. But funding problem remains the main obstacle to all the efforts of the Central Asian governments. On the other hand, low GDP growth is the main cause to cut the money for the social programs and make it hard to apply drug- related

programs. The Director of Russia's Federal Service for the Control of Narcotics Viktor Ivanov said “solving the problem of global Afghan drug trafficking is only possible by developing the economies of Central Asian states”, the drug control chief stressed.⁶⁵

II Sub-Regional Counter-Narcotics Policy and Counter-Narcotics Cooperation in Central Asia

Several efforts have been taken at Regional level to tackle the problem of drug trafficking. These efforts are given below:

(i) Silk Road Diplomacy and Sub-Regional Counter-Narcotics Policy

Globalization processes have created the idea of a renaissance of the Great Silk Road, the ancient caravan route connecting China and Europe which flourished last during the last phase of Tamerlane era. A Declaration on rebuilding the Great Silk Road was adopted in 1992 in Brussels. During addressing the U.S. Congress in 1999, Kyrgyzstan’s President Akaev presented a doctrine entitled “Diplomacy of the Silk Road.” The European Union, the World Bank, the Asian Development Bank and the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development all offered funding towards the project. The idea of a new Great Silk Road plays an important role in constructing a strong foundation of understanding and trust between the nations of the region. As Akaev mentioned, ‘the Great Silk Road connected East and West (and to some extent North and South) by trade, economic, cultural, humanitarian, political and diplomatic ties to some extent, and has thousands years of history. At different stages of its survival, its importance, significance and directions varied, but the one enduring feature of the Great Silk Road has been that it played the role of a connecting bridge between countries and civilizations’ (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 56).

Describing security policy in light of this doctrine, the Kyrgyz President explained that the Great Silk Road creates a favorable basis for enhancing international cooperation in the joint resolution of global problems faced by mankind in the Third

⁶⁵Radio Voice of Russia (2012), “Economic measures will help fight drug trafficking”, Available at: http://english.ruvr.ru/2012_03_02/67356970/.

millennium. It should be noted that the Great Silk Road doctrine received broad international appreciation for encapsulating the related trends of international community development processes such as the deepening of interdependence. Beside the benefits of the global economy, there is also the global 'shadow' economy and its problems of drug trafficking and related transnational organized crime, which serve to undermine political and social stability in Central Asia and worldwide. Aware of these problems, the countries of Central Asia have with the exception of Turkmenistan (with its pursuit of a neutrality policy) built regional policies of cooperation. International cooperation is one of the main principles of international law, drawn in the 1970 Declaration on Principles of International Law Concerning Friendly Relations and Cooperation among States in Accordance with the Charter of the United Nations. In analyzing the main principles of regional counter-narcotics policies in Central Asian countries, it should be noted that they fit with the principles of the Great Silk Road doctrine: equal partnership, friendship and cooperation with all countries along the Great Silk Road, positive interdependence, mutual benefit, long-term prospects, and multi sectoral development of international cooperation (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 57).

Indeed, these principles are active in the various military, political and economic organizations in Central Asia: the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Collective Security Treaty Organization, Economic Cooperation Organization, and Central Asian Community. There is a brief explanation of those regional organizations that formulate regional policies, including counter-narcotics efforts, are given below:

(a) The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

The role of Shanghai five- China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan was to resolve border disputes among China and former Soviet republics i.e., Russia on the one hand and Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on the other hand. It was established in 1996. In 2001, after joining of Uzbekistan the Shanghai five was renamed in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). Now SCO is a regional security organization that consists of China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. Mongolia, India, Iran, Afghanistan, and Pakistan have observer status. In 2001, it shifted its focus to combating the 'three evils' of the region, namely terrorism, separatism, and extremism. Considering the drug trafficking

as a financial source to terrorist groups or criminal organizations supporting terrorists, the SCO has made a priority to combat this threat. At the signing of the 2004 Agreement on Cooperation in Fighting the Illegal Trafficking of Narcotics, Psychotropic Substances and their Precursors, members “agreed that the SCO should step up its participation in international efforts to create an ‘anti-drug security belt’ around Afghanistan. It also makes efforts in the formulation and realization of special programs to help stabilize Afghanistan’s social, economic and humanitarian situation” (Hoffman, Stefanie 2011:2).

The agenda of SCO includes dealing with terrorism, organized crime, drug trade, arms trade and human trafficking. In April 1996 in Shanghai, the members signed an agreement on enhancing trust in the military sphere in border areas. This agreement is highly significant, not only for the security of the SCO members but also for peace and security in Asia and worldwide. The summit took place in Bishkek on 25 August 1999. In the end, the Bishkek Declaration was adopted. Article 6 of the declaration mentions that members support President Akaev’s “Diplomacy of the Silk Road” doctrine regarding economic development and maintenance of peace and stability. In the same declaration, the parties emphasized the importance of the effective countering of terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, illegal migration and other forms of transnational organized crime, as well as separatism and religious extremism. The parties also expressed the intention to take measures to encourage the practical interaction of relevant state agencies of the five countries, including consultative meetings and coordination of joint activities (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:58).

At the SCO meeting in 2000, five nations expressed support for a proposal by Kyrgyzstan to establish a regional anti-terrorism center in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. In August 2003 at the regional meeting of SCO, members decided that the anti-terrorism center would be transferred to Tashkent, Uzbekistan. In June 2004 at the regular meeting of heads of member states in Tashkent, the Agreement on Cooperation in Countering Trafficking in Narcotic Drugs, Psychotropic Substances and Precursors

was signed ⁶⁶ (Anand, Vinod 2012).

Apart from this, Kazakhstan chaired the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) from June 2010 to June 2011. In June 2011, the SCO adopted an Anti-Drug Strategy for the period of 2011-2016 that outlines an approach to improved countering of drug trafficking, prevention of drug addiction, treatment and rehabilitation of drug addicts. Recently, on April 2012, in Beijing, the anti-narcotics agencies of Russia and China pledged to combine forces to stop the flow of drugs through Central Asia. Both Russia and China decide that these efforts will be taken through the intergovernmental security body Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).⁶⁷

Recently, The Shanghai Cooperation Organization's 12 Summit held at Beijing on 6-7 June 2012. This Summit supported the Afghanistan's effort to build an independent, natural, peaceful, prosperous country free of terrorism and drug-related crimes. All the members are of the view that national reconciliation process in Afghanistan should be Afghan-led and Afghan-owned. The SCO also supported the United Nation's leading role in coordinating the international efforts on the issue of Afghanistan⁶⁸ (Anand, Vinod 2012).

Therefore, the SCO summit of this year focused deeply on the situation in Afghanistan in the aftermath of the departure of US led NATO troops in 2014. Looking into the geographic location of all SCO states and their proximity with Afghanistan. SCO is trying to be an effective regional platform to stabilize situation in Afghanistan mainly after 2014 ⁶⁹ (Kundu, Nivedita Das 2012). However according to report of Times of India 2012, China has denied the possibility of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) evolving into NATO style military and political bloc, as the forum's 6th summit concluded with calls to counter terrorism and beef up

⁶⁶Anand, Vinod (2012), "SCO Summit and Afghanistan: Looking for a Regional Solution" Vivekananda International Foundation, Available at: <http://www.vifindia.org/article/2012/june/18/sco-summit-and-afghanistan-looking-for-a-regional-solution>.

⁶⁷Kazakhstan Security Newswire (2012), "China, Russia combine forces to stem drug flow through Central Asia" Available at: <http://www.universalnewswires.com/centralasia/kazakhstan/security/viewstory.aspx?id=1173>.

⁶⁸Anand, Vinod (2012), "SCO Summit and Afghanistan: Looking for a Regional Solution" Vivekananda International Foundation, Available at: <http://www.vifindia.org/article/2012/june/18/sco-summit-and-afghanistan-looking-for-a-regional-solution>.

⁶⁹ Kundu, Nivedita Das (2012), "12th SCO Summit in Beijing: A view from India", Available at: <http://valdaiclub.com/asia/44660.html>.

regional stability.⁷⁰

Further, on 7 June 2012, Russian President Vladimir Putin proposed the establishment of an anti-terrorism center within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO). While speaking at the SCO meeting. He said “We can achieve success in this direction by establishing a universal center to counter terrorism, drug trafficking and organized crime in the SCO”.⁷¹

However, after the event of 9/11, SCO has not been seen as an effective organization in combating terrorism. The SCO member did not respond collectively to United States request for assistance but mainly individual states. Thus, organization is under criticism that there is very little coordination between most of the CIS, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and neighborhood countries on drugs. Shanghai Cooperation Organization should step up its efforts because most of the drugs produced in Afghanistan go to the SCO countries and the people of the SCO countries suffer the most from drug production in Afghanistan. The greatest indicator of success may be the SCO’s ability to weaken the terrorist threat in the region. Counter terrorism efforts are widespread, and if the SCO is successful in its goal to counter that threat, it may gain the respect of other nations as well as increased recognition as an effective regional security organization (Hoffman, Stefanie 2011:21).

(b) Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)

The Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) was founded in 1985. It is a regional intergovernmental organization for the purpose of economic cooperation between its member states on the basis of their common needs in the light of the changes taking place on global economic scene. Currently, the member states of the ECO are Turkey, Iran, Pakistan, Afghanistan, Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. In 1992, after joining by Afghanistan, Azerbaijan,

⁷⁰ The Times of India (2012), “Shanghai Cooperation Organization will not evolve into NATO style military forum: China”, Available at: <http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/world/china/Shanghai-Cooperation-Organisation-will-not-evolve-into-NATO-style-military-forum-China/articleshow/13885360.cms>

⁷¹ Zee news (2012), “Vladimir Putin proposes anti-terror centre in SCO”, Available at: http://zeenews.india.com/news/world/vladimir-putin-proposes-anti-terror-centre-in-sco_780291.html.

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan it became more of a structure for integration and has observed status at the UN and in the WTO. On 15 March 1995 ECO and UNODC signed a Memorandum of Understanding on cooperation in drug control. In 1996 in Ashgabat the Council of Ministers adopted the ECO Action Plan on the control of illicit drug trafficking, which calls for the creation of a Drug Control Coordination Unit (DCCU). Under the guidance of the Secretary General, it develop and implement projects and programs which strengthen national law enforcement agencies and facilitate their cooperation in consultation with UNODC and other relevant institutions (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:60).

On 5 March 1998 in Vienna, the UNODC project “Assistance in Creation of ECO Secretariat Drug Control Coordination Unit” was signed. The project develops the coordination of counter-narcotics activities in the ECO region, which enable ECO to open continuous dialogue with member countries on drug control issues and as a result, have an opportunity to monitor implementation of the Actions Plan. DCCU started its activities on 25 July 1999. Unlike the CAEC’s IDCC, the DCCU has sufficient resources to carry out its activities and it is funded by the UN Drug control activities (Kairat Osmonaliev 2005:60-61). Apart from that, the plan for rebuilding Afghanistan in 2003–2008 is to be an effective mechanism for strengthens ECO states’ efforts. Recently, the twenty second meeting of ECO’s Regional Planning Council (RPC) was held in Ashgabat, capital of Turkmenistan on 11-13 June, 2012.

However, all the central Asian regional organizations aim to resolve complex social and political problems in the region, including drug-related issues. Some of them have specialized drug control units, like ECO’s DCCU and CAC’s IDCC. The CSTO is also playing important role. In this regard, in the system of regional counter-narcotics policies a special role is played by international organizations such as UNODC, the Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), the European Commission and others. All the Central Asian republics recognize the competence of the UN, its agencies and its institutions in organizing and implementing counter-narcotics programs. These five states are signatories to major UN anti- narcotics conventions such as (a) the 1961 Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, (b)1971 Convention on Psychotropic Substances, (c)1988 Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances(d) Convention Against Transnational

Organized Crime, 2000. They also follow recommendations of the UN General Assembly Special Session (1998). The main provisions of these recommendations are applied in the creation of appropriate national strategies and program.⁷²

(c) Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

The CSTO is regional organization which is committed to peace, security and stability in the region. The Collective Security Treaty (1992) was renamed into the Collective Security Treaty Organization in April 2003. It was founded with the aim to promote peace, international and regional security, stability, and the collective defense of independence, territorial integrity, and the sovereignty of member states. The organization has a wide range of means for countering international terrorism, drug trafficking, arms smuggling, and other threats (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 58-59). This organization consists of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan. Uzbekistan was a founding member of the Collective Security Treaty Organization, but in 1999, it withdraws its membership from the organization. Further, Uzbekistan joined the CSTO in aftermath of the Andijan event.

Most of the CSTO member has bilateral ties to NATO under the Partnership for Peace program in order to cooperate with it as an organization on counter-narcotics, anti-terrorism and other issues. Further, in March 2010, the UN General Assembly approved a resolution drawn up by Russia that called for greater cooperation with the CSTO in regional cooperation areas like:

- (i) Straitening regional security and stability
- (ii) Peacekeeping
- (iii) Counter-terrorism
- (iv) Combating Illicit trafficking in drugs and weapons
- (v) Combating transnational organized crime
- (vi) Human trafficking
- (vii) The fight against natural and man-made catastrophes (Nichol, Jim 2010: 22).

On 15 May 2012, the Kremlin (Russia) hosted a session of the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO) and it was attended by Russia, Armenia, Belarus,

⁷²Ibid.

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan. The organization's activities for last 19 years were evaluated and the prospects of future development were discussed. The issues of terrorism, narco-trafficking, and illegal immigration were also highlighted. All members pledged to strengthen the CSTO's cooperative format and also develop more peacekeeping activities through the organization. Thus, the organization which in May 2012 celebrates its 10th anniversary and 25th anniversary of the Collective Security Treaty has created effective mechanisms for combating new threats and challenges in the region.⁷³ But recently on 20 June 2012, Uzbekistan has suspended, not terminated, its membership from organization by accusing Russia for dominating the CSTO.

(d) Central Asian Organization for Economic Cooperation (CAEC)

The Central Asian Organization for Economic Cooperation (CAEC) was the first regional organization concerned with economic cooperation in Central Asia. It was founded in early 1994 by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan and later on it was joined by Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Although, the central goal of the CAEC is economic integration, but the geopolitical situation forced this alliance to include discussions on regional security, including drug control issues. Thus, on 5 April 1996, an agreement between Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan was concluded on cooperation in combating drug trafficking, psychotropic substances and their abuse. In the framework of the CAEC, the Interstate Drug Control Commission (IDCC) was established. On Kyrgyzstan's initiative, the first session of the IDCC was held in Bishkek in September 1999. It was decided that the National Information Analysis Center on Drug Control under the Cabinet of Ministers of Uzbekistan would organize the publication of an information bulletin on the drug situation in Central Asia. The National Center continues to implement these activities. Furthermore, it was decided to conduct CAEC and IDCC sessions on an annual basis. Unfortunately, due to lack of resources, many of the decisions made at these sessions have not been implemented, notably the establishment of an institution for communication officers. In 2002, CAEC activities were disrupted and as a result the activities of the IDCC

⁷³Belarusian Telegraph Agency (May 2012), "CSTO viewed as key instrument for ensuring security", Available at: <http://news.belta.by/en/news/politics?id=681847>.

were also disrupted (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:59).

In addition, three members made major structural and administrative reorganizations. Tajik and Kyrgyz State Commissions on Drug Control were transformed into Drug Control Agencies with extended mandates and the Kazakh State Commission was transformed into the Committee on Combating Drugs under the Interior Ministry. Therefore, organizations with different status, is experiencing difficulties in conducting joint activities. Rare contacts, staff replacement, etc. have undermined the prospective for regional cooperation between drug control agencies in Central Asia. Due to its inefficiency, CAEC was abandoned. Again on 28 April 2002, in Almaty, the heads of the respective states signed a treaty to establish the Central Asian Community (CAC). There were several political and economic reasons for the failure of the CAEC but the major one was the contrary levels of economic development of its members and the consequent difference in members' interests. In the most sessions the CAC discusses drug-related issues. Its meeting, on 28 May 2004 in Astana, (Kazakhstan), the Presidents exchanged opinions on the situation and the prospects for regional integration towards strengthening security in Central Asia, combating international terrorism, extremism and organized crime, trafficking in weapons and drugs, illegal migration, and the situation in Afghanistan as well (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 59-60).

III Counter-Narcotics Strategies of International Organizations

Each year, the United Nations celebrate 26 June as 'International Day against Drug Abuse and Illicit Trafficking' and anti drug organization mark the day with activities in order to raise awareness of the problem of illicit drugs. Several international initiatives have been taken to curb the problem of drug trafficking in Central Asian republics. There are many international organizations which are working in the region to tackle the problem as US, NATO, UNODC, Civil Society, OSCE, European Union etc, however, the UNODC has been playing the key role to curb the menace of drug trafficking.

(i) US Role to Curb the Drug Trafficking

The United States is at present the most active actor cooperating with Central Asian Countries in the sphere of counter-narcotics. Jim Nichol is of view that after the 11

September 2011 attack on United States, the former Bush Administration established base and other military access in the region to support U.S. led coalition operation in Afghanistan. The Obama Administration highlighted U.S. interest in access and long term security and stability of the region. U.S. has made many efforts in helping the Central Asian counties by combating terrorism, drug production and trafficking in human and encouragement democratization, human rights, free market and trade in the region (Nichol, Jim 2010 : 2).

After the 9/11 event U.S. find the drug trafficking as a serious threat to not only the security of CARs but worldwide. The main reason is that illegal drug trade fuels the terrorist activities in the world wide. U.S. policy toward the Central Asian states has aimed at facilitating their cooperation with U.S. and NATO stabilization efforts in Afghanistan. The United States and Central Asian nations are working on an initiative to establish special law enforcement teams that target the drug trade begins in Afghanistan and put in danger the lives of millions of people in the region⁷⁴ (Porter, Charlane 2012). As, it is known that stability of the Central Asian region is closely interlinked with the stability of the Afghanistan.

As Kairat Osmonaliev (2005) is of the opinion that United States recognized that successful struggle with drug trafficking is a crucial condition for the control of international terrorist financing. U.S. Government initiated the signature of an Agreement on Drug Control and Mutual Legal Assistance with the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic in December 2001. U.S also provides the aid to combat drug trafficking to the Central Asian region directly or indirectly through the channels of international organization like UNODC. Formally UNODC remains responsible for the DCA project (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:75-76).

The 2004 final report of the National Commission on Terrorist Attacks upon the United States (The 9/11 Commission) and the President 's 2003 National Strategy for Combating Terrorism call for the United States to work with Central Asian and also with other countries to deny sponsorship, support and sanctuary to terrorist. The

⁷⁴Porter, Charlane (2012) "U.S. Central Asia Program against Afghan Drug Trade Takes Shape"
Available at:
<http://iipdigital.usembassy.gov/st/english/article/2012/02/20120221162619enelrahc0.3190882.html#axzz1vUWcykAd>

Report and Strategy also call for assisting the States to democratise, respect for human rights and develop free markets to reduce underlining vulnerabilities that terrorists seek to exploit (Nichol, Jim 2010 : 37).

Besides, US signed many bilateral programs with Central Asian countries in order to combat the narcotics threats. For example U.S.-Uzbek agreement on Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement was signed in 2001. Through this agreement, training was provided to facilitate investigating and prosecuting narcotics trafficking cases. In 2003, U.S. signed the same agreement with Tajikistan and Kazakhstan and provides counter-narcotics training and equipment for police and border guards. Furthermore, the DEA (Drug Enforcement Agency) Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, was set up in 2007. US Central Command (USCENTCOM) provides funds and support to Tajikistan's Drugs Control Agency. In 2009, U.S. Embassy signed an amendment to the 2003 agreement that provides an extra \$9.43 million in assistance for narcotics control, law enforcement and justice reform. Since the 2007, the DEA Dushanbe Country Office has worked with UNODC to manage and funds the office of DRUG Control Agency in the town of Taloqan in Northern Afghanistan. Apart from this, U.S. aid to UN Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) it also supported the establishment of the Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Center (CARICC). It was established in 2002. It consists of Azerbaijan, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan. In Almaty, CARICC share the narcotics trafficking intelligence among law enforcement agencies (Jim Nichol 2010:52-53). Recently, on 25-26 April, 2012 in Almaty, CARICC hosted the Operational Working Group meeting on "Terrorism and Drug Trafficking Interactivity.

In May 2007, the United Nations Secretary General agreed to an appeal by the Central Asian states to establish a U.N. Regional Center for Preventive Diplomacy, with headquarters in Ashkhabad, the capital of Turkmenistan. The Center was opened in December 2007 and proposed to take on some of the duties of the U.N. Tajikistan Office of Peace-Building. This office was established after the Tajik Civil War and was closed. The Center's mandate includes monitoring regional threats and working together with other regional organizations to facilitate peacemaking and conflict prevention. Priority concerns include cross-border terrorism, organized crime and

drug trafficking, regional water and energy management; environmental degradation; and stabilization in Afghanistan (Nichol, Jim 2012 38).

In May 2007, the US Defense Secretary Robert Gates urged Asian countries to provide Central Asia with road and rail, telecommunications, and electricity generation and distribution aid to link the region with Asia. He also urged to help the region combat terrorism and narcotics trafficking, to send technical advisors to ministries to promote political and economic reforms; to offer more military trainers, peace keepers, and advisors for defense reforms; and to more actively integrate the regional states into “the Asian security structure ”(Nichol, Jim 2012 :38).

According to the RFE/RL report 2012, recently the Washington has planned to help in combating the flow of drugs from Afghanistan, through Central Asia, and also further into Russia. The plan, still in draft form, is known as “The Central Asian Counternarcotics Initiative” (CACI). It expects the establishment of counter narcotics task forces in the five Central Asian countries -- Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan which would communicate with similar existing units in Afghanistan and Russia. The seven countries would share sensitive information, improve coordination on joint and cross-border operations, and help to build cases against wanted or arrested traffickers. William Brownfield, the U.S. assistant secretary of state for international narcotics and law enforcement affairs, is point of view that by developing the CACI, Washington is attempting to get around what he called an “insufficient level of confidence” among the governments and law enforcement agencies of the seven countries. Further he states that the Central Asian republics can get important and sensitive information which originates from Afghanistan related to drug production, to prohibition operations, and to law enforcement efforts against traffickers in Afghanistan⁷⁵(Solash, Richard 2012).

On 16 February 2012, by addressing to the Paris Pact ministerial meeting in Vienna, Deputy U.S. Secretary of State William Burns emphasized the importance of regional

⁷⁵Solash, Richard (2012)"U.S. Promotes New Plan To Battle Drug Trade In Afghanistan, Central Asia, Russia ", RFE/RL, Available at:
http://www.rferl.org/content/us_promotes_new_plan_to_battle_drug_trade_in_afghanistan_central_asia_and_russia/24270127.htmlhttp://www.rferl.org/content/us_promotes_new_plan_to_battle_drug_trade_in_afghanistan_central_asia_and_russia/24270127.html.

cooperation. He said that it was imperative that we would work together to improve Afghanistan's ability to attack drug production, neighboring states' ability to attack drug distribution, and consumer states' ability to address drug abuse. He characterized the Afghan drug trade as complex and entrenched, and said that it is not a problem with an easy solution. Furthermore, he said that despite this the counter trafficking effort is gaining some ground, with seizures of "over 82 metric tons of opium, 16 tons of morphine, 10 tons of pure heroin and 178 tons of hashish in 2011 alone. The number of operations with international assistance, resulting in drug busts in Afghanistan, has increased nearly 400 percent since 2009."⁷⁶

The United States is committed to make partnership with Central Asia to counter these threats. According to 2012 report of Bureau of International Narcotics Law Enforcement Affairs, US Department of State has allocated \$4.2 million to support counter narcotics agencies in Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. It is anticipated that additional U.S. government resources will be selected to support this program as it further develops. This assistance is in addition to approximately \$14 million which INL provides on a bilateral basis for law enforcement and rule of law programs in Central Asia. U.S. continues to support a broad spectrum of activities against drug trafficking by: -

1. Supporting development of legislative revisions to allow for the implementation of drug task forces in the region
2. Providing training and equipment to drug control agencies and units to assist them to support and develop dedicated drug investigative tasks forces.
3. Assisting the US Drug Enforcement Administration (DEA) to increase its counter narcotics work in the region working with national drug control agencies and task forces.
4. Coordinating closely with the US Department of Defense's \$101 million in counter narcotics programs in Central Asia.
5. Partnering with the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) and the Organization for Security Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in support of police reform,

⁷⁶UN News Center (2009), "As drug trafficking undermines peace and security, UN calls for global measures" Available at: <http://www.un.org/apps/news/story.asp?NewsID=33180&Cr=drugs&Cr1=>

border security and drug control.⁷⁷

According to the State Department on 15 March 2012, the United States have provided the funds to the UN Office on Drugs and Crime's (UNODC), regional program for promoting counter narcotics efforts in Afghanistan and neighboring countries. Thus, the US has been the most active international power, coordinating with CARs to counter the narcotics threats.

(ii) UN Office on Drugs and Crimes (UNODC)

UNODC has been the key organization in the counter narcotics battle in Central Asian republics. The agency was established in 1997 to assist member states to combat illicit drugs, crime and terrorism. It supports preventive measures against drug-use and offers information and analysis about drugs. The most important bodies of the UNODC are the Commission on Narcotic Drugs (CND) which is central policy-making body and the Commission on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice (CCPCJ) deals with crime, economic crime, money laundering, etc. Apart from this, International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) which is an independent and quasi-judicial body and is responsible for implementation of UN drug conventions (UNODC)

The governments of five Central Asian states and representatives of the UNDCP signed the Memorandum of Mutual Understanding (MOU) on cooperation in the field of countering illicit drug trafficking in May 1996. Within the framework of the Memorandum, the governments expressed their desire for cooperation to solve common problems of drug production, trafficking and abuse. During the Regional Experts' Meeting, held in May 1996, the five signatories to the MOU and UNDCP considered and adopted the Regional Program of Cooperation in Drug Control. In this Program four basic activities were emphasized: (a) strengthening and developing counter-narcotics legislative and institutional frameworks, (b) reducing drug supply, (c) reducing drug demand, and (d) and intensifying law enforcement activities (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 65).

⁷⁷US Department of State (2012), Fact sheet, Bureau of International Narcotics Law Enforcement Affairs. Available at: <http://m.state.gov/md184295.html>.

This Program also outlined some priority projects that could be developed by the UNODC together with MoU signatories, such as

- Development of cooperation between law-enforcement agencies in the Central Asian region (Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan)
- Mapping of the extent of illicit cultivation of narcotic plants in Kazakhstan Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan
- Development of a biologically safe method of destroying illicit poppy and cannabis plants
- Strengthening drug demand reduction policies in the Central Asian states
- Inter-agency training for the Central Asian mass media, organized by the United Nations (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:65).

In May 1994, Kyrgyzstan received \$550,000 within the framework of the UNODC Project on “Institution Building and Improvement of Control Measures in Kyrgyzstan.” May and July 1996, similar UNODC projects were implemented in Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan (\$512,400 and \$773,900 respectively). In July 1997, UNODC launched a regional project on mapping the extent of illicit cultivation of narcotic plants in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, with an overall budget of \$742,660. The main objectives of the project were to obtain detailed cartographical data on the cultivation of opium poppy and wild-growing hemp and ephedra and to develop a regional methodology and training for a group of local experts in monitoring illicit fields in the region (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005:65-66).

In 1996, UNDCP launched a regional project called ‘Osh Knot’. It aimed at creating cross-border cooperation between the law enforcement agencies of the neighboring provinces namely Murghab in Tajikistan, Osh in Kyrgyzstan and Andizhan in Uzbekistan. It was based in Kyrgyzstan and aimed at stopping the flow of narcotics from Kharog in Tajikistan through Osh and on to Andijan in Uzbekistan and also more distant markets. As the first UN anti-drug program in Central Asia, it sought to provide technical assistance to law enforcement agencies, including vehicles, communications equipment, drug searching equipment and training (ICG Report 2001:19). Although, due to the lack of cooperation between Kyrgyz officials and UN departments it was decided to close the office in 1999. However, the project has

played a big role in intensifying joint efforts against trafficking expansion in Central Asia (Osmonaliev, Kairat 2005: 67).

Apart from this, in February 1998 UNODC passed a project “Development of Safe Biological Control Methods for Eradication of Illicit Opium Poppy and Cannabis”, with a budget of \$495,000. In May 1999, Kazakhstan also received financial support to the sum of \$5.5 million from UNODC in order to develop a counter-narcotics policy within the framework of the “Master Plan for Control of Illicit Drugs and Organized Crime in Kazakhstan”. It was the most substantial project is “Institutional Building, Strategy Development, and Improvement of Drug and Crime Control Measures in Tajikistan”. It was launched in June 1999 with a budget of \$11.4 million. Its goal was to establish the Drug Control Agency (DCA), with about 360 employees, through financial maintenance (DCA salaries, equipment, trainings, etc.). The project received positive independent evaluations and continues to receive donor support (Osmonaliev, Kairat, 2005:67-68).

UNODC recognizes the need to promote strong partnerships with civil society organizations in dealing with the complex problems of drug abuse and crime which undermine the fabric of society. The active involvement of civil society and non-governmental organizations (NGOs) is essential to help UNODC to carry out its global mandates. Since 2003, NGOs have participated in the Conference of the States Parties to the United Nations Convention against Transnational Organized Crime and actively participated in the Conference of the States Parties to the United Nations Convention against Corruption as well (UNCAC).⁷⁸

Since the National Drug Control Agency's establishment, it is reporting quarterly to UNODC of its activity as drug seizure, combined operation with other Drug Agencies, international cooperation, drug destroying, etc. Since 1999, more than 20 projects of UN have been implemented in the field of counter narcotics threat. Furthermore, It has been reported that On 30 May 2009, President of Tajikistan, Emomali Rahmon, in his speech at 10th Anniversary of DCA inauguration suggested to work out universal program of combating against drug trafficking under the auspicious of UN, as well as to hold an international conference with participation of

⁷⁸ UNODC, “About Civil Society and UNOD”, Available at: <http://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/ngos/index.html?ref=menuaside>.

interested countries and international organization up to 2010. He proposed to declare 2011 an international year of combating against illegal drug trafficking.

Kairat Osmonaliev (2005) is of the view that UNODC is also active in HIV/AIDS control, recognizing that intravenous drug abuse is the major method of HIV/AIDS transmission in Central Asia. The importance of educational work in this area cannot be overstated and UNODC established contacts with other UN agencies such as UNDP and UNAIDS and included national AIDS committees in the Central Asian countries in order to implement multi-sectoral projects (Kairat Osmonaliev 2005: 69).

In response, (the request of the President of Kyrgyzstan which is made in the UNODC in September 2011), UNODC is formulating an integrated program of help to support the efforts of Kyrgyzstan in reviving the criminal justice capacities to prevent and combat drug trafficking, corruption and organized crime. UNODC has also launched a project to support the newly established State Service on Drug Control in Kyrgyzstan on 25 April 2011. It is an important component of the integrated program of assistance for Kyrgyzstan. According to the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Yury Fedotov, Regional cooperation is the key in countering drug routes in Central Asia. On 14 June 2011, the Executive Director of the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), Yury Fedotov, met with the President and several key leaders in Kazakhstan to discuss the countries and region's ongoing efforts in curbing drug use, illicit trafficking, and organized and financial crime. As Kazakhstan with several Central Asian countries is situated on an important route of Afghan heroin towards the key markets in Europe and has a key role to play in the fight against drugs.⁷⁹

Mr. Fedotov's discussions covered a wide range of topics surrounding UNODC's cooperation with Kazakh authorities, including illicit drug trafficking, corruption, anti-money laundering and others. He commended Kazakhstan's commitment towards its anti-drug response, in particular the efforts for the period 2009-2011 national drug control program (which was boosted through the Government's US\$ 270 million allocation). Nationally, UNODC is currently working with authorities to strengthen

⁷⁹International Drug Policy Consortium (2011), "UNODC: "Regional cooperation key in countering drug routes in Central Asia", Available at: <http://idpc.net/alerts/2011/06/unodc-regional-cooperation-central-asia>.

Kazakhstan's counter-narcotics identification expertise along with the country's main transportation routes. Additionally, it is working with selected schools on a pilot-basis to address drug use amongst students. Thus, by elaborating on UNODC's work in Central Asia, Mr. Fedotov noted that efforts are being made to move towards a more integrated, regional approach in order to leverage strategic and inter-linked responses to the issue of drugs and crime.⁸⁰

(iii) European Union

Cooperation between Central Asia and the EU has become extremely active in recent years. In 21st century, the time has come for a new partnership between the EU and Central Asia states in a globalised world. Europe countries come out forward to create stability in the Central Asian region, because international terrorism factions are increasingly networking and cross correlated. Yao, Zhang (2006: 6) The EU has been engaged with the five countries in Central Asia since they gained their independence in the early 1990s. The European Union (EU) has become more interested in Central Asia in recent years as the region has become more of a security threat as an originator and transit zone for drugs, weapons of mass destruction, refugees, and persons smuggled for prostitution or labor. In 2001, the EU launched the first phase of the Central Asian Drug Action Program (CADAP) with a budget of US \$3 million. This regional project focused at strengthening the law enforcement agencies by building modern check- points at air and sea borders and at creation of the common national drug information network. In addition, the EU planned to strengthen border guarding in 2004 in Kyrgyzstan to prevent human trafficking, weapons and drug smuggling.⁸¹

Particularly, the European Union (EU) implemented two major regional drug initiatives as Central Asia Drug Action Program (CADAP) and Border Management Program in Central Asia (BOMCA). The core objective of the EU Strategy in Central Asia between 2002 and 2006 was “to promote the stability and security of the region

⁸⁰International Drug Policy Consortium (2011), “UNODC: "Regional cooperation key in countering drug routes in Central Asia" Available at: <http://idpc.net/alerts/2011/06/unodc-regional-cooperation-central-asia>.

⁸¹The EU and Central Asia: Strategy for a New Partnership, Available at: www.auswaertigesamt.de/cae/servlet/.../EU-CentralAsia-Strategy.pdf.

and to assist them in their goal of sustainable economic development and poverty reduction. Its technical assistance emphasized three main tracks: security, economy and policy. 'Security and stability' also formed the foundation of the EU Strategy for a New Partnership with Central Asia in 2007–2013, under which assistance for Central Asian states is made double. It calls for establishing offices in each regional state and assistance of \$1 billion. The strategy also stresses that “the dependency of the EU on external energy sources and the need for a diversified energy supply policy in order to increase energy security open the further perspectives for cooperation between the EU and Central Asia”.⁸²

IV Main Obstacle in Improving Regional Drug Control Cooperation

It is clear from above discussion that International cooperation against drug control is compulsory because of the transnational nature of the drug related threats. In this era of globalization, no state is able to effectively combat drug trafficking alone. There is a strong need of Regional Security Complex in the Central Asian region. Central Asia is facing many obstacles, making the strong Regional Security Complex in the region. Despite many existing treaties, agreements and cooperation initiatives among Central Asian republics there is no real regional security complex in its true meaning. Counter narcotic agencies in Central Asia are hampered by inadequate budgets, lack of trained personal and non availability of sophisticated equipment. Lack of willingness among Central Asian states, internal challenges of the republics, overlay of superpowers, competition among CARs and lack of sufficient fund to tackle the problem and ineffective structure of the regional organization prevent to develop strong regional security complex to combat drug trafficking in the region.

The report of International Narcotics Control Board 2010, examines that there is a need of “Technological” coalition. This report defines that to defeat this common enemy, it requires a “technological” coalition and need to develop and share new technologies, expertise and experience in border control, money laundering, and control of precursor chemicals. It is essential to narrow the technological gap between the drug trafficking networks and law enforcement and drug control agencies.

⁸²Ibid.

Regional organizations and their initiatives have a vital role to play in this field. Some organizations like the Collective Security Treaty Organization are already active in this sector. Apart from its excellent capacity to provide technical assistance, including border control technologies and techniques to counter drug trafficking, Russia has an important role to play in drug control. The Russian Government should continue with this role. Russia should strengthen its cooperation with the countries of the region in addressing the challenges of Afghanistan.

Furthermore, there is a strong need of regional and International co-operation and co-ordination to combat drug trafficking. Empowering and instructing law enforcement agencies to cooperate with their counterparts will give a boost to regional cooperation. Although, a successful and effective regional cooperation and integration take time to develop. It requires a strong leadership in Central Asian republics. Apart from that, external powers should assist for successful regional organization in the region. However, it should be ensure that financial resources and instruments are available to support regional investments and cooperation. Donors can play an important role here by providing sufficient finance to the regional organizations.

CHAPTER - SIXTH

CONCLUSION

The problems associated with drugs in Afghanistan and Central Asia has steadily worsened over the past two decades. Drugs basically heroin, have fueled conflict throughout the region and have been a significant source of financial support for terrorist organizations with a global reach. Afghanistan's neighbors more particularly the five the Central Asian republics, face serious security and social problems from the drug trafficking. A vast expansion of drug use represent serious impediment to peace and development. In Central Asia, the importance related to the issue of drug issue of drug trafficking, as a non-traditional security threat, is growing. Central Asia has emerged as a major international drug trafficking center. More than 65 percent of all Afghan narcotics transit through Central Asia. The various historical, geographical, social, and political factors have all worked in favor of the traffickers in the CARs. Therefore, drug trafficking has become one of the most serious threat to the security of the region. It is a complex and multifaceted problem that has the adverse impact on health, economy, society, security and stability of the region.

The geographical location of Central Asia is mainly responsible for making it the main hub of drug trafficking. The five republics of Central Asia namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan are situated very close to the 'Golden Crescent'(Afghanistan, Pakistan and Iran). China has access to the countries of 'Golden Triangle' (Burma, Laos, Thailand), which have been the largest producer of the illegal opiates. Furthermore, the region is located between Afghanistan and Western Europe Afghanistan is the single largest opium producer in the world and Europe is the richest and biggest market of illegal drugs. Besides, climate of the region is also favorable for the cultivation of opium and cannabis. Thus, Central Asian states have the right kind of terrain and climate for cultivating narcotics.

Apart from the geo-strategic location, the worsening social and economic condition of the people in the region has encouraged the involvement of some layers of society in the illegal drug trade. Poverty and unemployment is the main factors which force the people to involve in drug trafficking in order to sustain themselves and their families.

Impoverished people are even ready to take risk of the harsh legal penalties of drug trafficking because opium is the only respite. Thus, cultivation and trafficking has become a means of survival for many people in the region.

However, the strong demand for heroin in the CIS (Commonwealth of Independent States) and Western Europe has created an environment for drug trafficking through Central Asian countries. Central Asia remains the main Afghan narco-trafficking route. A number of well-established drug routes are being used. Drug trafficking on the Northern Route has increased in recent years, which goes through the Central Asian countries of Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and Kazakhstan before ending up in Russian or European markets. Tajikistan remains the key area as it is the gateway of Afghan drugs. Thus, high demand for drugs in the global market helps to increase the production of drugs. This increase of production and trafficking of opium does not only affect the development, political stability and economies of the countries but the security, public health and the social well-being of their citizens as well.

Apart from above factors, drugs have the higher price than food articles therefore; the gross income from opium is 11 times higher than from wheat. Farmers are primarily motivated to cultivate the opium poppy due to its high prices. As a result it is very difficult to convince the farmers not to cultivate opium. So there is a strong need to provide economic alternatives to the farmers who are involved in opium cultivation.

Corruption is one of the most side effects of drug trafficking in the Central Asian region. Transparency international (TI) has consistently ranked the Central Asian states as the most corrupt states in the world. Low wages of officials and the lack of independent media, public debate over policies, lack of transparency in government system and independent judiciary; all contribute to corruption at the highest levels. Government officials are also engaged in this murky deal. It is not only senior officials but law enforcement agencies that are widely involved to make state corrupt.

The drug trafficking has become strong financial base for terrorist as well as for insurgent groups. Funds from drug cultivation and trafficking are widely used to fund terrorist outfits as for purchasing arms and providing training to the terrorist groups. The linkages between religious terrorism and illicit drug business are more evident in Central Asia. For example, IMU and Hizut Tahrir are relying heavily on such funds

for their activities. This drug business ultimately contributes to organized crime, terrorism and arms trafficking in the region. Thus, this transnational link between drugs, crime and terrorism not only undermine the political and economic stability of five republics but also put in danger peace and stability of the world.

The spread of HIV/AIDS because of drug use is a human security concern which not only destroys the social structure of society but also threatens the pillars of state economy. It is due to the easy availability of the cheaper drugs to the common people in the region. Drugs users in Central Asia who choose to inject heroin, through needles and syringes are leading to a sharp rise in HIV AIDS. HIV/ AIDS infection leads to low labor efficiency which results of economic losses and state revenue decline while need for health care and social benefits increase which further leads to impoverishment of the citizens. In addition to these factors, it will also impact the foreign investment as the international companies are wary of investing their funds in countries with low health indicators and inadequate health care system.

The growth of drug trade across Central Asia and the general increase in the amount of drugs available in the region have facilitated drug addiction in an increasing way. Drugs addiction among drug users leads to an increase in petty crimes such as theft, burglary and kidnapping. There is a correlation between crime and poverty, unemployment and mistrust in the government which results in frustration. The youth becomes an easy prey for crime and other criminal activities. By taking the advantage of the frustration among youth, the insurgent groups recruit young people providing them easy money for involving in criminal activities. If, the Central Asian states want their youth as a potentially productive work force the government will have to spend more on health care and education as well as on subsidies.

One of the worst effects of drug trafficking is that the business of drugs is being feminised. In the region, there is increasing involvement of women as a drug trafficker. However, it is not only women but children are also getting involved in this evil. One of the main reasons is the poverty. Economic hardships especially in the poor country of the region often force women to seek employment opportunities as a trafficker even outside of the region. Higher wages and better living condition in abroad make the attractive offer that advertised by traffickers to attract women. In fact drug traffickers also prefer to employ women and children in hope that they might

attract less suspicion from law enforcement agencies and may be less harshly treated when caught.

Drug trafficking has further degraded the judicial system and undermined the government's ability of providing order and justice. It has hampered the democratic institutions as well. A weak state is vulnerable to political threats and instability where the administrative, financial and legal institutions are failed, corruption and money laundering pose a serious threat and hamper the transition to democracy. The government and civil society need to work in close coordination to make strong democratic administration.

However, Central Asia has huge reserves of minerals and natural resources. The government should use this asset to their advantage by establishing industries and improving infrastructure. In turn will create more employment for the people especially for the young generation and stop them from drifting towards the illegal path of drug trade. This will contribute to the growth of legal economy as well.

Several measures have been taken by both regional and international organizations to exclude this evil of drug trafficking and with its several consequences. But these attempts are not completely successful. The regional organizations have made efforts to initiate cooperative mechanism in order to increase regional cooperation and integration. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), Central Asian Organization for Economic Cooperation (CAEC), and Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) has played an important role in strengthening the security of the region. All these regional organizations have contributed to address the issue of drug trafficking and also aim at providing security and stability in the region. Among all the international organizations the UNODC has played a major role to curb the menace of drug trafficking. The main contribution has been the formation of DCAs in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. These DCAs have played a significant role in building of strong anti-drug strategies and also in the implementation of the rules and norms by UN in its three conventions to which Kyrgyzstan is signatories. Apart from that, financial and strategic support provided by US has facilitated the anti-drug attempts in the region. Besides, European Union also made efforts in this regards through border management programs.

However, regional as well as international cooperation is the necessary condition to counter the menace of drug trafficking, organized crime and terrorism. To combat the problem, it requires more resources than it is available. It includes long-term funding and intense diplomatic activity. Reforms need to be made not only at political, military and economic levels but also at grass-root levels in the society. There is also an urgent need to make reforms in the health sectors and facilitate the rehabilitation of drugs addicts. These social, economic standard needs to be uplifted in order to bring awareness among people. Apart from this, education and employment opportunities need to be created so that youth does not attract towards illegal drug trafficking in order to make quick money.

The realities of globalisation and additional shift in threat perception from national to the international levels have made the cooperation between countries of the region and the wider international community essential. It is need of the hour for keeping the situation within control. Therefore, international cooperation becomes even more significant as it is a protective measure to counter drug trafficking and organized crime. To achieve the effective mitigation of the problem of drug trafficking and abuse, organized crime and terrorism, economic growth must be considered on priority basis including a central role for the development of infrastructure and social programs. It, thus, becomes obvious that today anyone who consumes drugs lends financial support, consciously or unconsciously, into acts of terror against their fellow citizens. Now, drug trafficking is becoming the main source of finance for terrorists. It is important to realize that drug addiction is not merely a human tragedy but also a crime against state as well.

The Central Asian counter-narcotics concept needs to recognize that success in fighting the drug problem requires a well-balanced approach. It should be based on a wide use of law-enforcement as well as preventive measures, and directed to the achievement of total control of the problem by the state. Further, it should result in a reliable reduction of its negative social consequences. Therefore, for effective mitigating the opium and heroin trade, it will require an intensive program not only to counter terrorism but also to fight against organized crime in Central Asia.

It is important to make the law enforcement agencies powerful so that they are able to cooperate with their counterparts in neighboring states. This will give a boost to

regional cooperation. In health sector, the government should stop treating the drug users as criminals. There should be anti-discrimination laws and bring out public awareness programs to change the mind-set. All the Central Asian states should establish regional cooperation considering drugs as the essential components that fuels terrorism which has become the common threat to all the Central Asian states. Therefore, they all should make integrated efforts to fight the evil of drugs, terrorism and organized crime. Last but not least, all the Central Asian governments should keep in mind when they design anti-drugs programs, its impact on human rights, women, poor section of the society, and minorities section of their respective republics and the repressive capacity of regimes as well.

In short, Geography, porous borders, political instability, local conflicts and wide scale corruption are among the main factors which have contributed to the explosion of drug trafficking. Poverty has also been the main factors that have made the situation more difficult by including the youth, women and children of the region as a drug trafficker. On the other hand, drug trafficking affects the economies of the world through money laundering. It gives rise to petty crime and also sponsors the terrorist activities. It has been a great harm to the environment as well. Overall drug trafficking poses a serious threat to the stable development in the region. Thus, there is need of the hour to control the drug trafficking quickly in order to curb the growing threats to the security, stability, and development at the national as well international levels because it has emerged as a major global issue.

At the end, stability in the Central Asian region is closely interlinked with the stability in Afghanistan. With this question that how much the Central Asia is stable, the answer can be found to see how the Afghan problem is being solved. It can be said that without curbing the demand and stabilizing the situation in Afghanistan (the single largest opium producer in the world) drug trafficking routes in CARs will continue to be used intensively both as consumer and as conduit route. Limited attempts have been made to combat the problem over the past decade, mainly focusing on eradicating poppy fields and interdicting drugs before they go away from Central Asia. There have been some successes, but Afghanistan has continued to supply the world market, and drug use around the region itself is soaring. Therefore, there is a strong need of drug eradication, rural development, and strengthening the

criminal investigation departments in Afghanistan. It is also important to crack down the corruption that lubricates the drugs industry. In addition, necessary collaboration is vital of importance between the SCO, CSTO and NATO for joint operations, aimed at destroying the hidden laboratories and opium markets in Afghanistan as well as in Central Asia. Apart from this, to make the effective control of drug trafficking and its consequences, it is necessary that poverty reduction, increased food security and economic opportunities must be a priority and such a strategy needs to cover the entire Central Asian countries and Afghanistan as well. Thus, anti- drugs measures should take as earlier as it possible, otherwise drug trafficking will remain a grave source of instability in the Central Asian republics.

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