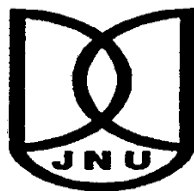


**THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON TERRORISM IN
CENTRAL ASIA: CONTEXT AND MEANING**

*Dissertation submitted to the Jawaharlal Nehru University
in partial fulfillment of the requirements
for the award of the degree of*

MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY

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DECLARATION

I declare that the dissertation entitled "THE OFFICIAL DISCOURSE ON TERRORISM IN CENTRAL ASIA: CONTEXT AND MEANING" submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirement for the Award of the Degree of Master of Philosophy (M. Phil.) of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. This dissertation has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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Late Deenanath Chutia,

*the planter of the dream for knowledge
in the young mind in our primary school*

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Abbreviations

AI	Amnesty International
CA	Central Asia
CACO	Central Asian Cooperation Organisation
CDA	Critical Discourse Analysis
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CTS	Critical Terrorism Studies
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organisation
ETIM	The Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement
GTD	Global Terrorism Database
GTI	Global Terrorism Index
GUAM	Georgian, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova
IEP	The Institute for Economics and Peace
IJU	Islamic Jihad Union
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRP	Islamic Renaissance Party
JAK	Jund al-Khilaph
PTS	Political Terror Scale
START	National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism
UNCTC	United Nations Counter Terrorism Committee
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics

UTO	United Tajik Oppositions
WFO	World Food Programme

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Chapter 1: Introduction

1.1. Background of the Study

Terrorism in Central Asia is extensively discussed and debated by numerous scholars, researchers as well as national, multinational human rights groups across the world, since the early 1990s. Rigorous and systematic studies have been completed encompassing various aspects of terrorism-related issues in the regions. The term, 'Central Asia' consists of geographically connected five core countries of the Asian Continent namely Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan which have shared a common culture and the history of domination by Tsarist and Soviet Russia. Historically, Central Asian States were dominated by Muslim population where Islam was brought by invading Arab Armies at the beginning of the eighth century. By the ninth century, Transoxiana (former name of Central Asia) had become an integral part of the Muslim world (Khalid 2007:25).

However, Islam could not flourish equally in all the parts of the Central Asian region due to ethnic differences between highly populated nomadic and sedentary groups. The nomads dwelled in the vast steppes of the area, which naturally discouraged Islam to be flourished to those areas, as Islam is a religion of settled people which requires urban infrastructure for institutionalised Muslim practices (Omelicheva 2007). Besides, the nomadic culture was much more difficult to convert due to the constant movement of the people. On the other hand, the process of Islamization had moved in a speedy way to the present Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in which sedentary people inhabited a settled life. Hence, "Islam has had a less profound influence on the culture and politics of the descendants of nomads living in the steppes of Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, and Turkmenistan than on the social and political life of the sedentary Uzbeks and Tajiks Muslims" (Omelicheva 2007).

Despite the domination of Muslim population, radical Islamism, religious fundamentalism and terrorism could not penetrate into the Central Asian States during the Soviet era owing to unprecedented control and restriction on religion. Under the Soviet regime, these countries did

not face any significant security threats from within and outside actors, as they were well protected in political, social and economic terms by the USSR. (Patnaik 2016). But, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, Central Asian States gained unexpected independence from the Soviet State for which they hardly had any preparations. As a result, the storm of multiple complexities has clouded over the newly independent Central Asian States where geopolitical competition, continuing influence and domination Russia, challenges of Islamic fundamentalism have become the common features of the region. Since the early decades of independence, each of the Central Asian states, more or less, has been facing security threats from the numerous non-traditional security threats such as terrorism, organised crime, trafficking in drugs, humans and weapons, environmental degradation and so on. As three of the central Asian states share borders with Afghanistan, known as the hub of Islamic extremists and terrorist groups, the issues of the rise of radical Islam, terrorism and religious extremism have come to the forefront in the national security debate since the very beginning of independence of the region. Soon, the Central Asian States, more particularly, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan started to describe terrorism as the most dangerous threat to the national security of their countries. As a result, an extensive discourse on terrorism emerged in the Central Asian Region which is still being continuously debated and discussed.

This dissertation, however, is about a far relatively neglected area of research: the language of the Central Asian states' official stand on terrorism. It uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) to study the discursive construction of CA states' official stand on terrorism. The basic reason for choosing critical discourse analysis to investigate the official stand on terrorism in Central Asia is that it allows mapping how the 'official stand on terrorism' discourse is constructed; to determine how it provides a language for talking about terrorism. Moreover, the CDA is also a useful method to understand how the discourse defines what is accepted knowledge about (who or what is) terrorism. It provides an opportunity to demonstrate how the accepted knowledge about terrorism constructs the counter-terrorism policy response as a 'natural' or common-sense approach to the challenge of terrorism. Besides, it also analyses discursive construction of threat perception of terrorism by the Central Asian states. Eventually, the study will look at the implications of the 'official stands on terrorism' discourse in the region. However, while explaining the background of the 'official stand on terrorism' discourse in Central Asia, it is realised that a theoretical understanding of terrorism, in general, is

indispensable for conceptualising terrorism in particular context. That's why, here, the background of the study has been explained with a brief note on the definitions of terrorism in global context.

1.2. Understanding the Definitions of Terrorism in Global Context

Given that this research is about the language of CA states' official stand on terrorism it is most pertinent to consider the conceptual questions that surround the use of the term 'terrorism' before engaging in an analysis of the official stand itself. Terrorism is a complex phenomenon open to subjective interpretation (Kiras 2014). There is hardly any general agreement on what constitutes terrorism, although all start to define terrorism from a common departure i.e. the first and foremost characteristic of terrorism is the use or the threat to use violence against civilians. Disagreement arises among the scholars in the matter of purpose of violence and its causes. In this regard, the researchers have provided varieties of explanations and arguments which are often seen ambiguous and contradictory to each other. Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman (1988) assert that many writers seem tired of the need to consider conceptual questions about terrorism. However, they argue that this is a "dangerous attitude" for it plays into the hands of the "operational anti-terrorist camp" who have a "we-know-it when-we see-it" attitude that can easily lead to double-standards, which in turn can produce both bad science and result in bad counterterrorism policies. In his celebrated work, "Inside Terrorism", Bruce Hoffman (2006) has argued that many people fail to provide a more precise, concrete, and truly explanatory definition of 'terrorism' as they carry a vague idea of what terrorism is. He points out that "the most convincing reason for this conceptual problem is that the meaning of the term has frequently changed over the past 200 years" (Hoffman 2006).

The history of terrorism has shown that the first time the term terrorism was widely used was during the French Revolution in which it was used to describe an example of state terrorism. The English word "terrorism" is derived from the French word "*terreur*". The *régime de la terreur* (1793-94) was used to restore order during the period of turmoil that followed the establishment of the revolutionary French state. Since then the term terrorism has been used in varying contexts and has had multiple meanings. The history of the freedom struggle and the fight for the right to self-determination occurred across the globe has shown that the term

terrorism is often used to refer to revolutionary movements and violence directed against the government. At the same time, it also denotes the practice of mass repression by totalitarian governments against their citizens. The authority of the state often uses this terminology to describe groups who engage in political violence in their struggle for national liberation and self-determination. Besides, terrorism is also used to indicate “state-sponsored violence or covert warfare whereby weaker states could confront larger states without the threat of retribution; and to individuals or groups of violent religious radicals” (Hoffman 2006). Walter Liqueur (1987) has aptly mentioned this multiplicity by quoting "one man's terrorist is another man's freedom fighter". Charles Townshend has summed up the reason for these difficulties in establishing an adequate definition of terrorism in one word: labelling. The description of a group or individual as ‘terrorist’ is almost always applied by others, very few individuals or groups voluntarily adopt that label. Primarily it is “a label given by the governments of states, who have not been slow to brand violent opponents or enemies as terrorist” (Townshend 2002). Similarly, Jenkin has asserted that in the contemporary world, the term terrorism has been misused in such a manner that at some point "terrorism can mean just what those who use the term (not the terrorists) want it to mean - almost any violent act by any opponent"(Baker- Beall 2011).

At the philosophical level, this problem of how to define terrorism is one that is central to academic debates. According to Paul Wilkinson, “in most countries in the world, the common people can recognise terrorism when they see campaigns of bombings, suicide bombings, shooting-attacks, hostage-takings, hijackings and threats of such action, especially when so many of these actions are deliberately aimed at civilians” (Wilkinson 2005). But as mentioned earlier, when one claims that an act of violence is ‘terrorism’, it is essential to have a more rigorous theoretical framework than one that simply states ‘we-know-it-when-we-see-it’. Instead, the theoretical framework should be one that states ‘we-know-it-when-we-define-it’. In other words, while conceptualising terrorism, one should recognise that “terrorism is constructed through language and discourse” (Baker-Beall 2011).

However, to understand the conceptual issues associated with terrorism, Wilkinson further has put forwarded certain peculiar features of terrorism that differentiate it from other modes of violence.

These characteristics are as follows-

- terrorism is a premeditated act which is committed to creating a climate of fear;
- it directs at a wider target than the immediate victims;
- it inherently involves attacks on random or symbolic targets, including civilians
- it is considered in the society in which it occurs as 'extra-normal', that is in a literal sense, it violates the norms regulating protests, disputes and dissent
- it is used primarily, although not exclusively to influence the behaviour of governments, communities or specific social group" (Wilkinson 2005).

Moreover, Wilkinson (2005) seeks to include the activities of state within sphere of terrorism by arguing that "while historically the use of terror by regimes or governments has been infinitely more dangerous than that of non-state groups, in a democracy the principal threat of terrorism comes from sub-state actors". However, Wilkinson's labelling of the state as a terrorist has been rejected by Bruce Hoffman. He has noted that "while national armed forces have been responsible for far more death and destruction than terrorists might ever aspire to bring about; there nonetheless is a fundamental qualitative difference between the two types of violence" (Hoffman 2006).

After completing a survey of academics working in the field of terrorism studies, Alex Schmid and Albert Jongman have presented a broad and substantial definition of terrorism that can provide a starting point for a more nuanced understanding of terrorism that goes beyond state-centric definitions. They argue that:

"Terrorism is an anxiety-inspiring method of repeated violent action, employed by (semi-) clandestine individual, group, or state actors, for idiosyncratic, criminal or political reasons, whereby- -in contrast to assassination- -the direct targets of violence are not the main targets. The immediate human victims of violence are chosen randomly (targets of opportunity) or selectively (representative or symbolic targets) from a target population, and serve as message generators. Threat and violence-based communication processes between terrorist (organization), (imperiled) victims, and main targets are used to manipulate the main target (audience(s)), turning it into a target of terror, a target of demands, or a target of attention,

depending on whether intimidation, coercion, or propaganda is primarily sought" (Schmid and Jongman 1988).

After analysing various definitions of terrorism advocated by scholars as well as international organisations, Ganor (2002) has argued that the definition of terrorism has three elements. These are-

- 1.The essence of activity- the use of or threat to use, violence. It means terrorism does not include nonviolent protest, strike, peaceful demonstration, radical writing, etc.
- 2.The aim of the activity is primarily political i.e. attaining political objectives, overthrowing the existing regime, overthrowing the people in power, changing socio-economic policies, etc.
- 3.The civilians are the immediate target for the terrorist.

Some Scholars have clarified the distinctions between terrorism and other types of political violence such as guerrilla warfare and civil insurrection by determining civilians as the targets of terrorism. Unlike, terrorism, guerilla warfare “intentionally and deliberately uses violence against military and security personals to attain political, social and ideological goals” (Ganor 2002). Further, it has sought to distinguish terrorism with other criminal delinquency by clarifying the motive of terrorism as political. However, there is disagreement among scholars on whether political motives include ideological and religious goals. On the other hand, some scholars have denied the importance of motives in political terrorism. In this context, the statement of Duvall and Sthol is relevant to be mentioned.

"Motives are entirely irrelevant to the concept of political terrorism. Most analysts fail to recognise this and, hence, tend to discuss certain motives as logical or necessary aspects of terrorism. But they are not. At best, they are empirical regularities associated with terrorism. More often they simply confuse analysis" (Schmidt, 1984 Problematic citation).

1.3. Examining the Legal Definitions of Terrorism in Central Asia

The threat of terrorism has been one of the chief concern of the Central Asian states since the early decades of independence. As the leaders of newly independent states sought to protect their 'authoritarian presidentialism', 'neo-operational regime' or personal dictatorship as well as the newly gained sovereignty of the state aggressively, they initiated all possible means to

eradicate any security threats that posed threats to the regime. Undoubtedly, a similar approach has been taken to deal with terrorism. Each of the Central Asian States has enacted various laws and policies to define terrorism in their regional context.

Perhaps, Kyrgyzstan has adopted the most coherent definitions of terrorism(Horsman2005). Kyrgyzstan defines terrorism, as "the perpetration of an explosion, arson, or any other action endangering the lives of people, causing sizable property damage, or entailing other socially dangerous consequences. However, such actions must be committed for violating public security, frightening the population, or exerting influence on decision making by governmental bodies, and also the threat of committing said actions for the same ends"(Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz's Republic 1997: Article 226).

Similarly, the government of Uzbekistan considers terrorism as 'socially dangerous act'. It also includes the 'establishment, direction of or participation in religious extremist, separatist, fundamentalist or other banned organisations' within the framework of terrorism (Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan 1994 a15,244).

Kazakhstan's law defines terrorism as the "ideology of violence and practice of influencing decisions adopted by State authorities, local authorities, or international organisations by enacting or threatening to enact violent and other criminal activity (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism 1999).

Likewise, Turkmenistan includes any act within the definition of terrorism which is conducted with the "aim of seizing power and violent change in the country's constitutional order". It also adds any act of "creation of a situation of chaos or influencing a decision taken by the authorities" (Law of Turkmenistan on the fight against Terrorism 2003).

Tajikistan which experienced horrific civil war just after gaining independence from the former USSR has adopted a broad definition of terrorism comprising all possible aspects. It defines terrorism as the use or threat of use of violence committed with the intention of undermining public security, intimidating the population or influencing the decision making of ruling authorities". It also covers any attempt on the life of a state or social figure with the aim of weakening the foundations of the constitutional order and State security (Law of the Republic

of Tajikistan 1999,2005,2008,2010). Lain (2016) has considered this definition as the longest definition of terrorism within the Central Asian states.

The legal definitions of terrorism in Central Asia as mentioned above are though different from each other in some respects, at the same time there are some similarities. Firstly, all these definitions are state-centric. They recognise state as the only actor for the legitimate use of violence. Secondly, it precludes the state from the sphere of terrorism and considers terrorism as a crime committed only by non-state actors.

Numerous scholars, researchers and human rights organisations have widely discussed the official definitions of terrorism. After examining existing laws and policies on terrorism such as criminal code of all the CA states; Act-On Combating Terrorism 2000 (Uzbekistan), Act of Combating Terrorism 2003(Turkmenistan), etc. many scholars and human rights organisations have agreed that the Central Asian States have adopted a broad definition of terrorism. For example, scholars like Stuart Horsman (2005) argues that most Central Asian definitions are far broader, if not 'amorphous'. Similar views are put forwarded by scholars like Omelicheva (2007), Lewis (2014), Zelkina (1999), etc. arguing the official statements on terrorism as broad and politically motivated.

Lain (2016) has observed that the legal definitions of terrorism incorporate mainly all challenges to the state and violence which may 'destabilise the status quo'. The Central Asian States have used such 'blanket terminology' to crack down on political, economic and social dissent generally (International Crisis Group Policy 2015).

The scholars are very critical about the broad definitions of terrorism enforced by the Central Asian states. These countries often use a comprehensive definition of terrorism as a weapon to maintain irresistible control over the political opponents and to criminalise the reasonable dissatisfactions of the groups, and organisations against the government.

1.4. Rationale and Scope of the Study

Terrorism had never been an issue of concern among the Central Asian states until the disintegration of the Soviet Union. All the Central Asian states enjoyed a significant amount of political, economic and social security within the umbrella of Soviet State. Following the

collapse of the USSR, when the Central Asian States became sovereign, various non-traditional security threats also arose along with their independence. Since then, the CA states have often considered terrorism as a grave threat to the state's security and stability. Hence, it's natural that many researchers have dealt with various aspects of terrorism in Central Asia. The reviewing of the literature related to this topic has demonstrated that the discursive construction of the official stands on terrorism in the Central has not been studied and analysed detailed yet. That's why, the present research work has been designed to stretch intense focus on the use of the language of each of the Central Asian states official definitions of terrorism, the identification and analysis of main discourse strands which have been derived from the official stand on terrorism in the Central Asian States.

1.5. Research Objectives

The principal objective of the research work is to provide a critical analysis on the official stands on terrorism in Central Asian Region. It seeks to achieve the following objectives-

- To provide a conceptual understanding of terrorism in general and Central Asia in particular.
- To complete a careful reading and investigation of all the relevant terrorism-related official documents on terrorism in Central Asia and to assemble all the important definitions, assumptions, analogies and narratives on terrorism for the analysis of the construction of the discourse strands.
- To analyse how the concepts of terrorism in Central Asia is constructed through various discourse strands.
- To provide an analysis of the construction and reality of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse.

1.6. Research Questions

- What are the official definitions and assumptions of terrorism in Central Asia contained in terrorism-related official documents of the region
- What are the main strands of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse? How do these discourse strands construct the concepts of terrorism in Central Asia?

- What is the relation between the construction and reality of the official stand on terrorism discourse? Do the construction of these discourse strands match with reality?
- Is terrorism truly a dangerous threat to the central Asian Security? Or is it being shrewdly projected to an extent by the ruling authoritarian regimes?

1.7. Hypotheses

- The official stand on terrorism discourse is constructed by the CA states to maintain the overwhelming control over political opponents and other anti-government forces of the region.
- The widely defined official stand on terrorism is also important for the maintenance of security and stability of the region.

1.8. Research Method

This thesis uses critical discourse analysis (CDA) as a method to carry out the research work. Discourse analysis is used in social theory to investigate how language is used to construct a particular discursive event, how the social and political context influences in constructing such discursive event, what relations exist between the discursive event and the situation, institution and structure that frame it. Discourse analysis is also a useful method to the construction and deconstruction of the identity of a particular discourse. This thesis uses critical discourse analysis to provide a systemic analysis on the "CA states official definition of terrorism" discourse. It has been used to analyse how the Central Asian states have constructed the official definitions of terrorism contained in various official policy documents, what discourse strands have been reflected from these official definitions and how the legal definitions provide language for the construction of these discourse strands.

A word on the terminology used in this research is important at the outset. The "official stand on terrorism" is considered to be an example of a discursive practice. Following Foucault, it incorporates a complex web of understanding, the first characteristic of which is the "delimitation of a field of objects", or the narrowing of the field of vision and the exclusion of a wide range of phenomenon from being considered worthy of attention (Foucault 1977 cited in Baker-Beall 2011). The second characteristic is the "fixing of norms for the elaboration of

concepts and theories", or the concepts, categories, metaphors and analogies by which meaning (knowledge about terrorism) is (re)created, restricting what one can and cannot say on the subject. In particular, this thesis focuses on the idea that the discursive practice of the "official stand on terrorism" is constituted through various discourse strands, which can be understood as large or small texts fragments that when taken together (across many texts) construct certain themes that underpin the discourse. The next section shall outline the specific technique of analysis that has been used to analyse the terrorism-related documents of the Central Asian states.

1.9. The Technique of Analysis

The application of the method of critical discourse analysis to examine the Central Asian states' official stand on terrorism involves a careful reading of the text of the documents and asking a series of interrelated analytical questions. This process has been completed in three steps.

The selection of key texts of the discourse is the first step of the technique of analysis. It involves asking a very specific question: what are the key texts?

The second step seeks to investigate and analyse the answers of the three interrelated questions: what are the key words, terms, phrases and labels (the language), which are central to each of the texts? What are the main assumptions contained within each of the texts? Taking together the language and the assumptions (contained within each of the texts) which underpin the policy, what are the main strands of the discourse?

The third step involves asking another three interrelated question: how do the different strands of the discourse, structure the meaning, logic and policy response to the groups and the events that they describe? How does the discourse construct a distinct negative identity of the terrorist by using emotive words to describe the terrorist acts and the terrorist? What knowledge or practices are normalised and legitimised by the discourse?

As the selection of the texts is considered as the first step of technique to analyse the discourse, thus, this thesis has identified and selected twenty texts for the analysis of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism". The terrorism related official documents adopted and implemented by the countries of the Central Asia such as the criminal code and the counter-

terrorism law together have constituted these texts. Besides, some reports submitted by the Government of the Central Asian states to the United Nations Security Councils have also been included within these twenty texts. The second chapter of this thesis has provided a detailed overview of these texts. This chapter has collected and coded the each of the CA states' official definitions of terrorism contained in various policy documents of these countries. Besides, this chapter has also focused, appropriate language and assumption that contribute to constructing the main strands of the CA states' "official stand of terrorism" discourse.

The name of the country, the title of the official documents and the year of adoption of the documents are listed below.

Table 1-i: Selected Terrorism Related Official Documents

Serial No	Country Name	Terrorism -related official documents	Year
1	Uzbekistan	Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan	1994
2	Uzbekistan	Report of the Republic of Uzbekistan to the Counter-Terrorism Committee pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1373 (2001)	2002
3	Uzbekistan	Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism	2004
4	Tajikistan	Criminal Code of the Republic of Tajikistan	1998
5	Tajikistan	The law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Combating Terrorism	1999
6	Tajikistan	Report of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001 concerning counter-terrorism	2002
7	Tajikistan	Report of the Republic of Tajikistan submitted to the United Nations Counter-Terrorism Committee pursuant to paragraph 6 of resolution 1373 (2001)	2004
8	Kyrgyzstan	Criminal Code of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan	1997
9	Kyrgyzstan	Report by the Kyrgyz Republic to the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)	2002

10	Kyrgyzstan	Law on Counteraction to terrorism	2006
11	Kyrgyzstan	Response of the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic to the letter of the Chairman of the United Nations Security Council Counter-Terrorism Committee, Ellen Margrethe Løj, on 11 October 2005	2006
12	Kazakhstan	Criminal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan	1997
13	Kazakhstan	Act on Measures to Combat Terrorism	1999
14	Kazakhstan	Report to the Counter-Terrorism Committee pursuant to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) of 28 September 2001	2001
15	Kazakhstan	Replies of the Government of the Republic of Kazakhstan to the questions posed by the experts of the Counter-Terrorism Committee concerning the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)	2005
16	Turkmenistan	Criminal Code of Turkmenistan	1997
17	Turkmenistan	Report of Turkmenistan on measures to implement Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)	2002
18	Turkmenistan	Law of Turkmenistan on Fight against Terrorism	2003
19	Turkmenistan	Report of Turkmenistan on the supplementary questions from the Counter-Terrorism Committee on measures to implement Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)	2003
20	Turkmenistan	Report of Turkmenistan on the supplementary questions from the Counter-Terrorism Committee on measures to implement Security Council resolution 1373 (2001)	2005

Besides the official documents as mentioned above which are considered as primary data, this research work also collects data from some other primary sources. For example, it receives data from the various reports of the International Crisis Group on terrorism, Country Reports on Human Rights Practices published by U. S Department of States, Country Reports on

Terrorism, reports of the United Nations Counterterrorism Committee, etc. This thesis also relies on various secondary data such as academic books, articles published in academic journals, unpublished works, articles in newspapers and web sources.

1.10. Structure of the Dissertation

Chapter 1: Introduction

The first chapter is the introduction of this dissertation. It contains the discussions on conceptual understanding of security and terrorism in the global context as well as a brief outline of the official definitions of terrorism in Central Asia followed by the research objectives, the rationale of the study, the research questions to be answered, hypotheses to be tested in this study. This dissertation has used critical discourse analysis as a research method for understanding, identifying and analysing the Central Asian states' official stand on terrorism discourse. This chapter has enclosed a list twenty selected terrorism-related legal documents adopted and implemented by the Central Asian countries for investigating and identifying different discourse strands that together constitute the Central Asian states' "official stand on terrorism discourse".

Chapter 2: The Official Definitions of Terrorism in Central Asia: A Country specific Overview with a Brief History of Terrorist Attacks.

This chapter has provided a broad outline about terrorism and terrorist attacks in Central Asia. This chapter has carefully investigated all the twenty official documents and has coded all existing legal definitions of terrorism and other terrorism-related assumptions collected from these documents adopted by the Central Asian states. While offering description on the official stand on terrorism in Central Asia, this research has also sketched a country specific brief overview of each of the Central Asian countries. Moreover, to understand the nature and degree of threat posed by terrorism in Central Asia, a careful investigation of the post-independence history of the terrorist attack in the region also has been conducted by using two popular open source database of terrorist incidents namely, the Global Terrorism Database and RAND database. In a nutshell, it can be said that this chapter has provided raw materials for the next

chapter to identify the main strands of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse and to analyse the discursive construction of these strands.

Chapter 3: The Discursive Construction of the CA states' Official Stand on Terrorism: An Analysis.

This chapter begins with a brief description of the conceptual understanding of what the critical discourse analysis is. After that, this chapter has identified three main discourse strands from the official documents as explained in the second chapter of the thesis. These three discourse strands are- terrorism as primarily a criminal act; terrorism as a crime committed by only non-state actors; terrorism as an act blurred with any organised crime. This chapter has offered a detailed analysis on how the Central Asian States' official documents, as well as the speeches and statements of the leaders of the region, have constructed the discourse strands as mentioned above and these strands discursively construct the concepts of terrorism in Central Asia. It has thematically analysed these three discourse strands.

Chapter 4: The Construction and the Reality of the Official Stand on Terrorism Discourse: An Evaluation

This chapter has mainly focused on the question of relations between the discursive construction of the concept of terrorism and its real existence in Central Asian states. Firstly, this chapter has carefully investigated the reasonability of the first discourse strand that constructs terrorism as the gravest crime and one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the region. It has analysed whether terrorism can be considered as one of the most dangerous threats in Central Asian context. Secondly, this research work has also investigated reliability and reasonability of the discursive construction of terrorism as an act committed only by non-state actors. This chapter has argued that terrorism has often been used by the government of the Central Asian states to prevent, suppress and eradicate the criticisms and oppositions, coming from the political opponents, non-violent radical religious groups, human rights groups as well as the concern citizens of the region.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

This chapter comprises the summary of the main arguments of each of the above chapters contained in this thesis. This chapter has tested the hypothesis of this research work. It has tested and verified whether the discursive construction of Terrorism in Central Asia has been used to maintain overwhelming control over the political opponents and anti-government forces of the region or whether such discursive constructions of terrorism is essential for the maintenance of stability and reasonability of the state.

Chapter 2: The Official Definitions of Terrorism in Central Asia: A Country specific Overview with a Brief History of Terrorist Attacks

2.1. Introduction

In today's global era, the use of the term 'terrorism' has become so familiar that it can be compared with the ingredient like the potato in North Indian cuisines which exists every day and everywhere. The media, more particularly, some of the electronic channels, by using graphical design and sound, use to display the news of the terrorist attack in a very excited, but, the horrific way that the terrorists, involved that attacks (if they escape alive) themselves feel exotic for their deeds. On the other hand, civilians get frightened to go outside from home. Simultaneously, in such cases, mostly, the state machinery leaves no stone unturned to prove the inference that terrorism is the principal threat to the sovereignty and integrity of the state as well as to the whole world community. However, the studies and statistics, related to casualties in the past terrorist attacks reflect a different picture against State's projection. The study shows that the terrorist attacks occurred in the last two decades cost very fewer human lives than those who have been killed by poverty, hunger and climate change. For example, the Global Terrorism Index has figured the death of 29,376 persons (Iraq and Nigeria-11900, All other Countries 17476) from terrorism in the year of 2015. On the Contrary, the United Nations World Food Programme (WFP) (2015) has estimated that malnutrition causes 45% of child deaths, resulting in 3.1 million deaths annually. Similarly, the global humanitarian forum, namely Kofi Annan think-tank (2009) has reported that global warming costs 300,000 human lives a year. The above argument does not mean that terrorist activities should be justified. But, at the same time, the intense and intention of state's response to terrorism should also be critically reexamined which is often trapped in power politics and the unfolded ambitions of the regime.

Nonetheless, the States (whether democratic or not), as well as the International and Regional Organisations in the globe, have enacted and implemented various counterterrorism laws and mechanisms to fight against the 'evil doer,' a term, coined by the US President Bush (2001) to

denounce terrorism. The severity of such acts and mechanisms are seen diverse in different countries depending on the respective states' perception of terrorist threat. To detect, detain and exterminate all possible elements of terrorism usually the state constructs the official definitions of terrorism in a very suitable manner, observing the regional, political and social context of the region. The Central Asian States namely, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan and Tajikistan are also not an exception regarding it. Since obtaining independence from the former USSR, the Central Asian countries, more particularly Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have been demonstrating terrorism as the most dangerous threat to the Central Asian security. Such concern of CA states can be well portrayed by using the beginning sentence of the Communist Manifesto (1848), "A spectre is haunting Central Asia- the spectre of terrorism."

To exorcise this spectre, the Central Asian States have endorsed and executed a series of counter-terrorism policies that includes all possible tactics for sprouting up terrorism from the respective region. The CA states through these policies have also adopted specific definitions of terrorism which are used as a parameter in deciding whether one is terrorist or not. In this chapter, the prime focus has been entrusted to enquire various definitions of terrorism from the existing counter-terrorism policies in CA states. While collecting and compiling the official definitions of terrorism in each of the CA countries', this chapter has also put forward a precise overview of the respective states including a brief account of terrorist attacks occurred in CA states since independence. Eventually, the present study has also sought to investigate the similarities and differences among the counter- terrorism acts prevalent in CA states. However, before explaining detailed about the official definitions of terrorism and the account of the terrorist attacks occurred in Central Asia, this research considers as necessary to sketch a brief overview of the terrorist organisations which were/are active in the Central Asian Countries.

2.2. Terrorist Organisations in Central Asia

It has already been mentioned in the previous chapter that terrorism was not a matter of concern in Central Asia during the Soviet period. Though the overwhelming control of the Soviet regime over the religious faith and belief was building up a silent volcano of resentment amongst a large section of Central Asian dwellers, the eruption of this volcano was not possible

during the Soviet period. The uncompromising attitude of the Soviet regime towards any anti-government uprising was the most prominent reason that drastically reduced the possibility of the eruption of such volcano. Besides, as the Soviet leaders always gave priority to fulfil the minimum basic requirement of the dwellers of the region, the problem of poverty and unemployment did not arrive at the peak point during the Soviet era. It also carried a set back to the rapid growth of the radical groups in Central Asia. However, after obtaining surprised independence from the Soviet Union, all the Central Asia states, more or less, inherited a large number of non-traditional security threats that posed a grave threat to the security and stability of the newly independent states. Among them, terrorism is being always considered as one of the most dangerous threats by the CA states. In the post-independent period, a significant number of transnational and localised terrorist groups are seen active in the CA states. These terrorist groups are enumerated below-

Transnational Terrorist Group- it refers to those terrorist groups that focus not on controlling of “social and economic practices in specific geographical localities, but on challenging transnational discourses and shaping government policies through acts of violence in the nodes of globalisation – airports, shopping centres and transport networks” (Lewis 2014). The most prominent terrorist group in transnational character, active in Central Asia is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan(IMU). This group was formed in the late 1990s by the Islamic ideologue Tahir Yuldashev and former Soviet paratrooper Juma Namangani. Initially, its objective was to overthrow the Islam Karimov regime from Uzbekistan and to establish an Islamic state based on Sharia law. However, in the subsequent years, it became a close ally of Al-Qaida and Usama Bin Laden's anti-US, anti-western agenda.

The IMU has been claimed as responsible for the major terrorist attacks occurred in Central Asia such as the 1999 serial bombing in Tashkent, and the 1999 and 2000 incursion in Kyrgyzstan. The government of CA states have also blamed the IMU for its alleged involvement in smaller, subsequent attacks in the region. After the September 11 terrorist attack, the US policy of war on terror collapsed Taliban in Afghanistan in 2001, which also carried out serious setback to the IMU. The US led invasion in Afghanistan resulted in huge casualties of the members of the IMU that drastically reduced their activities in Uzbekistan. Since then, “the IMU has primarily been engaged in military activities in Afghanistan and

Pakistan” (Lewis 2014). Presently the IMU is also seen forming an ally with the Islamic State (IS) militant group operating in Syria and Iraq. The alliance between the IMU and the IS are clarified by a two-minute video in which IMU leader Usman Ghazi and his fighters are shown taking an oath of allegiance, in Arabic, to IS and its leader Abu Bakr al-Baghdadi in the following words-

"Thank the Lord, following the Almighty's will we have pledged our allegiance (Bayahat, or Bay'a) to the Caliphate that has bowed to IslamAnd we are now part of it". (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/imu.htm>).

Another trans-national terrorist group active in Central Asia is '**The Islamic Jihad Union**' (IJU). This group is reported as a splinter group of IMU, formed in 2002 in north-west Pakistan. Like the IMU, this group opposes western influence as well as secular rule in Uzbekistan and seeks to replace the Karimov's regime with a government based on Islamic law. The IJU has recruited members in Turkic speaking countries and has reportedly perpetrated an attack in Uzbekistan, Germany and elsewhere. It claimed responsibility for the three suicide bombing occurred in Tashkent in 2004 that resulted in the casualties of 40 people. It also claimed responsibly for an another attack on a police station in Khanabad and a suicide bombing in Andijan in 2009.

The Jund al-Khilafah (Soldiers of the Caliphate, JAK), is an another transnational terrorist group which is found active in Central Asia. The Kazakhstan's Office of the Prosecutor-General has claimed that this group has been formed in mid-2011 by “Kazakh citizens Renat Khabibuly, Orynbasarov Unasov, and Damir Nabiyeu which has mainly operated in Pakistan and Afghanistan border” (<http://www.globalsecurity.org/military/world/para/jak.htm>). The members of the JAK committed a series of attack in Kazakhstan in 2011 that got an opportunity to the Kazakh authority to be experienced with the terrorist attack for the first time. Following the 2011 attack, JAK has been seen consistently issuing threats to the Kazakh government condemning the public authorities “for assaulting Islam through prohibitions on prayer in state institutions and wearing religious attire, beards, and hijabs” (Omelicheva 2013).

The Eastern Turkestan Islamic Movement (ETIM) can also be listed as transnational terrorist groups currently active in South Asia, Central Asia and Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region of China. The ETIM is a Muslim separatist group established by militant Uighurs,

members of the Turkic-speaking ethnic majority in north-west China's Xinjiang province. It was founded by “Hasan Mahsum from Xinjiang, China, who was killed by Pakistani troops in October 2003. After that, Abdul Haq led the organisation who was reportedly killed in 2010, in Pakistan” (<https://www.cfr.org/background/east-turkestan-islamic-movement-etim>). The aim of this terrorist group is to establish an independent so-called ‘East Turkestan’ within China that covers an area including parts of Turkey, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region. Since the beginning, this group has maintained close ties with terrorist groups like the Taliban, Al-Qaida and the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

(https://www.un.org/sc/suborg/en/sanctions/1267/aq_sanctions_list/summaries/entity/eastern-turkistan-islamic-movement). The ETIM has committed a large number of terrorist attacks in China. Besides, it also planned to attack against the interest of the US in the republics of Central Asia. For example, in 2002, two alleged ETIM members were arrested in Kyrgyzstan and later, were deported to China for allegedly planning to attack US embassies in Bishkek.

Localised Terrorist Group: it refers to those terrorist groups which seek to maintain control over the social and economic practices as well as the political decision-making process in a particular geographical boundary. This group is usually “embedded in a local society and attempts to control and shape the space within which it operates” (Lewis 2014). A considerable number of localised terrorist groups are seen in Central Asia. One significant example of such group is the Adolat or the Justice Movement group. It was one of the early radical Islamic group in Central Asia that was formed in the Uzbek part of the Fergana Valley in 1989. Initially, it was an armed force that sought to protect the business in a period of chaos and rising criminality in the region. But, it soon converted itself as an ‘Islamic moral police force’ or ‘severe citizen watchdog group’ that would walk in the street and mete out swift judgement and punishment on hooliganism and petty crime (Crosston 2006 N I). The president of Uzbekistan, though at first supported the activities of Adolat, it was outlawed in 1992, and its leaders were arrested and given long term imprisonment. Interestingly, those who were successful in evading arrest fled to Tajikistan and eventually formed “the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, infamous for series of bloody terrorist attack in Central Asia” (Omeliicheva

2013). Besides the Adolat, there are also some localised militant groups such as Akromiya in Andijan; Bay'at in Tajikistan which is seen more or less active in Central Asia.

The description as mentioned above has shown that in the post independent period a large number of terrorist groups were formed in Central Asia and some of them are still actively regulating their terrorist activities within and outside the boundary of the Central Asian region.

2.3. The Republic of Uzbekistan: An Overview

Uzbekistan is one of the largest countries in Central Asia. It emerged as an independent state on August 31, 1991, following the disintegration of the Soviet Union. Geographically, Uzbekistan is located in “the heart of Central Asia” and on “the ancient Great Silk Road between Asia and Europe” (Uzbekistan Country Overview 2015). In fact, it is the third largest country in Central Asia which covers an area of 447,000 square kilometres. It is the only country in Turkestan that shares borders with each other country in the region, bordering Kazakhstan to the north, the Kyrgyz Republic to the east, Tajikistan to the south-east, Turkmenistan to the south-west, and Afghanistan to the south. About 80% of Uzbekistan's landmass is surrounded by flat desert or semi-desert, with the vast Kyzyl-Kum Desert filling its northern lowlands. “To the south-east are the foothills of the Tien Shan, which rise steadily to heights reaching 4,500 meters above sea level” (Central Asia Atlas of Natural Resources, 2010). Uzbekistan also shares a short border with Afghanistan which is considered to be one of the most unstable countries in the world. Uzbekistan is a dry, landlocked country. Being surrounded completely by landlocked countries, Uzbekistan is also called as a doubly landlocked country.

While looking at the economic prospects of Uzbekistan, it is observed that Uzbekistan is one of the largest cotton producer countries in the world. At present, it is the second-largest cotton exporter and fifth largest cotton producer in the world. Moreover, Uzbekistan is also rich in certain other kinds of natural resources like hydrocarbon, gold, copper, and uranium.

Demographically, Uzbekistan is the most populous country in Central Asia. Its population consists of approximately 27.5 million. It is important to note that it is one of the poorest countries in Central Asia and most of the people are still living in rural areas which are heavily dependent on cotton farming for their livelihood. The United Nations Development

Programme's report on "Poverty, Inequality, and Vulnerability in the transition and developing economies of Europe and Central Asia" (2014) has indicated the pathetic conditions of the people of Uzbekistan. According to this report, if the "Purchasing Power Parity(PPP)\$4.30/Day poverty line is treated as a regional income poverty threshold and if PPP\$ 2.15/Day is accepted as a regional threshold for extreme income poverty", then, the people who live in extreme income poverty in Uzbekistan would be more than 10 million. Naturally, this data speaks a lot about the contemporary socio-political and economic situation in the region.

Ethnographically, Uzbekistan has numerous ethnic groups. However, the most dominant ethnic group in Uzbekistan is the ethnic Uzbeks. It comprises 80% of the total population. According to the statistics of the Government of Uzbekistan, over 129 ethnic groups are living in Uzbekistan. (Uzbekistan, Country overview, 2015) Since independence, Uzbekistan has taken the membership of some regional and international organisations. At present, it is a member of United Nations, Eurasian Economic Community (Eurasec), Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS), Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO) and Central Asian Cooperation Organization (CACO). It also joined the Georgian, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova (GUAM) alliance in 1997 but formally withdrew from it in 2005. (Sevim & Rozanov, 2014).

2.4. A Brief Accounts of Terrorist Attacks in Uzbekistan

Independence from the Soviet Union had never been a long waited and precious dream for the Uzbek leaders and its citizens, neither had they fought the years-long struggle for accomplishing it. Instead, some scholars like Ajay Patnaik, Mariya Omelicheva, and others argue that like other CA states, Uzbekistan was heavily dependent on the economic aids of the USSR and had hardly had any preparation to be disintegrated from it. However, after obtaining independence, protection and preservation of sovereignty and integrity of the state have become the first and foremost *raison d'état* of the CA states for which they have been consistently working since independence. The President of the Uzbekistan, Islam Karimov proved himself as more aggressive in jealously preserving states' *raison d'état* at any cost. The disintegration of the USSR which brought about unexpected sovereignty to the CA states ushered in some non-traditional security threats like arms smuggling, drug trafficking,

environmental degradations, religious extremism and terrorism into the region. Hence, the government of Uzbekistan has been steadily expressing concern on the alleged grave security threat posed by the religious extremism and terrorism since the early 1990s. On the contrary to the government's projection, Uzbekistan did not experience any severe terrorist attack till 1999, though violence erupted in Namangan province in December 1997 where the Islamic insurgent groups murdered several police personals and beheaded two others who included government official, and a prominent community member. In response, the government wasted little time in arresting several hundred people for the alleged connection with the tragic incident. The response of the government was so massive and aggressive that within four months more than one thousand people were arrested from the Ferghana strongholds of Namangan and Andijan provinces (Crosston 2006).

Uzbekistan experienced the first major terrorist attack in the very beginning of 1999. On Feb 16 of that year, five bombs exploded near the government buildings in Tashkent, claiming lives of 16 persons and wounding more than 100 others. It was an unprecedented attack in a former Soviet state (Pattern of Global terrorism,1999).

Another serious terrorist incident took place in Uzbekistan in March 2004. It was the first reported suicide bombing in Central Asia. After an explosion at a safe house in Bukhara, “suicide bombers attacked a popular bazaar and other locations in Tashkent, resulting in the deaths of more than a dozen police officers and innocent bystanders and tens of injuries” (U.S. Department of State Country Reports on Terrorism 2004 – Uzbekistan). An obscure Islamic Jihad group of Uzbekistan claimed responsibility for this attack. It is to be noted that Islamic Jihad group of Uzbekistan is reportedly an alias of the IMU or a breakaway part of the IMU that has changed its name “to the Islamic Jihad Union(IJU) in 2005” (Nichol 2010).

Suicide bombing again occurred in Tashkent on July 30, 2004. At 5 pm, on that day, three nearly simultaneous explosions ripped through the capital of Uzbekistan outside the heavily guarded U.S. and Israeli embassies and the headquarters of the Uzbek chief prosecutor. According to news report of Washington post (July 31, 2004) at least two security guards were killed and more than five people were injured in this attack. Although the primary target of the terrorists was the diplomatic personnel of the embassies, no employees of embassies were

killed or wounded in this incident. The IMU and IJG claimed responsibility and clarified that the “bombings were aimed at the Uzbek and other apostate government” (Nichol 2010).

The government of Uzbekistan has also been vigorously projecting the bloody Andijan massacre, (infamous for massive human rights violation) as a pre-planned terrorist act and blamed the members of IMU and Hizb ut Tahir for provoking violence to destabilise the government. The Andijan massacre took place on May 13, 2005, where the Uzbek troops indiscriminately fired on demonstrators resulting in the death of dozens or perhaps hundreds of civilians and countless of injuries. The issues associated with the human rights violation of the Andijan Massacre have been extensively discussed in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

On May 25-26, 2009 another minor attack took place in the border town of Khanabad where the terrorist attacked a police checkpoint situated near the Uzbek Kyrgyz's border that cost the life of at least one police officer and injured several bystanders. Also, four bombs exploded in Andijan in the commercial district in which several death and injuries were alleged. The Uzbek Government blamed IMU for this attack, but, IJU allegedly claimed responsibility (Global Terrorism Database)

In September 2009, there was a shoot-out in Tashkent between government authorities and suspected extremists that resulted in the death of three IMU members and the apprehension of other group members. According to the government statement, the group was involved in the 1999 explosion and recent assassination in Tashkent.

In November 2011, an explosion damaged a railway bridge in the south of Uzbekistan on the line connecting Termez and the town of Kurgan-Tyube in Tajikistan. Uzbek law enforcement authorities declared “the bombing a terrorist act, but no one has claimed responsibility. No casualties were recorded as a result of the explosion” (Global Terrorism Database). Nonetheless, it is repeatedly alleged by the human rights organisations and political opposition that Uzbekistani authorities often overlaps any violence with the terrorist acts to portraint the gravity of the terrorist threat as well to justify the draconian counter-terrorism measures of the government.

2.5. Uzbekistan's Official Definitions of Terrorism: An Overview

Since the very beginning of this chapter, it has repeatedly emphasised that Uzbekistan has long been determined to eliminate threats to the republic's security posed by terrorist groups like IMU and so on. It has enacted a series of counter-terrorism laws for efficiently dealing with the issue. The official documents from which the official definitions of terrorism in Uzbekistan has been clustered for this chapter are as follows.

-Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan 1994

-Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000

-Act on combating the legalisation of income derived from criminal activity and financing of terrorism 2004.

The criminal code of the Republic of Uzbekistan enacted in 1994 has provided an inclusive definition of terrorism. As the principal purpose of the Code is to determine grounds and principles of liability, socially dangerous acts to be recognised as crimes, as well as establish penalties and other measures of legal influence that may be applied to persons, who committed socially dangerous acts, it has prescribed various legal actions for different terrorist-related crimes. The code has named terrorism as a socially dangerous act. It has incorporated a series of articles that establish liability both directly for terrorism (article 155 "Terrorism") and for offences which contribute to the preparation and perpetration of terrorist acts, including "smuggling of various types of weapons and their ammunition" (article 246 "Smuggling"). Further, the code also includes deliberate acts related to the "illegal circulation of weapons" (Article 247), "Illegal procurement of firearms, ammunition, explosive substances or explosive devices" as a terrorist offence. Eventually, the code has also incorporated the activities such as the "Illegal possession of weapons, ammunition, explosive substances or explosive devices" (Article 248) and the "negligent storage of firearms and ammunition within the boundaries of terrorist crimes" within the sphere of terrorist crime. (Criminal Code of the Republic of the Uzbekistan 1994).

Article 155 of the Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan (1994) which directly deals with terrorism has defined terrorism as follows-

"Terrorism, that is, violence, use of force, or other acts, which pose a threat to an individual or property, or the threat to undertake such acts in order to force a state body, international organization, or officials thereof, or individual or legal entity, to commit or to restrain from some activity in order to complicate international relations, infringe upon sovereignty and territorial integrity, undermine security of a state, provoke war, armed conflict, destabilize socio-political situation, intimidate population, as well as activity carried out in order to support operation of and to finance a terrorist organization, preparation and commission of terrorist acts, direct or indirect provision or collection of any resources and other services to terrorist organizations, or to persons assisting to or participating in terrorist activities".

The criminal code of the Republic of Uzbekistan has also fixed and prescribed different penalties for the terrorist activities depending on the gravity of the crime. The law establishes punishment with imprisonment from ten to fifteen years for those terrorist activities which attempt "to life of or infliction of bodily injury to a state official or public figure or representative of authorities", perpetrated in association with their state or public activities. Such activities must be perpetrated for destabilisation of situation or influence upon decision making by government bodies or impediment to political or other public activity" (Article 155, Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan 1994)

Further, the code has added that if the actions as mentioned above cost the life of an individual or create other grave consequences, then the convicted shall be awarded punishment with imprisonment for fifteen to twenty years or capital punishment.

In this regard, it is noteworthy to mention that the criminal code of Uzbekistan also prescribes harsh punishment to less dangerous acts such as direct or indirect connection with the creation of banned organisations or the disseminations of materials and publications intended to undermine state public order, etc. These are considered as the criminal offence and sentenced to long terms of 10-25 years (Omelicheva 2011).

The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan On Combat of Terrorism

It is a primary legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan on countering terrorism entered into force on December 14, 2000. The main objectives of the law stated in Article 1 are to "ensure security to individual, society, and state from terrorism", "protection of sovereignty and

territorial integrity of the state” and the maintenance of “civil peace and national accord”. This law has clarified the notions about the certain commonly used terminology of terrorism discourse such as ‘hostage,’ ‘terrorism,’ ‘terrorist organisations’ ‘terrorist actions’ and so on. The law has also provided a lengthy definition of terrorism as well as a detailed account of all those activities which are included in the bar of terrorist actions. The definition of terrorism presented in the law is almost same with the definition incorporated in Article 155 of the Criminal Code. As the systematic effort has been made to the next chapter to critically analyse the role of language and power politics in constructing terrorism-related terminologies in CA states through using Critical discourse analysis, the study deserves the inclusion of all definitions of terrorism available in legal frameworks. For this purpose, the definitions of terrorism incorporated in the law has also been included here that states as follows-

"Terrorism– Violence, threat of violence or other criminal acts, which cause danger to life and health of a person, of destruction (damage) of property and other material objects, and which are intended to force the state, an international organization, physical or juridical person to undertake or withhold of undertaking of certain actions, to bring tension into international relations, to violate sovereignty, territorial integrity, to undermine security of the state, to provoke armed conflicts, to frighten population, to destabilize social-political situation, in order to reach political, religious, ideological and other aims, which are punishable under Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan" (The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000).

The law also assigned the responsibility for combating terrorism to particular competent bodies, some of which are such as the National Security Service of the Republic of Uzbekistan; Ministry of Interior of the Republic of Uzbekistan and State Border Guards Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Similarly, the State Customs Committee of the Republic of Uzbekistan; Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Ministry of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Emergency Situations are the legal entities that regulate the counterterrorism operations of the region.

The law has encompassed an extensive list of activities within the sphere of terrorist actions. The list includes- “taking and keeping hostages, infringement on the life of public figure, the representatives of national, ethnic, religious, and other groups of population, foreign countries

and international organisations; seizure, damage, destruction of the public or civil objects. Similarly, the actions like explosion, arson, deployment or threat of deployment of explosive devices, radioactive, biological, explosive, chemical and other hazardous substances are also the examples of terrorist actions incorporated in this law” (Article 2, The law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000).

The list has also contained a couple of other activities namely “the seizure, hi-jacking, damage, destruction of overland, water, and air transport means”, and so forth. Simultaneously, “the creation of panic and provocation of disorder in the area of public gathering and during public events” and the other deliberate acts such as “causing harm or threat to life, health and property of individuals or juridical entities by way of setting up crashes, catastrophes of man-caused character”; spreading of threats by various means and methods are considered as terrorist acts. Eventually, the list may include “any other actions of the terrorist character, which are determined as such by the legislation of the Republic of Uzbekistan and by universally recognised norms of international law”. All these acts as mentioned above are liable to legal action. (The Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000).

2.6. The Republic of Kyrgyzstan: An Overview

The Kyrgyz Republic (Kyrgyzstan) is the second smallest state in the Central Asian region. Geographically, it is squeezed between two giants (Kazakhstan to its north and China to its south-east) and shares a southern border with Tajikistan and a western border with Uzbekistan. Tucked away in the corner of Central Asia and surrounded by massive mountain ranges Kyrgyzstan is the most isolated of all the former Soviet republics, with the least available resources to create an independent economy (Ahmed 1994). Kyrgyzstan is covered by an area of 198,500 square kilometres and interestingly, out of its entire territory, ninety-three percent of the republic is made up of mountains and nowhere does the land surface fall below 500 meters below sea level. Another unique geographical feature of this territory is that unlike other Central Asian states where drought has become reaction feature of their region, Kyrgyzstan is very rich in water resources consist of more than 3000 lakes continuously filled by rivers flowing down from the mountains. Politically, it has become the scene of geopolitical competition between Russia and the United States, a subject of “rapidly increasing Chinese

influence, and a casualty of regional rivalry for leadership in Central Asia between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan” (Omelicheva 2006).

The Kyrgyz ethnos, whose history dates back to the second century BC has been formed by the nomadic tribes traversing the northern part of Central Asia and coming into contact with other peoples in the region. The first Kyrgyz state was created in the sixth century, and it lasted until the Mongolian conquest in the thirteenth century. During that time, Islam, the religion of the majority of modern Kyrgyz, spread into the land of the Kyrgyz nomads. After adopting this new faith, the Kyrgyz tribes adjusted the basic tenets of the Sunni tradition of Islam, with the preeminence of its mystical Sufi form, to their ancient Turkic beliefs and earlier religious systems namely Shamanism. For example, pre-Islamic traditions such as belief in the spiritual powers of mountains, river and the sun as well as the beliefs that are passed on from generation to generation in the host of legends, epic poem and stories still exist as an indispensable part of the Kyrgyzstan culture (Ahmed 1994). It resulted in a peculiar place for Islam in the life of the nomads. Islamic precepts, Turkic religious ideas, and indigenous worldviews informed by the cultures of nomadic tribes were blended to create a unique philosophical, ideological, and ethical system (Allsen 1997; Chotaeva 2003). In the sixteenth to nineteenth centuries, the Kyrgyz saw a subsequent takeover by the Kalmyks, the Manchus, and the Uzbek rulers.

At the end of the 19th century, Russia routed the Uzbek Khanate, and the Kyrgyz became a part of the Russian Empire. After that, The Bolshevik revolution of 1917 established Soviet rule in the Kyrgyz territory, and eventually, it received the status of full-fledged Soviet Republic in the USSR in 1936. The central Moscow government turned Kyrgyzstan into raw materials producing agrarian appendage of the Soviet Union dependent on the centre's subsidies. Russians dominated the Kyrgyz political scene until the 1960s. The accession of the native Kyrgyz to the ranks of the Kyrgyz political elite rekindled a centuries-old rivalry between the northern and southern clans that resulted in the establishment of a system of local patronage, a vestige from feudal times. In 1990, on the wave of perestroika, the North took charge of the Republic and named Askar Akaev, a progressive academic, as its leader (Makarkin 2005). It declared independence on August 31, 1991, and Askar Akaev became the first president of Kyrgyzstan.

Since receiving independence from the Soviet Union, tremendous economic problems and security concerns clouded the early atmosphere of post independent Kyrgyzstan. The President of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akaev, known as the Central Asia's Thomas Jefferson, had to deal with the numerous emerging challenges with insufficient resources and eventually he was overthrown in August 2005 by a revolt led by his political opponents.

2.7. A precise Accounts of terrorist threat in Kyrgyzstan

In Central Asia, the threat of terrorism has traditionally been interlinked with the Islamist movement of the region. The increasing growth of the radical Islam in the post independent era has brought grave insecurity to the secular rule and authoritarian regime of Uzbekistan, which became an epicentre of Islamic revivalism in the 1990s. Tajikistan too experienced similar kind of tendencies among Islamic groups that urged the rapid growth of Islam in the region. Unlike Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, which traditionally are providing fertile ground for the flourishing pure form of Islamic practice, Kyrgyzstan is historically known for its unique religious and belief system, a mixture of the Sunni tradition of Islam with Turkic beliefs and shamanism, where Islam has never been practised by Kyrgyz nomads separately from their tradition. Hence, in the early era of post-independence, the leaders of the Kyrgyzstan did not envisage radical Islam and terrorism as a grave threat to the national security of the region. The Kyrgyzstani government's least attention towards terrorism is reflected in a statement of President Askar Akaev, delivered in an interview with Russian newspaper stating- "If I do not have a real problem of religious extremism, why would I create an artificial one?" (Rotar 1999).

However, after experiencing the series of terrorist incidents occurred since 1999, the Kyrgyz Government began to take this issue seriously and, after that it has been seen hardening its responses towards terrorism and religious extremism. The series of bombing occurred in Feb 1999 in Tashkent further intensified Kyrgyzstan's insecurity about terrorism. After the attack, the President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov harshly criticised Kyrgyz authority for not initiating strict actions against growing terrorism and religious extremism (Jonson 2003). Blaming Kyrgyz government as the provider of haven to IMU militants, Karimov also pressurised to adopt stricter counter-terrorism measures. As a result, Kyrgyzstan first accused Hizb-ut- Tahir of ideological extremism and declared it as a threat to the national security of

the state. Finally, the Kyrgyz court branded Hizb-ut- Tahir as a banned organisation, although, ideologically, this group cleared its stand that it does not support violence as a means of achieving its goals (Taktogulov 2004). The tragic incident of 9/11 terrorist attack, has brought the new dimension to the Kyrgyzstan's counter-terrorism policies. Soon after the declaration of the global war on terrorism by the US, Kyrgyzstan did not miss the opportunity to declare “international terrorism and religious extremism as the primary threats to regional, national and international security” (Omelicheva 2011). Since then, the government of Kyrgyzstan has always been acknowledging their prime concern to the grave threat posed by religious extremism as well as terrorism. Nevertheless, to investigate the accuracy and reasonability of the risk perception of Kyrgyz governments about terrorism, it is believed to be essential to enumerate precise accounts of past terrorist incidents below-

The Global Terrorism Database (GTD), a renowned open source database of terrorist events has reported a total of 30 incidents of terrorist character occurred during 1992 to 2015 that comprised incidents such as plantation of explosive devices, open firing, explosion, hijacking, and assassinations. Out of thirty, sixteen events were stated as unsuccessful in which no fatalities and injuries were reported. Similarly, the other fourteen incidents which have been considered successful are seemed to be very limited regarding its intensity. Because only nine people were killed and 18 people were injured during all those successful incidents according to “Global Terrorism Database” (<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>).

Another open source database of terrorist incidents namely RAND has confirmed fourteen minor incidents took place in different locations of Kyrgyzstan during 1998 to 2007. The total number of fatalities in those attacks has been reported as seven, and the number injuries are confirmed as fourteen (<http://smapp.rand.org/rwtid/search.php>).

2.8. A Framework of Kyrgyzstan's Official Definitions of Terrorism

Kyrgyzstan did not adopt any counter-terrorism legislation until 1999. The Kyrgyz Parliament passed the first law on combating terrorism in 1999. The law has contained a broad outline of Kyrgyzstan's counter-terrorism policies and has determined the name of the government agencies as well as their power and functions, responsible for fighting against terrorism. Before this statute, the panel code of the Kyrgyz Republic has incorporated terrorism as a crime

under the category of public security. It has identified an extensive list of activities as terrorist activities and has declared these as an illegal and punishable offence. Since then, Kyrgyzstan has been adopting and implementing series of legislative counter-terrorism measures including both domestic laws and other treaties and documents related to the implementation of joint measures to combat international terrorism and organised crime approved under CIS. Some examples of CIS documents on the fight against terrorism are- Treaty on Cooperation between the CIS members in combating terrorism-1999, Program of CIS member states to Combat International Terrorism and other forms of Extremism up to the year 2003, etc. These counter-terrorism statutes have provided Kyrgyzstan's official notion of terrorism. The laws from which the official definition of terrorism are composed in this chapter are listed below-

-Criminal Panel Code of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan-1997

-Law on Counteraction to terrorism-2006

The law on Counteraction to Terrorism has been adopted by Jogorku Kenesh of the Kyrgyz Republic on September 7, 2006, which comes into force on November 8 of the same year. This Law determines the basic principles of counteraction to terrorism, organization-legal basis of prevention of terrorism and fights against it. Moreover, the law emphasises in minimising the consequences of terrorism, by determining the procedure for coordination of activities of the state bodies combating terrorism. Simultaneously, it also regulates the rights and obligations of physical persons and legal entities irrespective of patterns of ownership, in connection with the implementation of counteraction to terrorism, and also the procedure for international cooperation in the field of resistance to terrorism.

In the first chapter of the law in Article 1 has clarified certain basic terms and concepts related to the phenomenon of terrorism. The language of this law used in defining terrorism is as follows.

"Terrorism is the unlawful penal action committed with the view to violate public security, compel public authorities to make decisions benefiting terrorists, frighten population, and to achieve other political, ideological and religious goals through implementing a terrorist act in the form of:

– use of violence or a threat to use violence on individuals or legal entities;

- destruction (damage) or a threat of destroying (damaging) property and other material facilities thus creating the risk of loss of life;
- causing significant property damage or other socially dangerous consequences;
- infringement on the life of a statesman or a public figure performed to discontinue his/her state or public activity or out of revenge for this activity;
- assault on a foreign state's representative or an international organisation's official under international protection as well as on an office or vehicles of persons under international protection, where such an action is committed to provoking a war or to complicate international relations; and
- other measures defined as the terrorist ones according to the laws of the Kyrgyz Republic and the international counter-terrorism statutes" (Article 1, Law on Counteraction to terrorism-2006).

This law has also incorporated an extensive list of activities under the structure of terrorist crime that includes-

- “explosion, arson, use or threatening with the use of explosive assemblies and radioactive, biological, chemical and other poisoning substances;
- seizure, hijacking, damage or destruction of land, water, and air conveyances;
- infringement on the life of a statesman or public figure, capture and retention of hostages;
- causing a risk of damage to life, health or property of an uncertain circle of the population through creating the conditions for emergencies or man-caused catastrophes, or an actual threat of causing such a danger;
- dissemination of terrorist threats in any form and any ways; and
- execution of other terrorist actions stipulated by the laws of the Kyrgyz Republic and relevant international law” (Chapter 1, Article 1 Law on Counteraction to terrorism-2006).

This law has assigned primary responsibility for combating terrorism in Kyrgyzstan to the Kyrgyz National Security Service, a successor of Soviet Kirgizia's KGB. The other competent authorities that cooperate with the National Security Service in preparing and carrying out

counterterrorism operations are- “The Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Kyrgyz Republic; The Ministry of Defense of the Kyrgyz Republic; The Ministry of Justice of the Kyrgyz Republic; The Ministry of Emergencies of the Kyrgyz Republic; The Frontier Service of the Kyrgyz Republic”. Similarly, “The National Guard of the Kyrgyz Republic; The State Protection Service of the Kyrgyz Republic; The Financial Intelligence Service of the Kyrgyz Republic” also serve as the legal authority for dealing with terrorist crime. (Chapter 2, Article 4, Law on Counteraction to Terrorism).

The Criminal Code of Kyrgyzstan was adopted by the Legislative Assembly of the Kyrgyz Republic Parliament (Jogorku Kenesh) on September 18, 1997, which has been amended in many times. In the first chapter of the code in Article 1 has mentioned crime prevention, protections of individuals' rights and freedoms of individuals and entities, property, natural environment, maintenance of public order and security as well as protection of Kyrgyz Republic Constitutional system from criminal trespass as the primary goal of the code. It has identified principles and grounds of criminal responsibility and has determined the general concept of crime, scope of the socially dangerous act as well as has prescribed punishments applied to persons committing crimes. In accordance with the Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic in force, a large number of intentional acts are subject to prosecution and punishment as terrorist crimes. Some of which are- “terrorism” (Article 226), “mercenarism” (Article 375), “the organisation of an illegal armed unit or participation in it” (Article 229), “the organisation of a criminal association” (Article 231). Moreover, “the illegal acquisition, transfer, sale, storage, transport or carrying of firearms, ammunition, explosive substances and explosive devices” (Article 241), “the illegal manufacture of weapons” (Article 242), and “the theft or extortion of firearms, and explosive substances” (Article 245) are also listed within the purview of terrorist crime (Report by the Kyrgyz Republic pursuant to Security Council resolution 1373 (2001), SC CTC Doc. S/2002/204, annex).

The code has incorporated a definition of terrorism in section IX of the code under the heading of crimes against Public Security and Order. Article 226 (Chapter 24) has defined terrorism as- "the perpetration of an explosion, arson, or any other action endangering the lives of people, causing sizable property damage, or entailing other socially dangerous consequences, if these actions have been committed for violating public security, frightening the population, or

exerting influence on decision-making by governmental bodies, and also the threat of committing said actions for the same ends" (Criminal Code of Kyrgyzstan 1997).

The code has initially established punishment with the deprivation of liberty for a term of five to ten years to those convicts indulged the activities as mentioned above. At the same time, the code has clarified that if a group of persons in a preliminary conspiracy commits the same deeds repeatedly using firearms, then such offences shall be punishable by deprivation of liberty for a term of eight to fifteen years. Further, the code has also prescribed harsh punishment like imprisonment for a term of fifteen to twenty years to the above deeds. However, for such long term imprisonment, the activities mentioned above must repeatedly be committed by a group of persons with firearms that resulted in the death of an individual or any other grave consequences (Chapter 24, Article 226, Criminal Code of the Kyrgyz Republic 1997).

2.9. The Republic of Tajikistan: An Overview

Tajikistan is the smallest countries in Central Asia sketching an area of 143,100 square kilometres, of which 400 square kilometres is water. It was the southernmost republic of former the Soviet Union. Tajikistan shares a rugged, mountainous 1,206 kilometres border with Afghanistan in the south and 1161 kilometres border with Uzbekistan in the west. In the east, it shares a border with China's Xinjiang province, the length of which is 414 kilometres. It is the thin wedge of wakhon corridor mapped in the eastern part of Tajikistan, which has separated Tajikistan from Pakistan. In the north, it shares 870 kilometres border with Kyrgyzstan. Significantly, it is the only countries in Central Asia that share the longest border with Afghanistan, which is known for its fragile political situations and Islamic insurgencies. This peculiar geographical location has brought constant fear of insecurity and political turmoil to the Tajikistani authorities. Tajik Foreign Minister Lakim Kaqumov admitted this as early as in December 1991- "Afghanistan is the most difficult and complex problem we face, that we have ever faced because we share a long border with it. The Mujahidin control most of the border region, and there have been incursions into Tajikistan. If Islamic fundamentalism is very high in Afghanistan, then it is natural it will influence Tajikistan" (Ahmed 1994). Tajikistan's location makes it a gateway to Central Asia from Afghanistan to drugs, weapons,

people and radical ideas. It is also crucial for transit in the opposite direction (Jonson 2006). Besides, another interesting geographical fact about Tajikistan is that, like Kyrgyzstan, it is also very mountainous and approximately, ninety-three percent of its territory is covered in the mountains mostly by Pamir range which is still called as the roof of the world. Dushanbe, the capital of Tajikistan, literally which means 'Monday' in Persian is in the heart of mountains by high peaks and lush orchards.

Tajikistan is the only Persian-speaking country of the former Soviet Union which has a long history of ups and downs of the various empires, dating back to the first or second millennium BC. In the first volume of the official history of Tajiks Nation, namely *The Tajiks in the Mirror of History*, (1997) written by a collective of scholars but published under the name of Tajik President Emomali Rakhmonov has provided a chain of such empires and dynasties. This chain included the ancient Bactria and Sogdiana, (6th and 7th centuries BC), the Achaemenid Empire (from mid-6th centuries to 321 BC) the Graeco-Bactrian state (300 to 140 BC), the Kushan (from the 1st to 4th Centuries AD) and Ashkonid dynasties and the Khuttal Kingdom respectively. In the 8th century, the Arabs conquered modern-day Tajikistan and brought with them Islam, which within one century was the predominant religion. They ruled Central Asia almost 150 years which reign was full of war and revolts. The Arabs destroyed most of the pre-Islamic culture. Their clergy burned pre-Islamic literature and destroyed objects of culture and religion (sculptures and paintings) from previous periods. Pre-Islamic religious halls were demolished and rebuilt as mosques (Jonson 2006). The contemporary Tajik official historiographers have termed the Arab invasion as "The most disastrous setback of all [invasions] was caused by the Arab conquest". On the other hand, the Soviet Tajik scholar Gafurov argues that on the whole Arab rule and the introduction of Islam contributed to the socio-economic and cultural development of Mawarannahr.

However, the Samanids Empire established in mid of the 9th centuries AD and continued to till the end of 10th centuries AD is regarded as the first stage of Tajik Statehood. This period is considered as the Golden Age of Iranian culture in Central Asia. During that time the whole country became a unified national state and remained united during the entire century (Rahmonov 1997). The end of the Samanid dynasty was caused by another spate of Turkic invasions: The Karahanid Turks, the Kara-Kitai nomads from Mongolia. The conquest of that

dynasty by the Qarakhanid Turks intensified the introduction of Turkic peoples and culture into the region. “Between the eleventh and the sixteenth centuries, modern-day Tajikistan was ruled successively by Turks, Mongols, and Uzbeks” (Ahmed 1994). The defeat of Tajikistan in the hands of Uzbeks spelt the end of Persian and Tajik influence in Central Asia.

In the first part of the nineteenth centuries, as the Tsar expanded Russian Empire into Central Asia, Moscow annexed in the north of Tajikistan in 1868. During that period Russia was afraid of possible British incursion from India that caused mutual distrust and rivalry between the two great powers. To settle this boundary dispute, both the authorities agreed to set up an Anglo-Russian Boundary Commission in March 1884, which “eventually demarcated Afghanistan's highly porous northern border with present-day Tajikistan”. To prevent “the new Russian frontier from being contiguous with India”, the Wakhan corridor, which divides Tajikistan from present-day Pakistan, was created in the Pamirs (Ahmed 1994).

When the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 overthrew the Tsarist regime, the Tajiks clan leaders also initiated a movement (later known as Basmachi Movement) in the Ferghana Valley. It set up Provisional Kokand Autonomous Republic and demanded the promulgation of sharia Islamic law and the private ownership of land. However, the Bolsheviks refused to accept their demands and cracked down their movement by the massive attacks of Red Army. After that, Tajik Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was created as part of the Uzbek SSR in October 1924. Finally, the Soviet leaders established Tajikistan as a full-fledged union republic on October 15, 1929.

In the late 1980s, Mikhail S. Gorbachev's perestroika stimulated a nationalist movement in Tajikistan again. In 1990, state emergency was declared in Dushanbe after riots stormed the city which cost dozens of lives and countless injuries. Finally, when the dissolution of the Soviet Union became inevitable, Tajikistan had to declare its independence along with its long history of Islamic revolts and the fresh political turmoil that soon drifted Tajikistan towards partisan and bloody civil war.

Tajikistan in its first year of independence witnessed an unbridled storm of political unrest between the pro-communist Rakhmon Nabiev's government and the political opposition including anti-government forces led by Islamic Renaissance Party (IRP). The longstanding clan rivalries between the pro-communist Kuliab district in the south-east and the Kurgan Tube

in the south-west further intensified the instability of the region. In September 1992, as soon as the Nabiev's government was forced to resign by huge violent demonstrations of the IRP militants, the civil war got new momentum in Tajikistan. It was against this background of chaos that a special session of the parliament was held in Khujand in November 1992. In this session, the pro-nomenklatura groups (later known as People's Front) elected Emomali Rakhmonov as the acting head of the state who later consolidated his position. In spring, 1993, different groups of opposition came under the same roof and created the United Tajiks Opposition (UTO). In short, the civil war in Tajikistan was nothing, but a lengthy violent struggle for the acquisition of political power between the People's Front and the Tajiks Opposition Party that lasted for five years. The casualties of this war have been estimated between 40000 to 80000. Besides, this long-lasting political strife forced more than 800000 people to seek refuge abroad, mostly in Afghanistan, but also in Iran and Russia (Jonson 2006). Finally, in 1997, the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord in Tajikistan" and the "Moscow Protocol" were signed between the Rakhmonov's government and the UTO on 27 June 1997 in Moscow that formally ended civil war. However, the situation of Tajikistan remains fragile in the post-civil war period. Examining the post-civil war scenario Omelicheva (2011) writes- "intermittent skirmishes with remnants of fighters from the civil war era have been a destabilising factor in the republic".

2.10. A Brief Account of Terrorist Attack in Tajikistan

Being the only countries in Central Asia, devastated by political strife, ethnic-regional clashes and Islamic militancy, the protection of sovereignty and integrity of the state has always been a prime concern for the leaders of newly independent Tajikistan. Although, it is a matter of fierce debate that whether the former militants who fought the civil war on behalf of UTO should be branded as a terrorist or not, but the Tajikistan government has often applied this terminology to criminalise their past activities. In the post-civil war period, the Tajikistani authorities have launched criminal investigations against former UTO fighters on the ground of various serious crime, including terrorist activities allegedly perpetrated during the civil war. Many of the former fighters have been awarded harsh punishment that has faced widespread criticism from the human rights organisations and the opposition party (US Department of State: Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor 2005).

Tajikistan has witnessed a significant number of terrorism-related incidents since the very beginning of its independence. The Global Terrorism Database, an open source database about terrorist events has reported a total of forty incidents (regardless of doubts) from 1998 to 2015. All These incidents are somehow related to various types of terrorist attacks such as “assassination, armed assault, bombing/explosion, hijacking, hostage taking (Barricade Incident); hostage taking (Kidnapping), facility/infrastructure attack and unarmed assault” according to Global Terrorism Database. The total casualties of all those incidents are reported as 71, and the number of injuries is of 141. While examining the intensity of the terrorist incidents as mentioned above, it is identified that there are fourteen incidents where no casualties are reported. The most Significant fact is that in Tajikistan the number of incidents, fatalities and injuries are seen higher in comparison to any other countries in Central Asia (<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/>).

Another open source database on global terrorism, namely RAND Database of World Wide Terrorism Incidents has maintained that Tajikistan has faced a total of 44 incidents of terrorist nature during 1998 to 2000. However, this database includes ambiguous incidents too within the sphere of the terrorist attack. The RAND database has also clarified that most of the incidents occurred in Tajikistan during 1998 to 2010 are minor regarding causality. According to this Database, out of 44, there are 38 incidents where less than five casualties and injuries had been reported (<http://smapp.rand.org/rwtid/search.php>).

2.11. Tajikistan's Official Definitions of Terrorism

Like Uzbekistan, the leaders of the Tajikistan have always been bearing terrorism and radical Islam in mind as the grave security threat to the region. The establishment and official registration of the first Islamic political party, namely the Islamic Renaissance Party(IRP) in Tajikistan and the due course the eruption and infliction of civil war have made the Tajik authorities desperately suspicious about the activities of the radical Islamic and militant groups. They advocate harsh prosecution for Islamic militants to eradicate such real or perceived security threats (Naumkin 2005). Regarding counter-terrorism mechanisms, Tajikistan enacted a state counter-terrorism program for the period of 1998 to 2000. This program was elaborated and approved by Decree No. 707 of the President of the Republic on 21 April 1997. It directed

the law enforcement agencies to ensure actions in identifying and suppressing the channels of international communication of terrorist groups operating in the Republic of Tajikistan from abroad (Book 24, United Nations Legislative Series 2005). The Majlisi Oli of the Republic of Tajikistan (Parliament) adopted a law on combating terrorism on November 16, 1999. Besides, the Criminal Code of Tajikistan has also provided a broad outline about terrorism and terrorist acts. These counterterrorism laws and programs have represented the Tajikistan's official stand on terrorism. The official documents from which the official definitions of terrorism have been gathered are listed below.

-The law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Combating Terrorism-1999

- The Criminal Code of Tajikistan-1998

The Law on Combating Terrorism is a basic law in the field of countering terrorism in Tajikistan. Since its adaptation, it has been amended four times precisely in 2005, 2007, 2008 and 2012 to deal with the changing security complexity of the region. The basic objectives of this law as mentioned in Article 1 are the implementations of the state policy and showing international commitment towards combating terrorism and so on. Besides, it seeks to “uncover, prevent and stop terrorist activity”, to “eliminate causes and conditions”, which give rise to terrorism (Law on combating terrorism 1999). Significantly, the creation of strong negative attitude towards terrorism in the mind of the people of Tajikistan is also included as an objective of this law.

Article 3 of this law has incorporated a definition of terrorism which is as follows-

"Terrorism - is violence or the threat of violence against individuals, compulsion or threat of compulsion against legal entities, and also the destruction (damaging) of or threat to destroy (damage) property and other material objects of individuals and legal entities, which threaten to cause loss of life, significant damage to property, or other socially dangerous consequences and are implemented with a view to violating public security, intimidating the population, or influencing the adoption by state organs of decisions advantageous to terrorists, or satisfying their unlawful material and (or) other interests; attempts on the lives of statesmen or public figures perpetrated with a view to weakening the foundation of the constitutional order and security of the state or with a view to ending their state or other political activity or out of

revenge for such activity; attempts on the life or infliction of a bodily harm to statesmen, public figures or representatives of authorities perpetrated because of their political or public activity, with a view to destabilizing the public order or influencing the adoption of decisions by organs of power or obstructing the political or public activity; attacks on representatives of foreign states or staffers of international organizations enjoying international protection, or members of family living together, and also on the offices, dwelling places or vehicles of persons enjoying international protection if these actions are committed with a view to provoking war or complicating international relations" (Law on Combating Terrorism 1999)

In Article 4, this law has identified a long list of activities of terrorist nature and has listed them under the category of the terrorist act. This list comprises acts like "the explosion, arson, or the use of or threat to use nuclear explosive devices or radioactive, chemical, biological, explosive, toxic, noxious, aggressive or poisonous substances; the destruction, damaging, or seizure of vehicles or facilities" (Law on Combating Terrorism).

This list further includes activities such as- "an attempt on the life of a statesman or public figure or representative of national, ethnic, religious, or other population groups" as the terrorist act which is subject to legal action.

Similarly, the act of "taking of hostages and kidnapping"; "the creation of a danger of harm to the life, health, or property of a nonspecific range of people by creating the conditions for accidents and man-made disasters or the real threat of creation of such a danger" are also identified as the terrorist crime. Lastly, "the dissemination of threats in any form and by any means" and other actions that pose a danger of loss of life; "significant damage to property", or "other socially dangerous consequences" have been listed as a terrorist act by this law.

This law has assigned authority and responsibility to certain competent entities for directly implementing the fight against terrorism. The Ministry of Security of the Republic of Tajikistan is the central body regarding it. The other some agencies which are directly engaged in combating terrorism are-- Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan; Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Tajikistan and Ministry for Emergency Situations of the Republic of Tajikistan. Similarly, the Committee for the Protection of the State Borders under the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Presidential Guard of the Republic of

Tajikistan also have the legal authority of counteraction to terrorism in the state. (Article7, The Law on Combating Terrorism 1999).

Criminal Code of Tajikistan

The official stand of Tajikistan on terrorism is also reflected in the criminal code which not only provides a definition of terrorism but also determines legal action against such acts. Being the defender of rights and freedom of the persons and citizens and as a principal mechanism of crime prevention, the code has firstly provided a definition of terrorism and later categorically determined different punishments for different terror-centric offences. The code has incorporated the phenomenon of terrorism in section VIII, chapter 21 of the code and has placed it under the category of crime against public security.

Article 179 (Chapter 21) of the Code has defined terrorism in the following words- "Terrorism, that is committing an explosion, arson, firing with firearms or other actions, which create the danger of destroy people, causing a substantial financial damage or coming other socially dangerous consequences, if these actions committed with the goal of violating public security, frightening the population or influencing the decision making of the power organs, as well as threat of having committed the mentioned actions with the same goals".

After defining terrorism, the criminal code has granted different types of penalties for the actions as specified in the definition.

Firstly, the code has determined punishment with imprisonment for 5 to 10 years who commits such crime.

Secondly, the law has maintained that if a group of people in a conspiracy commits the same actions in a repeated manner, then the tenure of the imprisonment will be extended from 8 to 15 years with an additional punishment of confiscation of property.

Thirdly, the code has granted sentence of long-term imprisonment from 10 to 18 years regarding some acts such as attempt to murder, major bodily injury caused to a statesman or public man or representative of the power, committed in relation to their state or public activity. However, the goal of the such intentional acts must be the destabilization of the situation or influencing the decision-making of the state bodies or hindering the political or public activity.

In addition to imprisonment, the law has also established punishment with confiscation of property.

Finally, the law has declared the longest possible tenure in prison that is a period starting from 15 to 20 years with the confiscation of property or the highest award i.e. death penalty for committing terrorist acts. According to this law, such harsh punishment may be awarded for having committed the offences as specified in those mentioned above first, second and third of the paragraphs with certain conditions which are as follows-

- a) if such actions are committed by an organised group;
- b) if such acts are committed along with the threat of using a weapon of mass-destruction, radioactive materials and committing other actions which can lead to mass loss of people;
- c) if such actions are perpetrated by an especially dangerous recidivist;
- d) if such actions cause the death of a person or other serious consequences carelessly (Criminal Code of Tajikistan, Article 179).

2.12. The Republic of Turkmenistan: A Brief Overview

Turkmenistan is one of the poorest and isolated republics in Central Asia. Following the disintegration of the Soviet Union, it obtained independence from the USSR on October 27, 1991. It stretches an area of 488,100 square kilometres of which about 85 percent is surrounded by Kara Kum desert. Turkmenistan, the farthest south-west of the former Soviet republics of Central Asia, is located on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea. In the south, it shares a 1,148-kilometer border with Iran, while in the east it shares a border with Afghanistan which is 804 kilometres long. It is important to note that it is the only country in Central Asia that shares a border with two politically volatile regions in the world, i.e. Afghanistan and Iran. In the north, Turkmenistan shares 1793 kilometre border with Uzbekistan and 413-kilometer border with Kazakhstan (<https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/tx.htm>).

Ethnographically, the Turkmen is the most dominant ethnic groups in Turkmenistan that consist of five major tribes namely, the Ersary, Goklen, Teke, Yasyr, and Yomut. The Turkmen comprise 85 percent of the total population according to the data of 2003. The other dominant groups are Uzbeks and Russian that comprise 5 percent and 4 percent respectively

(Library of Congress 2017). There are also some other smaller ethnic groups regarding numerical strength such as Tatar, Kazakh, Ukrainian, Azeri, and Armenian also dwell in Turkmenistan.

Although, Turkmenistan is enumerated as one of the poorest countries in Central Asia, both in the Soviet period and in the post independent era, due to the high ratio of unemployment and illiteracy, lack of industrial infrastructure and having highly polluted agricultural land, the future economic prospect is quietly incredible. This country is extremely rich in natural resources most prominently in natural gas and oil. It is estimated that underneath, Turkmenistan has almost 1.2 billion barrel of oil and more than 102 trillion cubic feet of gas reserves (Sabol 2010).

While looking back to the history, it is observed that for centuries Turkmenistan was a desolate land where only the nomadic warrior Turkmen managed to inhabit in the region with the rigours of extreme temperature. Being warrior and raider, they fiercely resisted the incursion of outsiders. But eventually they came under the control of Persian (from second century BC to 10 AD), Mongols (thirteenth century), Uzbeks khanates of Khiva and Bukhara (sixteenth century) and later Russian (late nineteenth century) (Ahmed 1994). After the Bolshevik revolution of 1917 which resulted at the end of the tsarist regime in Russia, a resistance movement was initiated in the Turkmen territory demanding freedom from Russia. This revolt was led by Junaid Khan, an undisputed leader of the Turkmen. But the Bolshevik cracked down this movement, and finally, the Soviet socialist republic of Turkmenistan was formed from the tsarist province of Transcaspia in 1924. After that, Turkmenistan had been staying as an intrinsic part of the Soviet Union for sixty-five consecutive years. Since 1987, following the Gorbachev policies of Glasnost and Perestroika, when the Baltic republics and Caucasus fiercely demanded independence from the Soviet Union, the leader of Turkmenistan initially supported the Soviet leader and consistently reaffirmed their commitment to the integrity of the USSR. The then leader of Turkmenistan, Saparmurad Niyazov also supported the August 1991 coup attempt against Moscow, but hurriedly backed down after the coup was defeated (Ahmed 1994). After that, Turkmenistan declared its independence from the USSR in October 1991. Since the independence, Turkmenistan has emerged arguably as the most authoritarian state in Central Asia (Sabol 2010). Niyazov, who won the presidential election in October

1990, under Soviet rule was re-elected in an uncontested vote in 1992. No opposition political party was allowed to take part in the election, adopting single party system by the Government. In 1995, Niyazov rule was extended through a state wide referendum. Eventually, in 1999, a new constitutional amendment was adopted that made Niyazov president for life. However after his sudden death in 2006, Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow succeeded him who is still the president of Turkmenistan.

2.13. Turkmenistan's Official Definitions of Terrorism

Like the other Central Asian States, Turkmenistan expresses its determination to carry on the war against terrorism and adopts various counter-terrorism measures to deal with this ongoing phenomenon. Being a full-fledged member of the United Nations, Turkmenistan strictly follows the norms and principles of the UN and plays an active role in the practical implementation of all the relevant resolutions including terrorism-related resolutions of the General Assembly and Security Council. This chapter collects the official definition of terrorism from the following two documents which have been adopted and implemented by the Government of Turkmenistan.

-Criminal Code of the Republic of Turkmenistan 1997

-Law of Turkmenistan on Fight Against Terrorism

The Criminal Code of Turkmenistan was adopted by the Mejlis of the Turkmenistan on June 12, 1997, which came into force on January 1, 1998. With changing time and circumstances, this code has been amended number of occasions to omits or adds words, lines and paragraph to maintain consistency and applicability of the code. The primary task of this code as mentioned in Article 2 is to establish the basis and the principles of criminal liability, to determine what socially dangerous acts are crimes, and to establish punishments and other measures of criminal and legal impact for their making (Criminal Code of Turkmenistan 1997). This code has provided a broad outline of terrorism by incorporating various articles that directly or indirectly deal with terrorism. The Criminal Code establishes criminal liability for various intentional acts of terrorist nature, some of which are “Terrorism” (271), “deliberately false information about a terrorist act” (art. 272) and “organisation of an illegal armed unit or participation in such a unit” (art. 273). Similarly “Banditry” (art. 274) “organisation of a

criminal association or participation in such an association” (art. 275), and hijacking or seizing an aircraft, boat or railway rolling stock (art. 277) are the other deliberate acts considered as a terrorist crime. Moreover the code includes some other acts such as “robbery” (art. 231) “extortion” (art. 232), kidnapping (art. 126), “seizure of hostages” (art. 130), and “sabotage” (art. 173) within the sphere of terrorist activity. (Report of Turkmenistan on the supplementary questions from the Counter-Terrorism Committee on measures to implement Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) (2003) UN Doc. S/2003/129,annex).

Article 271(Chapter 29) of the Criminal Code has defined terrorism as "Terrorism, that is, causing an explosion or fire or other acts that jeopardize human life, cause significant property damage or have other dangerous consequences for society, where those acts are committed to violating public security, cause panic or influence decision-making by government authorities, including the threat to commit such acts for those purposes" (Criminal Code of Turkmenistan 1997).

Further, this code directs three types of criminal liability against terrorist acts. Firstly, it prescribes punishments with imprisonment for a term of five to ten years for committing those acts as stated in the above definition (Article 271:1)

Secondly, if these same acts are repeatedly committed by a group of persons through prior agreement, with the “use of firearms”, then, the convicted shall be awarded “punishment with imprisonment for a term of eight to fifteen years” (Article 271:2)

Finally, this code has announced harsh punishment such as long-term imprisonment from ten to twenty-five years for the acts specified in first and second part of the article if it causes the death of a person (Article 271:3).

Law of Turkmenistan on Fight against Terrorism 2003

It is considered as the first basic law in the counter-terrorism field of Turkmenistan. It was adopted on August 15, 2003. This Act defines the legal and organisational basis for counteracting terrorism in Turkmenistan, “the modus operandi of and procedure for cooperation” among State agencies, organisations — irrespective of the form of ownership. It also determines “public associations in combating terrorism and the rights and duties of and safeguards for citizens on efforts to combat terrorism” (Report of Turkmenistan on the

supplementary questions from the Counter-Terrorism Committee on measures to implement Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) (2005) UN Doc.S/2005/213 Annexe).

Article 1 of this law contains description about certain terrorism-related terminologies such as 'terrorism', 'terrorist activity', 'terrorist organisation' 'act of terrorism' and so on. This law defines terrorism as- "policy and tactics of actions with the purpose to take over the power and to forcefully alter constitutional structure of society, violate public safety, intimidate population, create environment of chaos or impact decision-making process carried out by the authorities for the purpose of making decisions in favor of terrorists or to satisfy their unlawful proprietary and/or other interests" (Law of Turkmenistan on fight against terrorism 2003).

This law incorporates a long list of intentional acts within the definition of 'terrorist activity'. For example, the list has included the activities such as "the dissemination or advocacy of the ideology of terrorism"; "the organisation, planning, preparation and implementation of a terrorist act"; "incitement to a terrorist act" and so forth as terrorist acts. Moreover, the use of violence against individuals or organisations or destruction of property for terrorist purposes is enumerated as the terrorist activity in this law. In addition, this law has also placed some other activities such as the "organization of an illicit armed group", "criminal association" or organized group to carry out a terrorist act and also participation in such an action as well as "recruiting, arming, training and use of terrorists" within the terminology of terrorist activity (Law of the Turkmenistan on fight against terrorism 2003).

After clarifying the notions of 'terrorism' and 'terrorist activity,' the law has also criminalised an extensive number of intentional acts by describing these as 'the act of terrorism'. It contains acts such as "an explosion, arson, application of explosive devices, radioactive, chemical, biological, bacterial, explosive, toxic agents, potent, poisonous substances" and the other activities like "destruction, damage to or seizure of vehicles, material and other objects". Similarly, the "infringement on the life of the President of Turkmenistan, or some other state or public official, a representative of a national, ethnic, religious or some other group of population, representatives of foreign countries and the staff of international organizations entitled to international legal protection or diplomatic immunity as well as on premises or vehicles of such persons" are also considered as the crime of terrorist nature. Moreover, "taking hostage, kidnapping"; "creation of hazardous conditions for life, health or property for

an indefinite number of persons” by causing or threatening of causing anthropogenic accidents or by the distribution of threats in any form and by any means are some of the terrorist acts contained in the law. Finally, the notion 'act of terrorism' also incorporates some other actions which create hazardous conditions for life and health of people and damage property or some socially hazardous consequences within the purview of terrorist crime.

2.14. The Republic of Kazakhstan: A Brief Overview

Kazakhstan is the largest landlocked state in the world and territorially the second largest republic of the former Soviet Union. Along with a 6,477 km long border with the Russian Federation, 2,300 km with Uzbekistan, 1,460 km with China, 980 km with Kyrgyzstan and 379 km with Turkmenistan, Kazakhstan stretches across an area of approximately 2.7 million square kilometres, larger than the size of Western Europe (Dave 2007). But, interestingly, in comparison to its vast size, the population of Kazakhstan is only 17 million, just more than half of the Uzbekistan's total population. It was the only union republic in which the Slavs constituted a majority from the mid-1950s as a result of Tsarist colonial and Soviet-era developmental policies.

Since time immemorial, this vast territory with diverse climate and topography was populated by ethnic Kazakhs leading a nomadic way of life and adhering to a system of clan and tribal grouping. In the eighteenth century, when the political formations of the Kazakh tribes namely the Kazakh hordes suffered devastating attacks from the Kalmyks, they sought protection from the Russian crown and eventually became the part of the Tsarist rule. With the incorporation of hordes into the Russian empire, the contact between the Russians and Kazakhs intensified through rapidly expanding immigration of Slavs into the steppe territory, conquest, and other aspects of colonial rule (Akiner 2000; Cummings 2005; Olcott 2002: 59–60).

After the Great October Revolution of 1917, Soviet rule replaced the reign of the Russian tsars, and the Kazakh Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in 1925 as a result of the Bolsheviks' national delimitation of Central Asia. On December 5, 1936, Kazakhstan became a full union republic of USSR. After that, Kazakhstan underwent economic industrialisation, urbanisation, and integration into the Soviet Union's command economy and

military–industrial complex. It also experienced an intensive Russian acculturation and development of the Soviet mindset during that same period (Omelicheva 2011).

In the waning days of Soviet rule, the USSR witnessed what has been described as the "parade of sovereignties, " and the Kazakh Republic was one of the 41 constituent units of the Soviet Union that claimed sovereignty in 1991. Following the abortive uprising in Moscow in August 1991 that triggered the dissolution of the Soviet Union, Kazakhstan was the last republic of Soviet Union to proclaim independence on December 16, 1991. Bhavna Deve (2007) who visited Kazakhstan in 1992, has stated that the response of the inhabitants of Kazakhstan to the dramatic dissolution of USSR was mixed with widespread disorientation and anxiety. In contrast to the celebration of the dramatically gained independence of the country, the significant section of people along with the political elite was seen weeping for the sudden dissolution of the Soviet Union, with whom they led a century long journey. Some even expressed the possibility of civil war and ethnic conflicts due to its ethnic complication. It is noteworthy to state that Kazakhstan is the only republic in central Asia where the indigenous Kazakhs barely managed to be occupied the status of the largest ethnic groups in the region on the onset of independence. Regarding ethnicity, Kazakhstan is the home of more than 100 ethnic groups in which Kazakhs and Russian were occupied almost equal numeric strength during the Soviet era. Russian demographer Marash Tatimov reported that Russians and Kazakhs were equal at 39.5 percent each of the total population in 1985 (Ahmed 1994). However, the Census of 1999 has revealed a drastic reduction of Russian population down to 30 percent in comparison to ethnic Kazakhs showing the growth up to 53.4 percent. "Between 1989 and 1999, 1.5 million Russians and 500,000 Germans (more than half the German population) left Kazakhstan, causing concern over the loss of technical expertise provided by those groups during the Soviet period" (Library of Congress 2006).

With independence, Kazakhstan gained control over a substantial, albeit somewhat outdated, industrial sector. Unlike many other republics, it has contained considerable natural wealth that quickly pulled global attention. "Significant reserves of oil, gas, and minerals" combined with the Kazakh government's intelligent economic reforms contributed to the republic's economic recovery and subsequent economic growth (Cummings 2005: 3). Under the leadership of Nursultan Nazarbayev, who came to power in Kazakhstan in 1989 as the head of the

Republican branch of the Communist Party and became its first president in 1991 Kazakhstan implemented comprehensive market reforms and integrated the country into the global economy. In early 1990s Kazakhstan had to confront with large problems such as the potential for ethnic strife, a huge Russia population, environmental damage, nuclear weapons on its soil and long borders with other Central Asian states far more unstable than Kazakhstan. Nevertheless, Nazarbayev's acumen and integrity have brought a level of stability to Kazakhstan that even the most optimistic could not have hoped for (Ahmed1994). He has also succeeded in avoiding political instability that has plagued other nations in transition. Kazakhstan, “a multi-ethnic and poly-confessional state”, has fancied itself as a “model of religious tolerance, inter-faith dialogue, and a meeting place of various religions, cultures, and civilisations” (Omelicheva 2011). In this respect, Maratha Brill Olcott (2002) has stated that Kazakhstan is “the only Central Asian republic that does not recognise Muslim holidays or mention Islam in its constitution”, and Nazarbayev is the only Central Asian leader who has avoided drawing an express association between his republic and Islam.

2.15. An Outline of Terrorist Attacks in Kazakhstan

In the 1990s, the government of Kazakhstan had never considered radical Islam and terrorism as a grave security threat to the sovereignty and integrity of the state. Historically, Kazakhstan is regarded as the least fertile soil for the Islamic revivalism due to the nomadic lifestyle of the Kazakhs. Although the majority of the people belong to Sunni branch of Islam, they have been hardly seen as the stunt follower of Islamic law and prohibition. The deep contradictions between the pre-Islamic pagan tradition and the common law of the steppe i.e. Adat, which is being practised by the nomadic tribes since its beginning has made the Kazakhs nominal Muslim. Consequently, in the post-independent period, when the other CA states, more particularly, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan emerged as the epicentres of Islamic revivalism, Islam has made a less vigorous comeback in Kazakhstan (Ro'i 2000). In comparison to Uzbeks and Tajiks, who are historically dwelling in the sedentary areas, the nomadic Kazakhs are seemed to be less interested in registering and building mosques in Kazakhstan. The statistics have revealed that there were “six thousand mosques built in Uzbekistan in 1993, compared to 300 in 1989” (Yerekeshcheva 2004). Similarly, in Tajikistan, two thousand new mosques were opened during 1989-1991. On the other hand, in “Kazakhstan 1402 mosques were built toward

the late 1990s” (Yerekeshewa 2004). In short, the less developed religious infrastructure, the lack of influential clergy, as well as intellectual environment were less conducive to the emergence of radical Islam in Kazakhstan than other CA states (Omelicheva 2011).

However, since the beginning of 21st century, the government's earlier perception about religious extremism and terrorism has been seen taking a dramatic turn out. Since then, Kazakhstan leadership has consistently expressed considerable concern about the perceived ongoing threats posed by radical Islam and terrorism into the region. Simultaneously, the politician and security experts have also strengthened the government's embarrassment by defining this phenomenon as a serious threat to the security and stability of the region. After the 9/11 incident, “it has become common to hear that in Kazakhstan also there are certain conditions and factors that might become the precursor for the emergence of terrorism and extremism” (Kurganskaia 2002).

While enquiring the terrorist attacks occurred in Kazakhstan since its independence it is observed that Kazakhstan has barely experienced any major terrorist attack and has never been targeted by Islamic militants. An open source database of terrorist events namely the Global Terrorism Database (GTD), maintained by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism (START), has confirmed ten minor incidents occurred from 1992 to 2000 in Kazakhstan. Further, it has reported another 23 small incidents from 2001 to 2013 that included armed assaults, bombing/explosion, recovery of hidden explosive, hijacking and assassinations

(<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?search=Kazakhstan&sa.x=38&sa.y=8&sa=Search>). Although the total number of incidents of alleged terrorist nature is deemed to be high, only a total of 10 people were killed during the first eight years' period. Similarly, out of 23 incident took place during 2001 to 2013, only six people lost their life which can be considered minor in comparison to terrorism-prone countries of the world.

2.16. Kazakhstan's Official Definitions of Terrorism: An Overview

It has already noted that no serious terrorist activity has ever been carried out successfully by the Islamist terrorist groups in Kazakhstan, yet, the government assessment has often depicted a different quiet picture by projecting radical Islam and terrorism as a serious ongoing threat

to the national security and destabilising factor in the border. To deal with such grave security threat, Kazakhstan has adopted and implemented various counterterrorism mechanisms carefully observing its national security context. These counter-terrorism laws have reflected the government's perceptions on terrorism. The third chapter of this thesis has sought to provide a systematic analysis on how the official definitions of terrorism in CA states have been constructed and how the power politics is involved in shaping threat perception in the region. Hence sincere efforts have been invested in the present chapter to assemble the official definitions of terrorism in Kazakhstan. The statutes from where the legal notions on terrorism have been gathered are listed below.

Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating terrorism-1999

Criminal Code of Kazakhstan-1997

The Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism is the first legal law in Kazakhstan's counter-terrorism field. The law was enacted on July 13, 1999, and has been amended on February 19, 2002, by resolution no 295 II. The basic purpose of this law is to determine the legal and organisational basis of the fight against terrorism in the Republic of Kazakhstan. It also decides the procedure for Government bodies and organisations, regardless of the form Property, as well as “the rights, duties, and guarantees of citizens in connection with the Implementation of the fight against terrorism”. In the first chapter of this law, Article 1 has described the conception of terrorism in the following words-

"Terrorism is an unlawful criminal act or threat Commission against individuals or organizations for undermining public security, intimidating the population, providing influence on acceptance by the state bodies of the Republic Kazakhstan, foreign countries and international organizations of decisions or with a view to terminating activities of state or public figures, or from revenge for such Activity" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism 1999).

Further, the law has established an inclusive list of offences considered as terrorism crimes. The paragraph of the law that listed the activities of terrorist crime are pasted below-

"An act of terrorism - the commission or threat of an explosion, arson or other actions that create the danger of loss of life, causing Significant property damage or other offenses socially

dangerous consequences, if these actions are committed for violation of public security, intimidation of the population or impact on adoption by international organizations, as well as an encroachment on the life of a person committed for the same purposes, and equally an encroachment on the life of the state or public committed in order to stop his state or other political activity or out of revenge for such activities" (Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism 1999).

The panel code of Kazakhstan is another important legal document in the counter-terrorism field that has provided a definition of terrorism and has determined specific legal actions for various types of terrorist acts. This code was first adopted by the Parliament of Kazakhstan Republic on July 3, 1997. With changing time and circumstances, this code has been amended many times precisely in 2000, 2002, 2003, 2009, and 2014. The objectives of the code as stated in Article 3, are to protect rights and freedoms and legal interests of the person and the citizen, property, rights and legal interests of organisations. Similarly, maintaining "public order and security", "environment, constitutional order and territorial integrity of the Republic of Kazakhstan", "protecting the state from socially-dangerous infringement", "protection of peace and human security", as well as prevention of criminal infractions are the other significant objectives of the code (Article 3, The Panel Code of Kazakhstan).

Article 255 (Chapter 10), of the code has defined terrorism as "commission of an explosion, arson, or other actions causing the danger of human death, infliction of considerable material damage, or emergence of other consequences dangerous for the public, if these actions are committed for disrupting public safety, intimidating the population, or influencing decisions by state bodies of the Republic of Kazakhstan, by a foreign state or an international organization, also of provoking a war or complicating international relations, as well as threatening to commit such actions for the same purposes".

After defining terrorism, the code has suggested four types of punishments for committing terrorist activities depending on the severity of the crime.

Firstly, the code has recommended punishment of six to ten years with confiscation of property for those terrorist acts as specified in the definition of terrorism as mentioned above (Article 255:1)

Secondly, the code has noted that if the same acts (specified in the definition) are repeatedly committed by using a weapon which may cause a real danger to the life and health of citizens shall be punished by imprisonment of eight to twelve years with confiscation of property (Article 255:2).

Thirdly, the panel code of the Republic of Kazakhstan has prescribed long term imprisonment for the period of twelve to seventeen years with confiscation of property to the Acts specified in paragraphs one or two of this article. However, the convicts get the long term jail only if their acts commit or threat to commit “mass poisonings, spreading epidemics or epizootics, as well as other actions that may result in mass human death” (Article 255:3)

Finally, the code has established the highest penalties for the crimes regarding terrorist activities. According to this code, if an individual or an organised group commits an attempt upon life of an individual, a state or public figure or an individual enjoying international protection for “disrupting public safety, intimidating the population, or influencing decisions by state bodies”, then such convicts are subject to harsh punishment. This penalty may be the imprisonment of fifteen to twenty years or life imprisonment or capital punishment. The code has recommended same punishment for some other terrorist acts such as hostage-taking, occupation of buildings, installations, means of communication, hijacking or seizure of an aircraft or seacraft, or railway rolling stock, or another public transport if these acts are committed for the purpose as mentioned above (Article 255:4).

2.17. Conclusion

The objective of this chapter was two folded. Firstly, it sought to complete a careful investigation on the terrorism-related official documents of Central Asia to assemble the Central Asian states' legal definitions of terrorism. Secondly, a systematic effort was also pursued in this chapter to outline a brief history of terrorist attacks occurred in the post independent Central Asian states. Thus, from the description and analysis as presented in the whole chapter, it is clear that this chapter has collected a large number of relevant definitions and assumptions of terrorism contained in the selected twenty official documents of the Central Asian states. These definitions and assumptions of terrorism constitute the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse. Moreover, this chapter has provided all the relevant references

to analyse various strands of the "official stand on terrorism" discourse in Central Asia which has been analysed detailed in the next chapter of this thesis. Another important aspect of this chapter is that it has also sketched a precise overview of the terrorist incidents occurred in each of the post independent Central Asian states during 1992 to 2010 by using two popular open source database on global terrorism, namely, Global terrorism database and RAND database. The account of the terrorist incidents has considerably contributed to holding a comparative analysis between the construction and reality of the various strands of the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse that has been analysed detailed in the fourth chapter of this dissertation. By summing up, it can be said that this chapter has provided the raw materials for interpreting the discursive construction of the CA states' official stand on terrorism in chapter three of this thesis. At the same time, by providing a detailed account on the terrorist incidents happened in the CA states since independence, it has also provided data for sketching a comparative analysis between the construction and reality of the "CA states official stand on terrorism" discourse in the fourth chapter of this thesis.

Chapter 3: The Discursive Construction of the CA states' Official Stand on Terrorism: An Analysis

3.1. Introduction

In the previous chapter, a systematic effort was entrusted to provide a precise overview of the legal definitions of Terrorism in each of the Central Asian states. This chapter has focused on the use of language in constructing the 'official stand on terrorism' discourse in Central Asia by using the method of critical discourse analysis. In social theory and analysis, 'discourse' refers to different ways of structuring areas of knowledge and 'social practice.' Discourses are manifested in "particular ways of using language and other symbolic forms that do not just reflect or represent social entities and relations, they construct or 'constitute' them" (Fairclough 1992). Like Norman Fairclough, Ruth Wodak also suggests that discourse should be defined as 'social practice'. Further, they contend that "describing discourse as social practice implies a dialectical relationship between a particular discursive event and the situation, institution and social structure that frame it: the discursive event is shaped by them, but it also shapes them" (Wodak 1996).

Following Norman Fairclough, this research uses critical discourse analysis to take a coherent position on the significant question of language and reality in the construction of CA states' official stand on terrorism. Critical discourse analysis is "an interdisciplinary approach which is at once both a technique for analysing particular texts and speeches" as well as "a way of understanding the relations between discourse and social and political phenomena" (Jackson 2005). It aims to clarify the link "between texts and societal practices and structures or the linguistic-discursive dimension of social action" (Jorgensen and Phillips 2002). It gives prime focus on the use of language, because, language does not merely reflect reality, it constitutes it. As 'discourse' acts as the construction of meaning that contributes to the production, reproduction, and transformation of power relations in society, critical discourse analysis seeks to reveal the means by which language is used to maintain power (Baker-Beall 2011).

It should not forget that although the role of language is crucial to the notion of discourse, at the same time, social and political life is also equally important to the construction of discourse.

They are not reducible to language or linguistic analysis alone. “Discourses are constituted through distinct institutional and organisational practices. They make a discourse much broader than only the texts or words associated with language - they are what is called discursive practices” (Hodgson 2000). Foucault's own words, discursive practices are characterised by a "delimitation of a field of objects, the definition of a legitimate perspective for the agent of knowledge, and the fixing of norms for the elaboration of concepts and theories" (Baker-Beall 2010). In this regard, Roxanne Doty (1993) notes that a discursive practice cannot simply be traced to a firm and stable centre such as individual consciousness or a social collective. Instead, these discursive practices, which constitute both subjects and modes of subjectivity, are scattered or dispersed through various locales. That is why the notion of intertextuality is so important. Further, he explains as "texts always refer to other texts which themselves refer to still other texts. The power that is inherent in language is thus not something that is centralised, emanating from a pre-given subject. Rather, like the discursive practices in which it inheres, power is dispersed and, most important, is productive of subjects and their worlds"(Doty 1993). As such discursive practices provide a language for talking about something – such as the concepts, categories, metaphors, and analogies by which meanings are created – restricting what one can say on a subject. This restriction occurs because when considering certain social phenomena (such as terrorism) one is unable to think outside of a particular "regime of truth" that has been created through those discursive practices surrounding such phenomena. The power of discursive practices is inherent in the sense that not only one is unable to think outside of such practices; one also extend and sustain such an arrangement.

The "CA states' official stand on terrorism" discourse is more than just the sum of official definitions of terrorism contained within the terrorism-related official policy documents of the Central Asian states. Instead, it can be observed as an over-arching discourse on terrorism. It is a discourse that plays the vital role in the construction of what is considered to be terrorism and who is deemed to be a terrorist in the Central Asian region. It is a discourse which reveals a large number of social and political narratives that are being reproduced and reconstructed through the official definition of terrorism in Central Asia. It is a discourse that specifically contributes to constructing terrorism as the gravest threat to the regional and international security, and by doing this, it provides language for legitimising the robust government

response to fight against terrorism as a normal approach. Moreover, this discourse also constructs terrorism as a blanket terminology that can be misused as a means to suppress the voice of the opposition, anti-government forces as well as other human right organisations.

While analysing the definitions of terrorism incorporated in the official documents as outlined in the previous chapter, it is argued that the "CA official stand on terrorism" discourse reflects two main discourse strands. These two discourse strands are- the construction of terrorism as primarily a criminal act and terrorism as an act committed only by non-state actors. These strands have been analysed detailed thematically in this chapter. However, before elaborating these strands, it is noteworthy to mention that although the two discourse strands are analytically separable, in reality, the boundaries between each overlap. It is argued that when taken (or invoked) together they form a particular conceptualization of terrorism.

The first discourse strand is possibly the most familiar feature of the "CA states' official stand on terrorism" discourse. This strand constructs terrorism as primarily a "criminal act." It is observed that although the Central Asian countries define terrorism as a crime, there are certain aspects of this discourse strand that indicates something more than the mere definition of terrorism as a crime. One aspect is that in each of the Central Asian States terrorism is constructed as one of the gravest crime, rather than simply saying terrorism as a criminal act. They also create terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to security and stability of the state. Another aspect is that the CA states' terrorism-related official documents use emotive words, terms, phrases, and labels to describe the 'terrorist', thus constructing terrorism as more than just a criminal act. This discourse strand reflects the underlying identity constructions at work in the "official stand on terrorism" discourse. The second discourse strand constructs terrorism as an act that is committed by non-state actors against the state and its interests. It is argued that all the Central Asian States' perception of terrorism is state-centric. "The CA States' official stand on terrorism" discourse, therefore, tends to preclude the state from the label of 'terrorist'. This discourse strand also seeks to construct the state as the primary victim of terrorism, and by doing so, it delegitimizes the demands and goals of the terrorist groups. The next sections of the thesis have presented an analysis of these three discourse strands in a thematic manner.

3.2. The Discursive Construction of Terrorism as a Criminal Act through the Official Documents of the Central Asian States

While looking at the official documents related to terrorism and counteraction to terrorism, adopted and implemented by the Central Asian States, it is observed that there are many articles in these official documents that directly recognise terrorism primarily as 'criminal act'. These documents have not confined terrorism too simply as a criminal act. Instead, they have distinguished terrorism from the categories of petty, average grave and grave crime and have placed terrorism as the 'special grave crime'. If the official documents elaborated in the previous chapter are analysed in country wise, it is observed that Uzbekistan, who always portrays itself as the severe victim of terrorism, constructs terrorism primarily as 'criminal act'. For example, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan (1994) has declared terrorism as a crime against "peace and humanity" (Chapter 8, Article 155). The language of the code concerning terrorism is such that it doesn't present terrorism simply as a crime. Beyond it, the code constructs terrorism as one of the gravest crime as well as one of the most dangerous threats to peace and humanity by prescribing punishments for specific terrorist acts with imprisonment up to 20 years or capital punishment (Article 155:4). Such long-term imprisonment or the capital punishment is established by the code only for those crimes which are recognised as "especially serious crime". In this regard, it is important to note that the law has defined 'crime' as "culpable socially dangerous act". Further, it has divided crime with "insignificant social danger; less serious; serious; and especially serious depending on the grounds of character and degree of the crime" (Article 14, 15, Criminal Code of the Republic of Uzbekistan 1994). Moreover, the code has also criminalised a long list of intentional acts by incorporating them within the framework of terrorist actions. Similarly, the law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism (2000) has also used the same language and has constructed terrorism as 'criminal acts' (Article 2).

The discursive construction of terrorism as the criminal offence has also been identified in the official documents of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan. For example, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan (1997) has broadly outlined terrorism and counterterrorism measures. Like Uzbekistan criminal code, this code also describes terrorism as 'criminal act' by containing terrorism under the category of crime against "public security and order" (Chapter

8, Article 226). One of the important aspects of this discourse strand i.e. construction of terrorism as one of the gravest threat to the security of the state has been presented in Article 226:3 of this code. This article inflicts punishment with imprisonment for fifteen to twenty years for certain terrorist acts. Such kind of harsh punishment can be imposed only for committing "particularly severe crime" (Article 13, Criminal Code of Kyrgyz Republic 1997). It is significant to note that the Criminal Code of Kyrgyz Republic has classified the crime into four categories based on the nature and gravity of the offence. These are- petty crime; less severe crime; grave crime and particularly severe crime. The social construction of terrorism as the criminal act has been sketched in this code by defining crime as "socially dangerous act" (Article 9). The building of this discourse strand has been further reinforced by another policy documents of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan, namely Law on Counteraction to Terrorism, 2006. This law also reaffirms the construction of terrorism as criminal act by defining terrorism as "unlawful panel action committed with the view to violate public security.... and to achieve other social political and religious goals" (Article 1). Further, this law compiles an extensive list of deliberate acts and defines them as a terrorist crime.

Tajikistan, the only country in Central Asia stormed by horrific civil war is another good example that constructs terrorism as 'criminal act'. Experiencing, six years of political turmoil and consistent violence, the authority of the Tajikistan is seen envisaging terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the sovereignty and stability of the state. Their concern about terrorism is revealed in the legal statutes of the Republic. For example, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Tajikistan 1998 has identified terrorism as 'criminal act' by incorporating terrorism under the heading of "crime against public security and health of the population" (Chapter 8). The official documents of Tajikistan also construct terrorism as one of the gravest crime against public security, rather than just stating it as a criminal act. The code has provided four folded division of the offence by the nature and degree of the crime and has constructed terrorism as the gravest crime by categorising it as "especially grievous crime" (Article 18, Criminal Code of the Republic of Tajikistan 1998). Further, the social construction of this discourse strand is reflected in the language of Article 17 of the same code which constructs terrorism as a socially dangerous act by defining crime as "socially dangerous act". Another statute of the Republic namely the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combating Terrorism 1999 has further strengthened this social construction. This law has defined terrorism as

"violence or the threat of violence against individuals, compulsion or threat of compulsion against legal entities.... that threaten to cause loss of life, significant damage to property, or 'other socially dangerous consequences'...." (Article 3, Law on Combating Terrorism 1999). This law also constructs terrorism as a crime by stating that "terrorist crimes are crime contained by Articles 179-182; 185; 187; 310 and 402 of the Republic of Tajikistan Criminal Code" (Article 4)

The careful investigation of the terrorism-related documents of the Republic of Kazakhstan has demonstrated that though unlike Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Kazakhstan is known for its less suppressive and moderate counter-terrorism mechanism, this country is also not an exception regarding the discursive construction of terrorism as 'criminal act'. In the previous chapter, the "official stand on terrorism" discourse has analysed two official documents of the Republic of Kazakhstan for investigating the existence of various discourse strands. After examining these documents, it is argued that Kazakhstan has also followed the similar approach to other central Asian states regarding the construction of terrorism as a criminal act. For example, the Penal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan 1997 represents this discourse strand. This code establishes a division between crime and criminal offence and places terrorism under the categories of crime against "public security and public order". Like the other Central Asian states as noted above, Kazakhstan makes an apparent attempt to construct terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats. It has been done by inflicting punishment for particular terrorist acts with "imprisonment from fifteen to twenty years, or life imprisonment or capital punishment" (Article 255:4, the Penal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan 1997). This code directs such kind of draconian sentences only for those criminal infractions which are identified as "especially grave crimes". In this context, it is significant that this code has divided crimes with "crimes of little gravity, crimes of average gravity, grievous crime and especially grave crimes depending on the nature and level of social danger". It has constructed terrorism as "especially grave crime" (Article 11:1, the Penal Code of the Republic of Kazakhstan 1997). Thus, this code does not include terrorism simply as a criminal act. Instead, it reflects the tendency of constructing terrorism as one of the gravest crime. Moreover, the Code also affirms the social construction of this discourse strand by defining crime as "committed guilty socially dangerous action" (Article 10). Thus, defining 'crime' as socially dangerous act and then identifying 'terrorism' as 'especially grave crime', the code reflects the

tendency to delegitimize the social acceptance of the terrorist goal. Another important counter-terrorism policy document of Kazakhstan that constructs this discourse strand is the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism 1999. This law has reaffirmed this discourse strand by defining terrorism as an "unlawful criminal act" (Article 1). Moreover, this law criminalises a significant number of intentional acts with the help of containing all these acts under the terminology of 'terrorist crime'. In a nutshell, it can be argued that the official documents of the Republic of Kazakhstan are.....regarding the discursive construction of terrorism as criminal act.

The first discursive strand, that is, 'terrorism as a criminal act', structured from the "CA states official definition of terrorism" discourse is also perceived in the official documents of the republic of Turkmenistan. Despite being an isolated entity who are consistently adhering permanent neutrality in maintaining foreign relations with the rest of the world since 1995, Turkmenistan has never experienced any severe terrorist attack in the post-independence period. After analysing the official documents that deal with terrorism and counterterrorism measures, this thesis argues that Turkmenistan also demonstrates the same instincts as like as the other CA states in discursively constructing terrorism as a criminal act. For example, in some extent, the Criminal Code of Turkmenistan 1997 echoes this discourse strand that describes terrorism as a criminal act. This code places terrorism under the category of "crime against public security and public order" (Chapter 29, Criminal Code of the Republic of Turkmenistan 1997). Moreover, this code also demonstrates terrorism as one of the gravest crime by establishing punitive punishment such as long-term imprisonment ranging from five to twenty-five years for committing specific terrorist actions. This code further distinguishes terrorism from law grave, middle grave, and serious crime and recognises terrorism as 'especially serious crime'. Another significant counter-terrorism policy document of Turkmenistan that reflects this discourse strand is the Law of Turkmenistan on the fight against terrorism 2003. This law has structured terrorism as a criminal act by defining 'act of terrorism' as "the actual perpetration of the crime of terrorist nature". Besides, this statute reinforces this discourse strand through including an extensive list of intentional acts within the terminology of terrorist crime. Similarly, the social construction of this discourse strand has been observed in Article 1:4 of this code that defines terrorism as offences that create some 'socially hazardous consequences'.

The analysis as presented above has clarified various aspects of the first discourse strand that constructs terrorism as a criminal act. Firstly, the study has shown that all the CA states have recognised terrorism as "especially grave/serious crime". It establishes one significant aspect of this discourse strand which argues that in Central Asia terrorism is not stated simply as a criminal act, instead, it is constructed as one of the gravest crime. Secondly, it can be argued that the Central Asian countries have also constructed terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the state. Because, all other Central Asian States except Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan have inflicted capital punishment, the highest legal actions for committing some particular terrorist acts. Similarly, though Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan do not recommend the death penalty for the terrorist crime, at the same time both the countries have inflicted long-term imprisonment for a period up to twenty to twenty-five years for committing particular terrorist acts. Finally, this analysis reflects the Central Asian states' social construction of terrorism as a criminal act. Terrorism is not an otherworldly phenomenon created and brought up by the alien. It is a phenomenon inseparably associated with the social practice. It can be said that terrorism emerges out of the barrel of deep trodden societal dissatisfaction. Every terrorist organisation must have certain larger social, political or religious goals for which they do work consistently. Thus, the terrorist organisation inherently acquires some inspiration and support from the society, although it practices violent means to achieve the desired goal. Another important thing is that although the method of terrorism for achieving objectives cannot be accepted, some of their demands and more particularly the social political and economic context in which a group of young individual chooses to adopt terrorism as an appropriate means for fulfilling their long waited dreams cannot be easily thrown away. However, in Central Asia, terrorism is constructed as socially dangerous act. By doing so, the Central Asian states has negated the social acceptance of the terrorist organisation. Besides, it has delegitimized the demands of the terrorist organisation and has also neglected the fragile socio-political, economic and religious context which directly or indirectly instigate citizen to form and join a terrorist group.

3.3. Use of Emotive Words in the Discursive Construction of Terrorism

Another important aspect of the construction of this first discourse strand is that it uses emotive languages to describe terrorist acts and terrorist. The use of this language plays a vital role in

projecting terrorism as something more than simply a criminal act. It constructs terrorism as inimical to the constitutional principles and values of the Central Asian states. Thus, by using emotive language, the Central Asian countries seeking to form a distinct identity of terrorism which is defined as opposite to the self-defined Central Asian identity. While looking at the official documents of the Central Asian states, it is observed that these documents contain many emotive and derogative words to describe terrorist actions and terrorist. For example, in a report submitted to the UN security council, namely, Report by the Kyrgyz Republic to the Counter-Terrorism Committee established pursuant to paragraph 6 of Security Council resolution 1373 (2001) the Republic of Kyrgyzstan describes terrorism as "evil", "barbaric" and "a threat to international security". Similarly, in the Report of the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan on the implementation of Security Council resolution 1373 of 28 September 2001 concerning counter-terrorism (2002) Tajikistan also uses derogative words by stating terrorist act as "being in blatant defiance of progressive humanity", "scourge", "barbaric" etc. Moreover, this documents also condemned the September 11 terrorist attack with following words- "unprecedented, cruel and inhumane". The use of emotive language in denouncing terrorism and terrorist acts are widely seen in the speeches and statements delivered by the Central Asian leaders. Islam Karimov, the founding president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, is the most prominent regarding it. In his address at the Euro-Atlantic Partnership Prague Summit held on November 22, 2002, Karimov described terrorism as "the most dangerous challenge to the contemporary civilisation". He also used some other emotive language such as "deadly", "inhumane", "monstrous" etc. to describe terrorist threat (<http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2002/s021122a.htm>).

Just after a series of six car bombing in Tashkent in February 1999, Islam Karimov, the then president of the Republic of Uzbekistan, without mentioning the word 'terrorism' or 'terrorist', expressed his response in the following words-"I'm prepared to rip off the heads of 200 people, to sacrifice their lives, in order to save peace and calm in the Republic" (<http://stockquotesnow.com/blog/islamkarimovuzbekistanstrongmanwhoexploitedantiterrorfightdiesat78washingtonpost/>). Another notable example of describing terrorism with emotive words by the Uzbek authority is contained in the UN official document. Addressing the fifty-sixth UN General Assembly session, Abdulaziz Kamilov, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan coined terrorism and drug trafficking as "the principal threats to the present and

future of humankind". In the same speech, he described terrorism as "a plague of the twenty-first century that can enter any household" (United Nations General Assembly fifty-sixth session (2001), UN Doc. A/56/PV.54 annexe). The use of similar kind of language is very much prevalent in other Central Asian states. For example, addressing the United Nations General Assembly Debate, the President of Tajikistan Emomali Rakhmonov dismissed the ideological base of terrorism by noting "international terrorism has no ideology, nation or homeland". In the same speech, he also described terrorism as "crimes", committed by "cruel", "merciless people" "who are driven by the lust for power and personal gain, people who have nothing to do with the holy religion of the world's Muslims" (Address by Mr. Emomali Rakhmonov, President of the Republic of Tajikistan, United Nations General Assembly fifty-eight session (2003), UN Doc. A/58/PV.17). The authority of the Kazakhstan is often observed very conscious in using such derogative words to describe terrorism, yet, one statement of the Kazakhstan authority can be taken into account. Addressing the United Nations General Assembly, Ms Madina Jarbussynova, Chairperson of the delegation of Kazakhstan remarked the September 11 incident as the "world's most terrible terrorist attacks".

The above analysis has reflected that the Central Asian states, more particularly Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Kyrgyzstan have used various emotive words in the terrorism-related official documents to describe terrorism and terrorist themselves. Besides the official statutes, the leaders of these Central Asian states also have expressed terrorism using derogative words on various occasions. Such type emotive language is used to construct a distinct, monster-like identity of terrorism and terrorist which is opposite to the self-defined liberal, democratic, secular identity of the state.

However, while analysing the discursive construction of terrorism as a crime, it is significant to note that by discursively constructing terrorism as a crime, the Central Asian states' official documents have placed terrorism within the criminal justice framework. The CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse constructs a reality in which the laws treat terrorists as criminals, and direct to establish justice for the victims of terrorism by holding those accountable for acts of terrorism to account in a court of law. By constructing terrorism as primarily a criminal act, the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse brings terrorism-related crime into an established legal domain and seeks to avoid the worst excesses of war based narratives. In this

context, it is noteworthy to state that a war-based narrative is used to “allow the state for the legitimization of counteraction policies that include preemptive military strikes, coercive interrogation and extraordinary rendition” (Baker-Beall 2010).

Although the construction of terrorism as primarily a criminal act helps to avoid the worst excesses of a war-based narrative, it should not forget that there is something unique about acts of terrorism that differentiate it from other criminal offences. The first and foremost characteristics of terrorism which differentiate terrorism from other types of crime (such as rape, drug trafficking, murder, etc.) is the political dimension to the terrorist's behaviour. As John Horgan states "generally speaking, what we think of terrorism involves the use or threat of use of violence as a means of attempting to achieve some effect within a political context" (Horgan 2005). This statement is one that is supported by Bruce Hoffman. He is of the opinion that the difference between a "criminal" and a "terrorist" is quite substantial. The underlying intention of the criminal is not to influence public opinion, he/she just seeks to fulfil his/her mercenary task most quickly and easily to "enjoy the fruits of his [or her] labour". On the contrary, a terrorist aims to "change the system", a goal which the ordinary criminal could not care less about (Hoffman 2005). Thus, the application of the term terrorist should always be understood within the political context of which it is being used.

For example, Charles Townshend (2002) in his book, "Terrorism A Very Short Introduction" argues that the complexity of finding an appropriate definition of terrorism arises because of the problem of labelling. He is the view that "terrorist" is a description that has almost never been voluntarily adopted by an individual or group. It is a label that is exerted to them by others, first and foremost by the governments of the states they attack. Further, he contends that this explains why "states have not been slow to brand violent opponents with the title of terrorism, with its clear implications of inhumanity, criminality, and – perhaps most crucially – lack of real political support" (Townshend 2002). It is an argument underpinned by Michael Stohl who has pointed out that the narrative that constructs terrorism as "the activity of criminals" can also be interpreted as “a myth related to the psychological explanations of terrorism, which is subscribed to and promoted by virtually all governments” (Stohl 2008). For Stohl, the purpose of this myth is to deny the 'legitimacy' of the insurgents by placing their actions outside of the political process and projecting that they are actually for personal rather

than political gain. This argument does not mean that terrorism should never be defined as a criminal act. But, when governments define who and what is terrorist and terrorism, the application of the label criminal can serve to delegitimize the actions of groups or individuals who are engaged in what may be acceptable or legitimate dissent.

3.4. Summarising the Discursive Construction of Terrorism as Crime

From the analysis as sketched above, it has been seen that the first discourse strand that constructs terrorism as criminal act comprises two important aspects. The first important aspect of this discourse strand structures terrorism as one of the gravest crime and as one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the Central Asian states. Though the discursive construction of terrorism as crime helps to avoid worst access of war based narrative, this does not mean that it is without consequence. Instead, the other discourse strand, analysed in greater detail below, has exempted state from the label of 'terrorist' by structuring terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. This strand is underpinned by an assumption that a state cannot be accounted as a perpetrator of a terrorist act, as defined by the CA states official stand on terrorism discourse. Describing terrorism as a criminal act, both socially and legally, institutionalises this discourse strand and reaffirms the notion that the state cannot be guilty of an act of terrorism. However, this discourse strand is but one of many alternative interpretations that are possible

The second important aspect of this discourse strand is that the official documents and the leaders of the Central Asian states have used emotive words to describe the phenomenon of terrorism and terrorist themselves. By using such emotive words, the Central Asian states seeking to form a distinct identity of terrorism, an identity, that constructs monster like reputation to the terrorist and the terrorist organisation.

3.5. Terrorism as an Act Perpetrated Solely by Non-State Actors

The second strand of the discourse has contributed to a particular conceptualization of terrorism in Central Asia which constructs terrorism as primarily an act committed by non-state actors. As such, the CA states official stand on terrorism discourse holds a state-centric bias. Because, in the process of constructing terrorism as an act perpetrated primarily by

individuals or groups, it simultaneously negates the possibility that terrorism can also be an act that is committed by the state. It is one of the more distinct discourse strands that can be identified within the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse. This state-centric bias should be considered unsurprising. Because, after obtaining unexpected independence from the former Soviet Union, each of the newly independent Central Asian states is seen consistently focusing on the sovereignty and integrity of the state. In this section, it argues that this discourse strand is constructed: first, through a frequent reference to sub-state actors as the main terrorist threat to the Central Asian states and second, by denying space within the discourse for defining and analysing acts of state terrorism. The discourse also emphasizes the threat posed by state-sponsored terrorism. There are several illustrations of how this strand of the discourse is constructed throughout the production of counter-terrorism policy of the Central Asia, which shall be drawn out in the next section.

3.6. The Discursive Construction of Terrorism as Non-State through the Terrorism Related Official Documents of the Central Asian States

While observing the official records of each of the Central Asian countries which primarily deal with the phenomenon of terrorism and terrorism-related criminal infractions, it is noticed that these documents represent the state-centric bias by structuring terrorism as an act perpetrated primarily by non-state actors. These documents have defined terrorism as an act committed by only a group of individuals with prior agreement or an organised group. Moreover, these documents also describe terrorism as those criminal acts which cause danger to the sovereignty, territorial integrity and public security of the State. By doing so, they rule out the possibility of involving the state in the perpetration of any terrorist act. If the official documents, which have been selected for analysis are studied carefully in country wise, then numerous examples are found that reflects the discursive construction of terrorism as non-state. For example, the Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism (2000), has defined "terrorist group" as "a group of persons, who committed according to prearranged plan of a terrorist action, preparation of terrorist action or attempt of its committing". This law has defined "terrorist organisation" as "stable association of two or more persons or terrorist groups with the intention to conduct terrorist activity" (Article 2, Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000). Both these definitions describe terrorism as an act committed

by "a group of persons". The non-state nature of the terrorist act has been reaffirmed in the definition of terrorism contained in this law. This law defines terrorism as "violence, threat of violence or other criminal acts...to violate sovereignty, territorial integrity, to undermine security of the state...To reach political, religious, ideological and other aims (Article 2, Law of the Republic of Uzbekistan on Combat of Terrorism 2000)". By defining terrorism as an act committed to violating sovereignty, territorial integrity and security of the State, the law has directly discarded the perspective that assumes the state as the potential perpetrator of the terrorist act.

The discursive construction of terrorism as an act committed by the non-state actors has been exemplified in the terrorism-related official documents of the Republic of Tajikistan. For example, the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Combating Terrorism 1999 has clarified the notion of "terrorist group" as "a group of persons united with an aim to carrying out terrorist activity". It has defined "terrorist organisation as "is an organisation created to carrying out a terrorist activity or considering the use of terrorism possible in its activity". This law also rules out the involvement of the state in a terrorist act by describing it as an act of "a united group of persons" (Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Combating Terrorism 1999). Moreover, this discourse strand has been further reinforced in the definition of terrorism incorporated in this law. This law has defined terrorism as "the violence or threat of violence, compulsion or threat of compulsion against legal entities... to weaken the foundation of the constitutional order and security of the state or to ending the state or other political activity" (the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan on Combating Terrorism 1999). The words as mentioned in the definition such as "legal entities", "security of the state" have nullified the possibility of perpetrating terrorist attack by the State. By doing this, this document of Tajikistan has reflected the state-centric bias in the construction of the concept of terrorism in the region.

While enquiring the terrorism-related official documents of the Kyrgyz Republic, it is argued that the republic of Kyrgyzstan is also not an exception regarding the discursive construction of terrorism as an act committed by non-state actors. For example, the Criminal Code of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan has demonstrated this discourse strand by defining terrorism as "the perpetration of an explosion, arson, or any other action... if these actions have been committed for violence of public security or exerting influence on decision making by governmental

bodies..." (Criminal Code of Kyrgyzstan 1997). Similarly, the Law of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan on Combating Terrorism (1999) has also revealed the same by stating "terrorist" as "a person participating in the performance of terrorist activities of any type". The identification of the "terrorist" directly as "a person" has reflected the tendency of exempting institutional entity such as state from branding the terrorist label.

The strand of discourse that discursively constructing terrorism as non-state has also been echoed in the official terrorism-related documents of Kazakhstan. Like other Central Asian states, Kazakhstan has adopted a state-centric conception of terrorism and has discarded the probability of the states as the perpetrator of the terrorist act. This state-centric bias has been shown in the Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on Combating Terrorism 1999 which defines "terrorist" as a "person" who participates in terrorist activities. The use of the word "person" clearly rules out the existence of "state" which belongs to the category of institution. Moreover, the criminal code of Kazakhstan has further reaffirmed this discourse strand by defining terrorism as "commission of an explosion, arson, or other actions which are committed to influencing the decisions made by government bodies"(Law of the Republic of Kazakhstan on combating terrorism 2000). The words "decision made by government bodies" points out the non-state nature of the terrorist act.

Finally, the Republic of Turkmenistan has also demonstrated a state-centric view of terrorism in the existing terrorism-related official documents of the state. The discursive construction of terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors has been demonstrated in the Law of Turkmenistan in the fight against terrorism 2003. This law has defined terrorism as "policy and tactics of actions with the purpose to take over the power and to alter constitutional structure of society forcefully.... create environment of chaos or impact decision-making process carried out by the authorities for the purpose of making decisions in favor of terrorists or to satisfy their unlawful proprietary and/or other interests" (Law of Turkmenistan on the fight against terrorism 2003). In this definition, the term "authorities" refers to the legitimate authority of the state. This definition shows that state is always a victim of terrorism but never be a perpetrator of terrorism. Moreover, this law also defines the term "terrorist" as "a person" participating in the implementation of the terrorist activity in any form. By identifying a terrorist as a person, it rules out the assumption that sometimes, institution, like state also may

commit a terrorist act. After analysing the terrorism-related official documents in Central Asia, it can be argued that each of the Central Asian states has categorically demonstrated the tendency of excluding the state from the terrorist label and has constructed terrorist act perpetrated exclusively by the non-state actors. In other words, it can be said that all the central Asian states deny the concept of state terrorism or state sponsor terrorism.

3.7. Constructing the State as Victim

What is clear from analysing the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse is that it constructs terrorism as an act of political violence primarily carried out by sub-state actors (individuals or groups) against the state. In this regard, Richard Jackson has argued that within the counter-terrorism policy discourse "terrorism is understood very narrowly as referring primarily to forms of illegitimate violence committed by individuals and small groups, and not as a severe form of governance or counterinsurgency by state actors" (Jackson 2007). It is argued that the discursive construction of terrorism as an act of non-state is based on a narrow understanding of the concept of terrorism. Jackson has aptly stated that in the first instance the policy discourse ignores or fails to acknowledge the problem of state terrorism. He further contends that if one understands terrorism as "violence directed towards or threatened against civilians designed to instil terror or intimidate a population for political reasons, then it can be argued that state terrorism is arguably a much greater security issue than dissident or non-state terrorism" (Jackson 2007). It is argued that this narrow conceptualization of terrorism significantly contributes in constructing or conditioning the type of policy responses adopted and executed for combating terrorism. Regarding the very existence and degree of state terrorism, Michael Stohl (2008) rightly quotes "it remains the case that the most persistent and successful use of terror both in the past and the modern era has been demonstrated by governments to create, maintaining, and imposing order".

3.8. Morality and the De-legitimization of the 'Terrorist.'

The construction of the state as the primary victim of terrorism, within the policy discourse, also serves to delegitimize the actions of the "terrorist". It can be partly explained by the fact that "to accept under any circumstances the use of terrorism as a tactic for furthering political goals would challenge the state's monopoly on the use of violence" (Baker- Beall 2010). It

would also pose a threat to the sovereignty of the state through a demonstration that it can no longer guarantee the basic security of its citizens. The official stand on terrorism discourse constructs terrorism as a challenge to the fundamentals of the political and social order, to certain morals and principles that the constitutions of the Central Asian states seek to defend. In his discussion of the ills of terrorism, Primoratz has argued that it is true that "terrorism challenges some of the fundamental moral beliefs and rides roughshod over some highly important moral distinctions. Therefore, opposition to terrorism can and indeed should be motivated, above all, by moral concern" (Primoratz 2004). However, this is not the only condition required for holding the moral high ground; the other is moral standing. As Primoratz points out, "a murderer would not have the moral standing to condemn murder or opine on the sanctity of life". Therefore, by the same token, "a state which has made use of terrorism, or sponsored it, or condoned it, or supported governments that have done any of the above – in a word, a state which has itself been involved in or with terrorism to any significant degree – lacks the moral standing required for bona fide moral criticism of terrorism" (Primoratz 2004).

From the analysis above it can be argued that the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse covers a state-centric bias. The discourse constructs terrorism as primarily an act perpetrated by sub-state actors (individuals or groups) against the state and its interests. Although the terrorism-related official documents of each of the Central Asian countries incorporates many references to what terrorism is considered to be, there is no attempt to engage with or define the concept of state-terrorism. In the words of Duvall and Stohl, "states in general only enact the term "terrorism" to label the repugnant and/or violent actions of designated "bad actors". Simultaneously "they collapse conceptual boundaries by failing to refer to the term when actions satisfy denotative criteria, but the actors or the context of the actions do not engender the appropriate emotional response" (1988).

3.9. Summary

In this chapter, the main focus was assigned to identify and analyse the main strands of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse. After examining the selected terrorism-related official documents of the Central Asian countries, this chapter firstly identified two main strands that together constitute the "official stand on terrorism" discourse in Central Asia.

These two discourse strands are- terrorism as primarily a criminal act and terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. Here, a moderate and continuous effort was made to demonstrate how these two strands of discourse conceptualise terrorism and construct the distinct identity of the terrorist in the Central Asian states.

The first discourse strand as analysed in the early section of this chapter has conceptualised terrorism primarily as a criminal act. But, it has not confined to describe terrorism simply as a criminal act. The two significant aspects which constitute this discourse strand have demonstrated that terrorism is something more than simply a criminal act. The first aspect of this strand has discursively constructed terrorism not just a criminal act, but as the “particularly serious crime” and as one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the state. The second aspect of this strand of the CA states’ “official stand on terrorism” discourse is that it uses emotive language to describe terrorism and terrorist that constructs terrorism not simply as a crime but as the most heinous, brutal and inhumane crime. The use of emotive language to denote terrorism has also formed a distinct, monstrous like identity of the terrorist opposite to the self-proclaimed secular, liberal, democratic identity of the Central Asian states. By denouncing terrorism as heinous, deadly, inhumane and so on, this discourse strand of the official stand on terrorism has delegitimised all the demands of the terrorist groups, a few of which may have reasonability and social acceptance.

The second discourse strand as analysed in the later part of this chapter has structured terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. The Central Asian States, more particularly Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan are often blamed by the International Human Rights organisations for their alleged wide ranging repression and ruthless violence against the political opponents, violent, non-violent radical Islamic groups as well as the terrorist groups. The use of such kind of indiscriminate violence and repression upon the democratic political opponents and the nonviolent radical religious groups by the state can be termed equivalent to terrorist activities. But, the Central Asian States’ official stand on terrorism discourse has discarded the concept of state terrorism and state-sponsor terrorism. Instead of it, the terrorism related official documents of the Central Asia have demonstrated the strong tendency of excluding the state from the label of terrorist. It has constructed state as the constant victim of the terrorism, but never be the perpetrator of the terrorist act. By affirming the state as the

primary victim of terrorism, this discourse strand has also recognised state's monopoly on the legitimate use of violence and has legitimised the states' harsh response to the terrorist actions. The above analysis indicates that the official stand on terrorism in Central Asia is suffered from state-centric bias. By summing up, it has been observed that the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse has constructed terrorism as the gravest crime and one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the state, which is perpetrated solely by non-state actors.

Chapter 4: The Construction and Reality of the Official stand on Terrorism Discourse: An Evaluation

4.1. Introduction

The third chapter of the dissertation put forward an argument that the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse was constituted by two discourse strands. The first strand of the discourse constructed terrorism as the gravest criminal offence and one of the most dangerous threats to Central Asian security and stability. The second discourse strand precluded the state from the defamation of 'terrorist' tag by affirming terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. In this chapter, an important focus has been dispensed to clarify the two principal research questions of this dissertation. Firstly, it has made a systematic effort to enquire whether the discursive construction on terrorism in Central Asia reflects the reality or not. This careful investigation covers two interrelated questions- Can terrorism be considered as one of the most dangerous threats to the security and stability of the Central Asian states? Is it reasonable and accurate to exclude the state from the list of the perpetrator of a terrorist act in Central Asia?

Secondly, this chapter has also depicted a brief description of how the authoritarian rulers of the Central Asian states have often used 'terrorism' as a weapon to suppress and crack down the voices of the political opponents, religious groups, human rights organisations and the right concern ordinary citizens of the states. The following section has imparted a comparative analysis on the construction and reality of the official stand on terrorism discourse in Central Asia by critically investigating the reasonability and accuracy of the discursive construction and its real existence in the society.

4.2. Discursive construction of terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats and the Reality

It has already been analysed detailed in chapter three of this dissertation that the CA states' official stand on terrorism discourse has structured terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the country's security and stability. The twenty selected terrorism-related official

documents, as used in this dissertation to understand and analyse official stand on terrorism have vigorously reflected this discourse strand. These statutes have recognised terrorism as the "especially serious/grave crime" and have directed harsh punishment such as long-term imprisonment with confiscation property and so on. Some Central Asian states have even prescribed the highest sentence, i.e. the capital punishment for committing particular terrorist acts. The incorporation of terrorism under the category of "public order and security", the recognition of terrorism as the "especially serious or grave crime" and the establishment of harsh punishment for it apparently indicates that the Central Asian states have considered terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats. The speeches and statements of the Central Asian authorities on terrorism in different occasions as cited in the previous chapter have also re-enforced this assumption. For example, Islam Karimov, the founding president of the Republic of Uzbekistan till his death in September 2016 had been continuously portraying terrorism as the most dangerous threat to the state's stability and security. After the September 11 terrorist attack in the US, the other Central Asian countries like Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan have also been echoing the similar tune of Islam Karimov by demonstrating terrorism as one of the gravest threat to the Central Asia security. Instead of the official projection and proclamation on the gravity of the terrorist threat, a considerable number of international non-governmental human rights organisations such as the "Human Rights Watch (HRW)", "the International Crisis Group (ICG)", etc. are seen depicting a different picture regarding it. The reports based on extensive research and rigorous field study published by these organisations have negated the Central Asian government's claim on terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the State's security and stability (For example World Report 2016, US Department of States' Annual Country report on Terrorism and so on). Similarly, many Central Asian experts such as Mariya Y. Omelicheva, Vitaly V. Naumkin, David Lewis, Sarah Lane, Stuart Horsman, etc. have also reaffirmed the depiction of these organisations by arguing that the Central Asian states to a large extent have exaggerated the gravity of the threat posed by terrorism. This chapter has made a modest effort to deal with the question of the threat perception of the Central Asian States on terrorism by using two popular open source data on global terrorist incidents namely, Global Terrorism Database and RAND database.

The detailed study of the overall terrorist incidents occurred in a state during a given period may be used as a useful method to measure the gravity of the threat posed by terrorism to that

particular state. This study includes various essential information about such incidents such as the number of events, the name of the perpetrators, number of fatalities and injuries, etc. To decide whether the threat posed by terrorism to the security of the Central Asian states is dangerous or not, and if dangerous, whether it be considered as the most dangerous threat or not, this chapter has looked at the history of the terrorist incidents, occurred in Central Asia since its independence. The chapter two of this dissertation has already briefly outlined the account of terrorist incidents of each of the Central Asian states with the help of two open source database namely, GTD and RAND database. However, while considering terrorism-related incidents, it also included ambiguous events within the purview terrorist acts. But in this chapter, while collecting data from the Global Terrorism Database, the following criteria of terrorism have been followed strictly.

Criterion I: The act must be aimed at attaining a political, economic, religious, or social goal.

Criterion II: There must be evidence of an intention to coerce, intimidate, or convey some other message to a larger audience (or audiences) than the immediate victims.

Criterion III: The action must be outside the context of legitimate warfare activities, i.e. the act must be outside the parameters permitted by international humanitarian law (particularly the admonition against deliberately targeting civilians or non-combatants(<http://www.start.umd.edu/>)).

Besides these criteria, this database has included the following types of attacks namely, assassination; armed assault; bombing/explosion; hijacking; Hostage Taking (Barricade Incident); hostage taking (kidnapping); facility/infrastructure attack; within the parameter of the terrorist act (<http://www.start.umd.edu/>).

While following all these criteria and the types of attack, it is observed that very fewer terrorist incidents have taken place in the Central Asian states than the other terrorist affected countries of the globe. For example, the country among the Central Asian countries which portrays itself as the most severe victim of terrorism, namely Uzbekistan has faced a total of 18 terrorist incidents from 1992 to 2016 that have fulfilled the criteria as mentioned above.

The list of the incidents that took place in Uzbekistan during 1992 to 2016 is presented in the table below.

Table 4-i: Terrorist Incidents in Uzbekistan 1992-2016

DATE	STATE	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	CASUAL TIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
1992-05-10	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	0	0	Government (Diplomatic)
1992-06-29	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	0	1	Private Citizens & Property
1995-01-21	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	0	0	Private Citizens & Property
1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	3	22	Government (General), Government (General)
1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	2	22	Government (General), Government (General)
1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	2	21	Business, Government (General)
1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	2	21	Police, Government (General)
1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	2	21	Private Citizens & Property, Government (General)

1999-02-16	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	2	21	Private Citizens & Property, Government (General)
1999-03-31	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	6	0	Transportation
2004-03-29	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	6	20	Private Citizens & Property
2004-03-31	Uzbekistan	Yalangach	Unknown	23	5	Police
2004-07-30	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Hizb-at-Tahrir-Islami (HT)(suspected), Islamic Jihad Group (IJG)(suspected), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) (suspected)	3	1	Government (Diplomatic)
2004-07-30	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami(HT) (suspected), Islamic Jihad Group (IJG) (suspected), Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) (suspected)	2	1	Government (Diplomatic)
2004-07-30	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Hizb al-Tahrir al-Islami (HT) (suspected), Islamic Jihad Group (IJG)	2	4	Government (General)

			(suspected), (IMU) (suspected)			
2009-05-26	Uzbekistan	Khanabad	Islamic Jihad Union (Uzbekistan)	1	3	Police
2009-05-26	Uzbekistan	Andijan	Islamic Jihad Union (Uzbekistan)	2	3	Police
2015-09-28	Uzbekistan	Tashkent	Unknown	0	0	Government (Diplomatic)

Source- Global Terrorism Database. URL-

https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?start_yearonly=1992&end_yearonly=2016&start_year=&start_month=&start_day=&end_year=&end_month=&end_day=&asmSelect0=&asmSelect1=&criteria1=yes&criteria2=yes&criteria3=yes&dt2=some&success=yes&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=)

The above list has reported a total of 18 terrorist incidents occurred in the different parts of Uzbekistan. All these incidents have been recognised as terrorist acts on the grounds of the criteria as mentioned in the above paragraph. According to this data, the number of total fatalities in all these incidents is fifty-eight, and one hundred sixty-six people have been reported to be injured. Out of the total, there are four incidents as included in this table which does not cost any fatality. The data has also shown a drastic decrease in terrorist incidents in Uzbekistan since 2005. The most important thing is that the only terrorist attack that cost 23 human lives is also seen intermingling with disputes regarding the identity and motivation of the perpetrators. A considerable number of experts have viewed very critically about this incident. They have suspected the involvement of government security forces in perpetrating such incidents to continue wide-scale suppression on the anti-government forces of the state. It is significant to note that out of the 18 incidents, the perpetrator of the 14 incidents have been listed as unknown.

Another open source database on terrorism namely RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents has also reported a sum of sixteen terrorist attacks happened in Uzbekistan during 1992 to 2010. According to this database, 163 people were injured, and the number of casualties was 37 in these incidents. Like the Global terrorism database, it has also reported a

massive reduction of the terrorist attacks in Uzbekistan since 2005. This database has listed only three incidents in terrorist nature which were taken place between 2005 to 2010 (<http://smapp.rand.org/rwtid/search.php>).

While enquiring, the account of terrorist incidents took place in Tajikistan, numerically a large number of terrorist incidents precisely 122 incidents have been seen occurring in this country in a period of twenty-four years of independence from 1992 to 2016, according to the report of GTD. However, if the number of fatalities and injuries are taken into account, it is observed that out of the total, there are sixty-seven attacks occurred in the region in which each of the incidents cost less than ten casualties and injuries. After the end of the five years long civil war (1992-1997), the number of terrorist acts is seen significantly decreasing in this state. For example, the GTD database has held that since 1998 to 2016, there are only 34 incidents have occurred in Tajikistan that resulted in the death of 46 people and the injury of 134 people (Global Terrorism Database). The RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents has also viewed the almost similar account of terrorist incidents happened in Tajikistan since 1992 to 2010. It has reinforced the fact provided by the GTD that since the end of civil war, the number of terrorist incidents is decreasing in Tajikistan. According to the RAND database, a sum of 41 terrorist incidents was taken place in Tajikistan during 1992 to 2000 while from 2001 to 2010; only 18 terrorist attacks were reported to be occurred in Tajikistan (<http://smapp.rand.org/rwtid/search.php>).

Though the authority of the Kyrgyz Republic has also been demonstrating terrorism as a grave security threat to the territorial integrity, security and stability of the state, the history of terrorist incidents in the region has portrayed a different picture of it. For example, the Global Terrorism Database has confirmed a totality of 19 incidents in terrorist nature occurred in the country during 1992 to 2016.

This list of the terrorist incidents in Kyrgyzstan during 1992 to 2016 are enclosed below

Table 4-ii: Terrorist Incidents in Kyrgyzstan 1992-2016

DAT E	COUNTRY	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATA LITIE S	INJU RED	TARGET TYPE
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2016-08-30	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Eastern Turkistan Islamic Movement (ETIM)	1	3	Government (Diplomatic)
2016-07-29	Kyrgyzstan	Orto-Sai	Unknown	0	1	Government (General)
2015-11-19	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Muslim extremists	1	0	Police
2014-03-27	Kyrgyzstan	Tokmok	Unknown	1	1	Private Citizens & Property
2010-06-10	Kyrgyzstan	Tokmok	Unknown	0	4	Business, Business
2006-07-10	Kyrgyzstan	Jalal-Abad	Unknown	1	2	Police
2005-12-24	Kyrgyzstan	Osh	Unknown	0	0	Government (General)
2002-09-06	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	1	Government (General)
2002-06-29	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	2	0	Government (Diplomatic)
2001-08-01	Kyrgyzstan	Chauvay	Unknown	Unknown	Unknown	Telecommunication
2000-05-25	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	1	2	Government (Diplomatic)
1999-09-20	Kyrgyzstan	Batken District	Unknown (suspected)	1	2	Military
1999-09-16	Kyrgyzstan	Sai	Muslim extremists (suspected)	0	5	Private Citizens & Property, Military
1999-08-23	Kyrgyzstan	Khodzha-Achkan	Muslim extremists (suspected)	0	0	Business, Military

1996-07-19	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	0	Police
1996-07-19	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	0	Police
1996-07-19	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	0	Police
1996-07-19	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	0	Police
1996-04-20	Kyrgyzstan	Bishkek	Unknown	0	0	Government (General)

Source- Global Terrorism Database. URL-

https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?start_yearonly=1992&end_yearonly=2016&start_year=&start_month=&start_day=&end_year=&end_month=&end_day=&asmSelect0=&country=107&asmSelect1=&criteria1=yes&criteria2=yes&criteria3=yes&ctp2=some&success=no&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=

The list as cited above has confirmed a sum of 19 terrorist attacks ensued in the Republic of Tajikistan in twenty-four years of independence. However, while observing the number of fatalities and injuries, it is found that out of the totality, 11 incidents do not have any casualty. The total number of deaths in all these cases are reported as eight and a sum of twenty-one people are listed as injured in this database. Moreover, the database has clarified that the majority of the incidents precisely 14 out of 19 are those who are perpetrated by unknown actors. Similarly, the RAND database has made a list of terrorist attacks occurred in the country during a period from 1992 to 2010 and had reported a sum of 14 such incidents. These events have reportedly cost the lives of 27 people and have injured 12 persons (<http://smapp.rand.org/rwtid/search.php>). (GM) The Republic of Kazakhstan was one of the least affected terrorist countries in Central Asia in the first ten years of independence. The Global Terrorism Database has noted that Kazakhstan experienced only eight incidents in terrorist nature during 1992 to 2000. Though these events are termed as terrorist incidents on the grounds of the criteria as stated at the beginning of the section, the reported 5 out of 8 attacks belong to that category of the terrorist attack perpetrated by unknown actors. These

incidents resulted in the loss of 11 human lives as well as one injury. The RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents has reduced down the number of such terrorist events occurred in Kazakhstan during 1992 to 2000 to only one which cost no fatality and injury. However, the number of terrorist incidents are slightly increasing since 2008, and within the span of eight years from 2008 to 2016 Kazakhstan has faced 11 terrorist attacks. These attacks have cost live of 23 persons and have injured 17 persons according to the data published by GTD. The list of the terrorist incidents ensued in Kazakhstan from 1992 to 2016 have been enumerated in the following table.

Table 4-iii: Terrorist Incidents in Kazakhstan from 1992-2016

DATE	COUNTRY	CITY	PERPETRATOR GROUP	FATAL ITIES	INJURED	TARGET TYPE
2016-06-05	Kazakhstan	Aktobe	Kazakhstan Liberation Army	4	6	Military, Transportation
2016-06-05	Kazakhstan	Aktobe	Kazakhstan Liberation Army	4	2	Business
2016-06-05	Kazakhstan	Aktobe	Kazakhstan Liberation Army	2	3	Business
2013-08-20	Kazakhstan	Aktobe	Unknown	0	1	Journalists & Media
2012-09-15	Kazakhstan	Atyrau	Unknown	0	2	Police
2012-07-28	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	2	0	Police
2012-07-09	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	0	0	Government (Diplomatic)
2011-11-12	Kazakhstan	Taraz	Muslim extremists	8	0	Government (General), Police ,Private Citizens & Property

2011-10-31	Kazakhstan	Atyrau	Soldiers of the Caliphate	1	0	Private Citizens & Property
2011-10-31	Kazakhstan	Atyrau	Soldiers of the Caliphate	0	0	Government (General)
2008-01-27	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	2	2	Educational Institution
2001-02-18	Kazakhstan	Kokshetau	Unknown	0	1	Transportation, Police
2000-09-24	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Uighur Liberation Organization (suspected)	2	0	Police
1997-12-10	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	1	0	Government (General)
1997-01-08	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	1	0	Journalists & Media
1994-10-25	Kazakhstan	Unknown	Unknown	0	0	Private Citizens & Property
1992-12-29	Kazakhstan	Temirtau	Unknown	1	1	Business
1992-12-01	Kazakhstan	Pavlodar	Chechen Rebels	2	0	Private Citizens & Property
1992-10-18	Kazakhstan	Oskemen	Chechen Rebels	4	0	Business
1992-09-08	Kazakhstan	Almaty	Unknown	0	0	Private Citizens & Property

Source- Global Terrorism Database

URL-

https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search/Results.aspx?start_yearonly=1992&end_yearonly=2016&start_year=&start_month=&start_day=&end_year=&end_month=&end_day=&country=

[103&asmSelect1=&criteria1=yes&criteria2=yes&criteria3=yes&ctp2=some&success=no&casualties_type=b&casualties_max=\)](#)

The table has included a list of twenty terrorist incidents that have been reported to occur in Kazakhstan during the twenty-four years of the Republic's independence. The data has counted the death of 34 persons and 18 injuries in all these events. On the other hand, the report of RAND database has mentioned only a sum six terrorist attacks which have been happened in Kazakhstan during 1992 to 2010. However, the very few number of fatalities and injuries and the existence of the majority of incidents committed by unknown perpetrators indicate the insignificant role of the terrorism in posing any serious threat to the Republic.

The report of the Global Terrorism Database has exhibited Turkmenistan as the only country in Central Asia, where no terrorist incident has taken place within 24 years of independence that cost any casualty. The GTD report has noted only one partially failed terrorist attempt occurred on November 25, 2002, in which an unknown gunman tried to assassinate Saparmurat Niyazov, the President of Turkmenistan, as he was driving his car in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan. Though the president was unharmed, the gunman seriously wounded a police officer (<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/search>). Like the Global Terrorism Database, the RAND database has also confirmed the occurrence of only one attack in Turkmenistan during 1992 to 2010.

The analysis of data as illustrated above this research has summarised the history of terrorist attack occurred in the post independent Central Asian countries in the following points.

1. Since 2005, the Republic of Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have been experiencing a considerable decrease in the occurrence of terrorist events in their region.
2. In the case of most of the terrorist incidents, no terrorist organisation has claimed responsibility; as a result, the identity of the perpetrator has remained unknown.
3. The Republic of Kazakhstan which hardly faced any terrorist attacks in the early decade of independence has been experiencing a significant number of terrorist attempts since 2008. However, most of these events can be termed as minor on the grounds of the number of casualties resulted from them.
4. Turkmenistan is seemed to be the least terrorist affected countries in Central Asia.

5. Most of the terrorist incidents occurred in each of the Central Asian states are a minor and small scale on the grounds of the number of fatality and injury carried out by that attacks.

4.3. Measurement of the Gravity of the Terrorist Threat in Central Asia by the Global Terrorism Index

The Global Terrorism Index (GTI) can be a useful means to understand and identify whether terrorism is posing a dangerous threat to a particular state or not. The Institute for Economics and Peace (IEP), an independent, non-partisan, non-profit think tank prepares and publish this dataset. The GTI is considered to be “the most comprehensive dataset on terrorist activity globally” and has codified over 150,000 terrorist incidents. It is prepared by the “data of Global Terrorism Database, which is collected and collated by the National Consortium for the Study of Terrorism and Responses to Terrorism” (Global Terrorism Index 2016). The GTI 2016 is the fourth edition of Global Terrorism Index which has provided a comprehensive summary of the key global trends and patterns in terrorism over the last 16 years with a particular emphasis on 2015. This dataset has identified five countries as the most adversely terrorist affected countries around the globe, namely Nigeria, Afghanistan, Pakistan and Syria. According to this report, fifty-seven percent of all attacks and 72 percent of all deaths have occurred only in these countries (Global Terrorism Index 2016).

The following table has illustrated some relevant facts about the terrorist incidents that took place in top ten mostly terrorist impacted countries in the year of 2014.

Table 4-iv: Most Terrorist Impacted Countries According to GTI

GTI Rank	Country	Number of Incident in 2015	Number of Fatality in 2015	Number of Injured in 2015	GTI Score on Terrorist impact
1	Iraq	2415	6960	11900	9.96
2	Afghanistan	1715	5312	6249	9.444
3	Nigeria	588	4940	2786	9.314
4	Pakistan	1008	1086	1337	8.613
5	Syria	384	2761	2830	8.587

6	Yemen	467	1519	2599	8.076
7	India	797	289	501	7.484
8	Somalia	241	659	463	7.548
9	Egypt	493	662	835	7.328
10	Libya	432	454	660	7.283

Source- the table is prepared by the data contained in Global Terrorism Index 2015

URL- (<http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/>)

N.B- Here, GTI Score on Terrorist impact refers to the cumulative effect of all the terrorist incidents occurred since 2000 to 2015.

On the contrary to the above list which has included ten most terrorist affected countries in the world, the Global Terrorism Index has presented an entirely different picture for the Central Asian states. In this context, it is important to note that the GTI has provided a detailed analysis of the changing trends in terrorism since 2000, for 163 countries. It has awarded 130 ranks for 163 countries depending on the GTI score. The four factors that count the GTI score are the number of incidents, number of fatality and injury and the amount of property damage. Here, 10 is the highest GTI score, and 0 denotes the lowest score. The countries which secure 10 to 8 are considered as the greatest terrorist impacted country. The countries that score less than two are listed under the category of the lowest terrorist affected country. The score 0 indicates no impact of terrorism (Global Terrorism Index 2016).

The following table has demonstrated the irony of the CA states' proclamation about the terrorist threat.

Table 4-v: CA States' Proclamation about the Terrorist Threat

GTI Rank	Country	Number of Incidents in 2015	Number of Fatality in 2015	Number of injured in 2015	GTI Score on Terrorism impact (2000-2015)
56	Tajikistan	3	12	10	3.086
84	Kyrgyzstan	1	1	0	1.445

94	Kazakhstan	0	0	0	0.934
117	Uzbekistan	0	0	0	0.154
130	Turkmenistan	0	0	0	0

Source- the table has been made by collecting data from GTD database and GTI report, 2015.

URL- (<https://www.start.umd.edu/gtd/> ; <http://economicsandpeace.org/reports/>).

The analysis of the data of the Global Terrorism Index primarily reflects the following points

1. Terrorism has not adversely affected to any of the Central Asian States since 2000.
2. The GTI data set has listed three of the Central Asian states under the category of the lowest terrorist impacted country.
3. It has placed Uzbekistan and Turkmenistan as the country of no terrorist impact.
4. It has nullified the CA states' projection of terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the nation's state and security.

The analysis and explanation as presented above have reflected a different picture on the degree of terrorist threat in Central Asia which is just contrary to the state's projection. Firstly, both the open source database on global terrorism incident namely GTD and RAND Database of Worldwide Terrorism Incidents have negated the CA states' projection of terrorism as one of the gravest threat to the state security and stability by preparing the list of the terrorist incidents of twenty-four years for each of the CA state. The lesser number of terrorist incidents, the lower number of fatality and injury than the severely terrorist affected countries, have indicated that most of the terrorist incidents occurred in Central Asia belong to minor, small scale and less significant attack. Eventually, the Global Terrorism Index has stamped the perception of GTD and RAND database on the terrorist threat in Central Asia by reporting three of the CA states as the country of the lowest terrorist impact, and the other two of the states as the zero terrorists affected the state.

4.4. Examining the Reasonability of the Discursive Construction of Terrorism as an Act Perpetrated Solely by Non-State Actors

In chapter three of this dissertation, it has already been explained how the terrorism-related official documents of the Central Asian countries have constructed terrorism as an act

committed solely by non-state actors. The tendency of excluding the state from the label of terrorist has assigned sole legitimate power to the state to use violence against anyone if the state believes it necessary to do so. The concentration of the legal power of using force or violence upon single entity may have brought the chance of misusing this power by that entity. One should keep in mind that state is an abstract concept that inherently deserves idealism, but the individual or the group that regulates the state is neither abstract nor ideal. Lord Acton rightly asserts, "Power tends to corrupt, and absolute power corrupts absolutely.

While enquiring the perpetrators of the frequently occurred violent incidents in the surrounding, Richard Jackson (2007) has put forward an important statement. He has stated that if the use of violence or the threat to use force for political objectives is considered as a terrorist act, then the state itself has committed a large number of such violence. The Central Asian countries are apparently fit for this assertion, which has long been known for exercising the widespread scale suppression and violence against the political opponents, radical religious groups as well as any anti-government voice in the state.

The ample examples of perpetrating indiscriminate and ruthless violence against civilians by the government of the Central Asian countries are found in the various reports published by many human rights organisations. The government used to execute massive and brutal crackdown on the selected individuals or the group more acutely when it is followed by immediately occurred alleged terrorist attack. For example, in Uzbekistan, just after the occurrence of the serial car bombing in Tashkent in 1999, the government of Uzbekistan accused the IMU of committing this terrorist act and started a large wave of repression. A total of twenty people appeared before the court on the charge of attempting to assassinate Karimov and overthrow the government (Naumkin 2005). The court conducted this trial in closed door and declared all of them as guilty. Finally, the court sentenced six defendants to the highest penalty- execution by firing squad. The others received punishment with imprisonment for ten to twenty years (Naumkin 2005). The Uzbekistani authorities continuously ruled with an iron fist by exercising arrest, torture, and repression as the most appropriate method of maintaining security and stability of the state. The International Religious Freedom report, published by the US Department of States noted that "there were about 300 arrests in the first seven months of 2002 on religious or political grounds, compared with 1500 on average in any seven-month

period in 1999-2001” (US Department of States 2002). The authorities of Uzbekistan again unleashed a comprehensive campaign of arrests of persons soon after the occurrence of March 2004 terrorist attacks. According to the reports about four hundred people were arrested in connection with this attack (Naumkin 2005). In this attack, for the first time in Uzbekistan women suicide bombers were observed. Regarding the involvement of women suicide bomber in this terrorist incident, the Central Asian Expert O Roy made a significant comment. Roy stated, "as far as we know, most of the suicide bombers were just members of families whose members are in jail, and it was some protest against the police in Uzbekistan" (Pannier 2004). The similar kind of widespread crackdown was also noticed soon after the occurrence of failed attempt by an unknown gunman to assassinate Saparmurat Niyazov, the president of Turkmenistan in 2002. As a result, the criminal police arrested, tortured, and tried about 100 persons in connection with that attack (Omelicheva 2007). The most significant example of the brutal suppression of public unrest is the May 2005 Andijan event. On May 13, the Uzbekistani police force allegedly fired upon the protesters gathered in Andijan, Uzbekistan. The protesters who also included children and women were mostly unarmed. The indiscriminate firing by the Uzbekistani police force resulted in the death of about 137 persons and hundreds of injuries (Human Rights Watch, June 2005). The intensity of this violence was so intensive and inhumane that the US and many other Western countries demanded an independent international investigation into this incident. However, Uzbekistan rejected any demand international enquiry. The report on International Religious Freedom, 2015 has stated that there are estimated between 5,000 and 15,000 individuals remained in prison on charges related to "religious extremism" or membership in an illegal religious group in Uzbekistan according to independent human rights group (US Department of States 2015). The present position of the Central Asian state regarding suppression of the democratic voice has been reflected in the quotation of Hugh Williamson, Europe and Central Asia director at Human Rights Watch. He has viewed that "Central Asian governments are becoming increasingly intolerant of dissent, criticism, and human rights scrutiny – an alarming trend. The authorities across Central Asia should end their relentless crackdown on critics, release wrongfully imprisoned activists, and engage – not isolate – human rights and other independent groups" (<https://www.hrw.org/news/2016/01/27/central-asia-backsliding-rights>).

The World Report 2015, published by an independent international organisation on human rights, namely, Human Rights Watch has indicated the ongoing restrictions and repression on the democratic voices, and religious belief of the citizens continued by more or less each of the Central Asian countries. According to this report, all the Central Asian states heavily restrict the freedom of assembly, speech and religion. The harassment, torture and the attack on the political opponents, civil activists, journalists are still very common in these countries. For example, in the year of 2014, the authorities of the Republic of Kazakhstan,” closed newspapers, jailed or fined dozens of people after peaceful but unsanctioned protests, and fined or detained worshipers for practising religion outside state controls” (Human Rights Watch 2015). The list of the detainees who remained in detention after unfair trial included government critic and opposition leader Vladimir Kozlov, civil society activist Vadim Kuramshin, labour activist Maksat Dosmagambetov, and so on (Human Rights Watch 2015:326). Similarly, the government of Tajikistan has also detained many civil activists, government critics, and political opponents for allegedly committing various crime in 2014. The arresting and then awarding punishment with imprisonment for 26 years to the former Industry minister of Tajikistan, Zaid Saidov is a good example of the states’ repression on political opponents in Tajikistan in 2014. It is significant to add that the Tajik authorities arrested him only a couple of days of the announcement of his planning to contest presidential election as well as to form a new political party (Human Right Watch 2015:525). The report has viewed that there are no real improvements in the Turkmen government’s abysmal human rights record in 2014. Turkmenistan is a country in which President (earlier Saparmurat Niyazov and now Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow), his relatives, and their associates have been consistently maintaining unlimited control over all aspects of public life. The World Report has also reinforced the claims of various other human rights organisations regarding the massive repression of the Uzbek authorities. It has reported that the Uzbek government has imprisoned thousands of people on politically motivated charges to impose its suppressive rule, targeting human rights and opposition activists, journalists, religious believers, artists, and other perceived critics (Human Rights Watch 2015:599). In a nutshell, all the Central Asian countries have been continuously exercising state repression as an appropriate means of protecting and preserving the existing government in the region which is often termed as the authoritarian, super-presidential and dictatorial regime.

4.5. Measurement of the Degree of State's Repression in Central Asia by Political Terror Scale

Political Terror Scale (PTS) is a convenient means for measuring the nature of the state. It is a project which was started by Michael Stohl and several graduate students at Purdue University in the early 1980s. They used it essentially as a way of empirically testing whether U.S. foreign aid was being sent to countries that violated international human rights standards, thereby being in violation of federal law. Presently, The PTS measures levels of political violence and terror that a countries experiences in a particular year based on a 5-level "terror scale" originally developed by Freedom House. This 5 level terror scale are-

Level 1- Countries under a secure rule of law, people are not imprisoned for their views, and torture is rare or exceptional. Political murders are extremely rare.

Level 2- There is a limited amount of imprisonment for nonviolent political activity. However, few persons are affected, torture and beatings are exceptional. Political murder is rare.

Level 3- There is extensive political imprisonment, or a recent history of such imprisonment. Execution or other political murders and brutality may be common. Unlimited detention, with or without a trial, for political views is accepted.

Level 4- Civil and political rights violations have expanded to large numbers of the population. Murders, disappearances, and torture are a common part of life. In spite of its generality, on this level terror affects those who interest themselves in politics or ideas.

Level 5- Terror has expanded to the whole population. The leaders of these societies place no limits on the means or thoroughness with which they pursue personal or ideological goals (<http://www.politicalerrorscale.org/Data/Documentation.html#PTS-Levels>).

The Political Terror scale collects data in compiling this index from three sources. Namely, the yearly countries reports of Amnesty International, the U.S. State Department Country Reports on Human Rights Practices, and Human Rights Watch's World Reports. The PTS Index 2016 has held an overall picture of the states' political violence of the Central Asian states.

The following table has indicated the position of the Central Asian states regarding political violence and terror during 2010-2015.

Table 4-vi: Position of the Central Asian States Regarding Political Violence and Terror

Country	Year	Amnesty International	US State Department	Human Rights Watch
Kazakhstan	2015	2	3	3
Kazakhstan	2014	3	3	3
Kazakhstan	2013		3	3
Kazakhstan	2012	3	3	
Kazakhstan	2011	3	3	
Kazakhstan	2010	3	3	
Kyrgyzstan	2015	3	3	3
Kyrgyzstan	2014	3	3	3
Kyrgyzstan	2013		3	3
Kyrgyzstan	2012	3	3	
Kyrgyzstan	2011	3	3	
Kyrgyzstan	2010	4	4	
Tajikistan	2015	3	3	3
Tajikistan	2014	3	3	3
Tajikistan	2013		3	3
Tajikistan	2012	3	3	
Tajikistan	2011	3	2	
Tajikistan	2010	2	2	
Turkmenistan	2015	3	3	4
Turkmenistan	2014	3	3	3
Turkmenistan	2013		3	3
Turkmenistan	2012	3	3	
Turkmenistan	2011	3	3	
Turkmenistan	2010	2	4	
Uzbekistan	2015	3	3	4
Uzbekistan	2014	3	3	4
Uzbekistan	2013		3	3

Uzbekistan	2012	3	3	
Uzbekistan	2011	3	3	
Uzbekistan	2010	3	3	

Source- Political Terror Scale Data Table (2010-2015)

URL- (<http://www.politicalterror scale.org/Data/Datatable.html>)

The table as illustrated above has demonstrated that the annual reports published by the Amnesty International, the US Department of States and the Human Rights Watch have continuously reported Kazakhstan as the country of level 3 for the last five consecutive years from 2010-2015. The level 3 country refers to those countries in which there are extensive political imprisonment or a recent history of such imprisonment. Execution or other political murders and brutality may be common feature of such countries. Moreover, such states also accept unlimited detention, with or without a trial, for achieving a political goal. Kazakhstan has secured the position of level 2 country only for one time in five years from the Amnesty of International that indicates a lesser repressive country than the Level 3 states.

In the case of Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan all the three institutions have reported these countries as much more repressive than Kazakhstan and Tajikistan. The minimum grade secured by this countries during five years is Level 3 that indicates the exercise of extensive political imprisonment, brutal political murder by the state. All these three countries even enter into the category of level 4 for one or two times. The level 4 refers to those countries in which the state machinery used to violate civil and political rights of a large number of population. In such countries murders, disappearance, and torture have become a common part of the life of the citizens. In a nutshell, the Amnesty International, the US Department of States, the Human Rights Watch have reported all the Central Asian states as a repressive country for perpetrating consistent political violence and terror.

The analysis and explanation of this chapter have clarified two important questions. Firstly, the data of terrorist incidents occurred in Central Asia during 1992-2016 has indicated most of the terrorist attacks as minor, less significant and small scale on the grounds of its nature and degree. These data also show that if the Central Asian states designate terrorism as one of the most dangerous threats to the country's stability and security on the grounds of these fewer, minor terrorist events, it would be a more exaggeration than the real. Secondly, the data

provided by different international human rights organisations have demonstrated that in Central Asia much more incidents of political murder and violence have been taking place by the state authorities themselves than the terrorist events perpetrated by non-state actors.

Chapter 5: Conclusion

Terrorism has become a subject of constant debate and discussion for the intelligentsia across the globe due to its everyday existence, frequently changing tactics and its growing intensity. The existing literature of terrorism has reflected that most of the experts in this field have emphasised on empirical and quantitative research. Such research works primarily focus on exploring detailed about the terrorist organisations active in a particular state or states, the accounts of the terrorist incidents occurred in that area at a given time as well as the counter-terrorism response of the government. They often lack a critical conceptual understanding of the phenomenon of terrorism. Such research works usually hold the state-centric perspective that denotes terrorism as a criminal act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. Unlike this dominant approach, the Critical Terrorism Studies (CTS) has emerged in the field of terrorism study as an alternative approach since after the occurrence of the September 11 terrorist incident in the USA. The CTS considers terrorism as a social construction and seeks to analyse how the language and social, political practices construct the conceptual framework of terrorism. The experts of the critical terrorism studies use various methods for critically examining different aspects of terrorism. Among them, the critical discourse analysis is a useful method to understand the importance of language in the construction of terrorism and the formation of the distinct identity of the terrorist.

This dissertation has used critical discourse analysis to provide a conceptual understanding of the official stand on terrorism in Central Asia. It has presented a precise and systematic analysis of how each of the Central Asian countries constructs the official definitions of terrorism and also has provided answers to other interrelated research questions of this dissertation. For doing this, the research work has completed a careful reading and conscious investigation of twenty selected terrorism-related legal documents adopted and implemented by the Central Asian States. After examining these selected texts, this dissertation has made a modest and sincere effort to deal with some particular aspects of the official stand on terrorism in the Central Asian countries. These selected twenty texts have constituted the Central Asian States "official stand on Terrorism" discourse. This research work has argued that the CA states'

"official stand on terrorism" discourse consists of two strands. The first strand constructs terrorism as primarily a criminal act, while the other strand describes terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by the non-state actors. The first strand of the CA states' "official stand on terrorism discourse" has been again constituted by two aspects. The first aspect has constructed terrorism as the gravest crime as well as one of the most dangerous threats to the states' security and stability. Many terrorism-related official documents of the Central Asian countries have reflected this aspect. For example, the Criminal Code of each of the Central Asian states has categorised terrorism as "particular grave/serious crime" and has prescribed punishment with long term imprisonment from 7 to 25 years for committing some particular terrorist crime. Some Central Asian states have directed the highest punishment i.e. the capital punishment for such offences. The statements of the leaders of the Central Asian countries also sometimes reflects the fact that in Central Asia terrorism is being considered as the gravest crime and one of the most dangerous threats to the sovereignty, territorial integrity of the state. The other aspect has built a distinct identity like an identity of the monster for the terrorist by using emotive words to describe terrorism and the terrorist. The Central Asian leaders have used many national, international platform for using emotive words to describe terrorism and terrorist. For example, the address by the representative of the C A Countries to the UN General Assembly sessions demonstrates that how these countries often seek to construct a distinct identity for terrorism and terrorist by describing terrorism as "heinous", "evil", "monstrous" and so on. They often use such identity of terrorism and terrorist to justify their harsh responses to alleged terrorist crime. By denouncing terrorism and terrorist as monstrous and evil the Central Asian states have also rejected and ignored any demand of the terrorist groups some of which may have social acceptability and reasonability. Moreover, they also use the negative identity of terrorism and terrorist to conceal the continuous failure of the government in fulfilling minimum requirements and the aspirations of the citizens.

The second strand of this discourse has structured terrorism as an act committed solely by non-state actors. This strand has reflected the tendency of precluding the state from the label of terrorist. The exclusion of state from the list of the perpetrator of the terrorist crime has also recognised and affirmed the sole legitimate power of the state for using violence against anyone to protect and preserve the interest of the country. Moreover, it has presented state as the primary target of terrorism and as the principal victim or sufferer of it. The projection of

the state as the worst affected victim of the terrorism perpetrated by non-state actors has also delegitimized the reasonable demands and social acceptance of the terrorist groups. This strand has depicted the state centric perspective of terrorism contained in the Central Asian countries official stand on terrorism discourse. It has also analysed how the Central Asian countries through the adoption and implementation of the terrorism-related official documents have negated the concept of state terrorism and state-sponsored terrorism in their respective territorial boundaries. The Central Asian states' "official stand on terrorism" discourse has reflected a peculiar conceptual understanding to the phenomenon of terrorism. In a nutshell, it has constructed terrorism as the gravest and one of the most dangerous threats to states' security and stability of the state which is perpetrated solely by the non-state actors.

After the analysis of these two discourse strands contained in the terrorism-related official documents of the Central Asian countries, this dissertation has also carefully investigated the relationship between the construction of official stand on terrorism discourse and its real existence in the Central Asian states. The fourth chapter of this research work has critically examined the first strand that discursively constructs terrorism as the gravest crime and one of the most dangerous threats to state's security and stability. The data collected from the Global Terrorism Database and RAND database of worldwide terrorism have demonstrated that all the Central Asian countries have experienced a very few number of terrorist attacks since 1992 to 2016 and most of these incidents are minor and small scale regarding its nature and gravity. Although the Central Asian states have blamed the terrorist groups such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Islamic Jihad Union as responsible for perpetrating different terrorist attacks, the terrorist groups have claimed responsibility for very few terrorist attacks occurred in the region. The perpetrator of the most of the terrorist attack occurred in each of the countries of Central Asia are still unknown according to the data provided by GTD and RAND database. This data has shown that the construction of terrorism in Central Asia as the gravest crime and one of the most serious threats to the security and stability of the state does not match with the reality.

Secondly, this research work has also investigated the accuracy and reasonability of the second strand of the discourse that structures terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors. As the human rights organisations and the political opponents often alleged the authorities of

the CA states as the consistent perpetrator of state terrorism and political violence, this thesis has collected and examined the data provided by the Political Terror Scale (PTS) to check the reasonability of such blame. The PTS data table has identified all the Central Asian states as that type of state in which long political imprisonment and brutal political murder by the state may be common in that state. Similarly, the World Report 2016, prepared by Human Rights Watch has also demonstrated the wide-scale repression of the Central Asian countries against the political opponents, nonviolent religious radical groups as well as the right-concern citizen of the state. The data as mentioned in the fourth chapter of this dissertation has shown that the violence perpetrated by the state authorities to crack down anti-government protest has cost much more fatalities and injuries and has created a more fragile situation of fear and insecurity than the terrorist attacks occurred over the twenty-five years of the independence in the region. In short, the data has nullified the second strand of the Central Asian states' official stand on terrorism discourse that constructs terrorism as an act perpetrated solely by non-state actors and has demonstrated every possibility of the state to be a perpetrator of the terrorist act.

The explanation and analysis of this dissertation on the official stand on terrorism in Central Asia has falsified the second hypothesis of this research work which assumed that the official stand on terrorism is essential for the maintenance of security and stability of the state. Because, the government of the Central Asian states are seen more often applying the definitions of terrorism to repress the voices of the government critics, opposition and religious groups, rather than maintaining safety and stability of the state. In other words, the Central Asian authorities use the legal definitions of terrorism more for preserving existing political regime rather than for maintaining peace and harmony in the society as well as protecting sovereignty and integrity of the state. On the contrary, the data collected in this dissertation to some extent has supported the first hypothesis of this thesis which assumed that the Central Asian countries construct the official stand on terrorism to maintain the overwhelming control over the political opponents and anti-government forces of the region.

By summing up, it is important to reaffirm that this dissertation does not justify any act of violence perpetrated by the terrorist groups. This research work has only challenged one dominant approach to the study of terrorism that recognises the non-state actors as the sole perpetrator of terrorism by referring the examples of the Central Asian states. It has argued that

terrorism is an act that can be performed by both the state and the non-state actors. This dissertation has also carefully investigated how the state used to misuse the sole legitimate power of using violence for the preservation of the status quo, existing regime and for suppressing the voices of the political opponents and government critics. Regarding the non-state terrorist groups, this research work has made a modest and consistent effort to analyse how the state authorities often seek to use the label of terrorism to anyone and more particularly to those whom they consider as their political enemy or a dangerous threat to the existing regime. This dissertation has firmly believed that while studying terrorism, one should always keep in mind that terrorism is not an otherworldly phenomenon perpetrated by the aliens. It is inherently a social phenomenon emerged out of the barrel of deep trodden societal dissatisfaction. Someone rightly asserts "no one is born as terrorist".

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