

BOWLES'S NEW AND ACCURATE MAP OF THE WORLD, OR TERRESTRIAL GLOBE, laid down from the BEST OBSERVATIONS and NEWEST DISCOVERIES; particularly those of the celebrated CIRCUMNAVIGATORS; Illustrated with a variety of useful PROJECTIONS and GEOGRAPHICAL DEFINITIONS, TABLES, and PROBLEMS: With an easy and familiar Explanation of the most curious and interesting Phenomena in the UNIVERSAL SYSTEM.

By ANSON, BYRON, WALLIS, BOUAINVILLE, COOK, and REPRESENTATIONS of the HEAVENLY BODIES: the most approved ASTRONOMICAL and of the most curious and interesting Phenomena in the UNIVERSAL SYSTEM.



Compendium of Central Asian Military and Security Activity

MATTHEW STEIN

Open Source, Foreign Perspective, Underconsidered/Understudied Topics

The Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, is an open source research organization of the U.S. Army. It was founded in 1986 as an innovative program that brought together military specialists and civilian academics to focus on military and security topics derived from unclassified, foreign media. Today FMSO maintains this research tradition of special insight and highly collaborative work by conducting unclassified research on foreign perspectives of defense and security issues that are understudied or unconsidered.

Author Background

Matthew Stein is an analyst at the Foreign Military Studies Office (FMSO) at Fort Leavenworth, Kansas. His specific research expertise includes “Joint military exercises involving Central Asian militaries and security forces,” “Incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia,” “Extremist and Terrorist Groups in Central Asia,” and “Border issues in Central Asia.” He has conducted briefings and participated in training events for units deploying to the Central Asia region and seminars for senior U.S. Army leaders. He has an M.A. in Russian and Eurasian Studies from the University of Kansas, was a Peace Corps volunteer in Turkmenistan (2003-05), and was a National Security Education Program (NSEP) Boren Fellow in Kazakhstan (2008-09).

FMSO has provided some editing, format, and graphics to this paper to conform to organizational standards. Academic conventions, source referencing, and citation style are those of the author.

The views expressed are those of the author and do not represent the official policy or position of the Department of the Army, Department of Defense, or the U.S. government

Compendium of Central Asian Military and Security Activity

20 January 2021

Executive Summary

Since Central Asian states gained independence in 1991, new regional military and security alliances have been created (some of which are Russian-led), new military partnerships with non-NATO countries have been established, a number of joint military exercises have been conducted, dozens of high-profile incidents of violence and civil unrest have taken place, and military installations have been used by foreign militaries. While this activity gained attention, it has not been collectively compiled. A compilation of this activity can serve as a guide for current and future military and security involvement in Central Asia.

The first section of the compendium is organized alphabetically and includes entries on Central Asian military facilities and installations (bases, air fields, etc.), and military and security organizations past and present. The second section is also organized alphabetically and includes joint exercises of regional militaries and security forces (Note: the exercises are organized alphabetically by the title of exercise and then chronologically if the exercise was part of a series or conducted annually; the names of some exercises are transliterated from Russian, ex. Tsentr, Grom, Poisk, etc., and these are also listed alphabetically with names of the exercises in English; the untitled joint exercises are listed last and are organized chronologically). The third section is a list of Central Asian military and security structures and other (non-joint exercises) security cooperation activity organized by country. The fourth section is a list of major incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia organized by country and then chronologically.

Table of Contents

Section One	11
Central Asian military facilities with foreign militaries – Past and Present	11
201st Motorized Rifle Division (Dushanbe and Qurghonteppa, Tajikistan)	11
Ayni Airbase (Tajikistan)	11
Farkhor Airfield (Tajikistan)	11
Ichkesu (Kyrgyzstan)	12
Kant Airbase (Kyrgyzstan)	12
Kara Balta (Kyrgyzstan)	12
Karshi-Khanabad (Uzbekistan)	12
Koisary Naval Base (Kyrgyzstan)	12
Mailuu Suu (Kyrgyzstan)	12
Okno (Tajikistan)	13
Termez Airport (Uzbekistan)	13
Transit Center at Manas (Kyrgyzstan)	13
Vozrozhdeniya Island (Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan)	13
Military and security organizations and programs	14
Border Management Programme in Central Asia (BOMCA)	14
Central Asian Battalion (CENTRASBAT)	14
Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC)	15
Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)	15
Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)	16
Commonwealth of Independent States Peacekeeping Force (CIS/PKF)	16
The Council of Commanders of Border Troops	17
GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development	17
Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT)	17
National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP)	18
North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program	19
The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)	20
Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)	22
Six plus Two/Six plus Three	22

United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)	23
United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)	23
United Nations Regional Centre for Preventative Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA)	24
United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peacebuilding (UNTOP)	24
Section Two	24
Joint exercises with Central Asian military and security forces	24
Ala-Too Antiterror 2013	24
Aldaspan 2008	25
Aldaspan 2012	25
Anyrakai 2018	25
Anyrakai 2019	25
Ararat Antiterror 2019	25
Azov Antiterror 2003	26
Balance exercise series	26
Baykonur Antiterror 2007	27
Caspian Antiterror 2005	27
Caspian 2011	27
Central Asia Antiterror-2015	27
CENTRASBAT 97	28
CENTRASBAT 98	28
CENTRASBAT 2000	28
CIS Antiterrorist Center Command and Staff Training	28
Clear Sky 2012	28
Clear Sky 2018	29
Coalition 2003 (also called Cooperation 2003)	29
Combat Brotherhood (2006)	29
Combat Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	29
Combat Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	29
Combat Commonwealth 2018	30

Combat Commonwealth 2019 (Belarus-Uzbekistan exercise)	30
Combat Commonwealth 2019 (CIS air defense exercise)	30
Combat Commonwealth series	30
Combined Endeavor	33
Commonwealth Shield 2019	33
Commonwealth Southern Shield 1999	33
Commonwealth Southern Shield 2000	33
Commonwealth Southern Shield 2001	34
Commonwealth Southern Shield 2002	34
Cooperation-2009	34
Cooperation-2010	34
Cooperation-2012	35
Cooperation-2013	35
Cooperation-2014	35
Cooperation-2015	36
Cooperation-2016	36
Cooperation-2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	36
Cooperation 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	37
Cooperation-2019	37
Cooperation 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	37
Cooperative Nugget series	37
Cooperative Osprey series	37
Cooperative Safeguard 2002	38
Cooperative Zenith 2002	38
Coordination 2006	38
Cyber-Antiterror-2016	38
Dostarym 2017	38
Dostarym 2019	39
Dostlik 2019	39
Dostuk-2013	39

Dushanbe-Antiterror-2017	39
Echelon 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	40
Echelon 2020	40
Erik Dala (2018)	40
Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) series	40
Exercise-01	41
Grom-2012	41
Grom-2013	42
Grom-2015	42
Grom 2017	42
Grom 2019	42
International Workshop for Earthquake/Emergency Response (IWER) series	43
Issyk-Kul Antiterror 2007	43
Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018	44
Jaihun 2018	44
Joint Border Operation 2013	44
Kalkan-2019	44
Kanzhar-2011	44
Kanzhar-2015	44
KAZIND-2018	45
KAZIND-2019	45
Khaan Quest 2014	45
Khaan Quest 2015	45
Khaan Quest 2016	45
Kobalt-2010	45
Kobalt-2013	46
Kobalt-2016	46
Kobalt-2018	46
Norak Anti-terror 2009	46
Okhota na lis – 2015	46
Okhota na lis – 2019	47

Peace Mission 2005	47
Peace Mission 2007	47
Peace Mission 2009	47
Peace Mission 2010	47
Peace Mission 2012	48
Peace Mission 2014	48
Peace Mission 2016	48
Peace Mission 2018	49
Poisk 2016	49
Poisk 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	49
Poisk 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	49
Poisk 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	50
Prabal Dostyk 16	50
Prabal Dostyk 2017	50
Regional Cooperation series (2001-2018)	50
Regional Exercise 2014	52
RESCUER/MEDCUER (2005)	52
Rubezh 2004	53
Rubezh 2005	53
Rubezh 2006	53
Rubezh 2007	53
Rubezh 2008	53
Rubezh 2010	54
Rubezh 2012	54
Rubezh 2014	54
Rubezh 2016	54
Rubezh 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	55
Saperler Dostighi-2017	55
Skala-2018	55
Security 2009	55
Shanti Prayas-2	55

Shanti Prayas-3	55
Shygys 2011	56
Shygys 2013	56
Shygys-2019	56
South Antiterror 2001	56
South Antiterror 2002	56
Steppe Eagle series (2003-2019)	57
Stikhiya-2013	59
Strong Resolve 2002	59
Tianshan-I (2006)	60
Tianshan-II (2011)	60
Tianshan-3 (2017)	60
Tsentr-2008	60
Tsentr-2011	60
Tsentr-2015	61
Tsentr-2019	61
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2012	61
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2013	62
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2014	62
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2015	62
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2016	63
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	63
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018	63
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	63
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	64
Unbreakable Brotherhood 2020	64
Volgograd Anti-terror 2008	64
Vostok-Anti-terror 2006	64

Vozdushniy Most 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)	65
Xiamen-2015	65
Yug (2006)	65
Zaslou-2015	65
Zhetisu Antiterror 2014	65
Zhardem (aka Balance Zhardem)	66
Untitled Joint Exercises	66
Section Three – Central Asian military and security structures	72
Kazakhstan	72
Military	72
Security structures	72
National Military Doctrine	72
Other Security Cooperation	72
Kyrgyzstan	73
Military	73
Security structures	73
National Military Doctrine	73
Tajikistan	73
Military	73
Security structures	73
National Military Doctrine	73
Turkmenistan	73
Military	73
National Military Doctrine	74
Other Security Cooperation	74
Uzbekistan	74
Military	74
Security structures	74
National Military Doctrine	74
Other Security Cooperation	74

Section Four – Terrorist organizations and major incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia since 1991	74
Terrorist organizations	75
The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan	75
Kazakhstan	77
Aqtobe – May 17, 2011	77
Astana – May 24, 2011	78
Shubarshy – June 30, 2011	78
Atyrau – October 31, 2011	79
Almaty – November 8, 2011	79
Taraz – November 12, 2011	79
Boralday – December 3, 2011	79
Zhanaozen and Shetpe – December 16-17, 2011	80
Almaty – July 11, 2012	81
Almaty – July 30, 2012	81
Karasay District – August 17, 2012	81
Atyrau Province – September 5-21, 2012	82
Aqtobe – June 5-11, 2016	82
Almaty – July 18, 2016	83
Kyrgyzstan	83
Batken Province (formerly Osh Province) – August 9-October 25, 1999	83
Batken Province – August 11-October (unknown date), 2000	84
Tulip Revolution – March 2005	84
Revolution in Kyrgyzstan: Talas, Bishkek, and Jalal-Abad – April 6-16, 2010	85
Batken, Jalal-Abad, and Osh – May 13-14 and 19, 2010	86
Southern Kyrgyzstan (Osh and Jalalabad Provinces) – June 9-16, 2010	86
Charbak (Batken Province)-Sokh enclave – January 5-7, 2013	87
Ak-Sai (Batken Province)-Vorukh enclave (Tajikistan) – April 27, 2013	87
Zheti-Oguz District (Issyk Kul Province), Jalal-Abad Province – May 27-June 5, 2013	88
Ungar-Too, Aksy District (Jalal-Abad Oblast) – September 20-October 2, 2013	88
Karakol and Saruu (Issyk-Kul Province) – October 7-9, 2013	89

Batken District (Batken Province) – July 10, 2014	89
Bishkek – July 16, 2015	90
Kok-Tash (Batken Province) – August 3-4, 2015	90
Tajikistan	91
Rasht District – February 2, 2008	91
Kulob (Khatlon Province) – May 27, 2008	91
Tavildara District – July 11, 2009	91
Dushanbe – August 22-23, 2010	92
Khujand – September 3, 2010	94
Kamarob Gorge (Rasht District) – September 19, 2010-April 15, 2011	94
Khorog, Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast – July 21, 2012-August 24, 2012	95
Khoja-Alo (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – January 11, 2014	96
Isfara District (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – May 7-8, 2014	96
Ovchiqalacha (Ghafurov District, Sughd Province) – August 25, 2014	97
Turkmenistan	97
Ashgabat – September 10-13, 2008	97
Uzbekistan	97
Tashkent – February 16, 1999	98
Tashkent and Surkhandarya Provinces – August 2000	98
Tashkent and Bukhara – March 28-April 1, 2004	98
Tashkent – July 30, 2004	98
Andijan – May 12-13, 2005	99
Kyrgyz-Uzbek border (on the Kerben – Ala-Buka road) – March 18-26, 2016	99

Section One

Central Asian military facilities with foreign militaries – Past and Present

201st Motorized Rifle Division (Dushanbe and Qurghonteppa, Tajikistan)

Russia's 201st Motorized Rifle Division has been in Tajikistan since the end of the Soviet-Afghan War. Its headquarters is in Dushanbe and is subordinate to the Central Military District. Around 60 percent of the division is made up of contract soldiers, the remainder are conscripts. The division, with an estimated total strength of around 5,000 soldiers, is organized into three motorized rifle regiments: the 92nd and the 149th in Dushanbe, and the 191st in Qurghonteppa. The 92nd regiment also provides security at the Okno satellite tracking station near the Nurek dam. The division is supported by self-propelled artillery and air defense regiments as well as Mi-24P attack helicopters, Mi-8MTV transport helicopters and Su-25 attack aircraft. While it is unknown how much the Russian government pays Tajikistan for hosting the 201st, Russia has provided security assistance (equipment and training) to the Tajik Armed Forces. In 2012 the Russia reached an agreement with Tajikistan to use the facilities until 2042.¹

Ayni Airbase (Tajikistan)

Ayni (latitude: 38°30'44.43"N, longitude: 68°40'26.89"E) is an airbase located 15 kilometers (9.3 miles) west of Dushanbe, Tajikistan. Originally a Soviet airbase, Ayni was not used or well maintained until 2002 when India and Tajikistan signed an agreement to renovate it. The cost of the renovation was an estimated \$70 million. The Indian Border Roads Organization constructed an air-traffic control tower, hangars, a perimeter fence, and extended the runway to accommodate any type of aircraft. Reportedly, the airbase would have had Indian MiG-29 fighters and Mi-17 helicopters stationed there, but the agreement between India and Tajikistan was only for renovation. There were an estimated 100-150 Indian military personnel at Ayni during the renovation, but they were most likely members of the Border Roads Organization, which includes soldiers from the Army and the General Reserve Engineer Force. The official opening of the renovation took place in September 2010. The governments of Russia and India negotiated with Tajikistan over use of Ayni for a number of years, but no agreement was signed. In 2008 Russia and Tajikistan signed an agreement that would have allowed Russian air units to jointly use Ayni with Tajik forces, but this was never fully implemented. In 2015, Russian Armed Forces began deploying air units at Ayni, apparently under the agreement of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division.²

Farkhor Airfield (Tajikistan)

Farkhor airfield (latitude: 37°28'15.65"N, longitude: 69°22'54.05"E) is located southwest of the town of Farkhor, Tajikistan, only a few kilometers north of the Tajik-Afghan border and Panj River. During the Afghan civil war in the 1990s, India established a small hospital at Farkhor for wounded members of the Northern Alliance. After Ahmad Shah Massoud was mortally wounded in an assassination in September 2001, he was flown to Farkhor for treatment but died en route.³

Ichkesu (Kyrgyzstan)

Ichkesu (Ichkesuu), a village in the Tup District, Issyk Kul Province, is the site of the Automated Seismic Station #1, under the command of the Russian Defense Ministry. Its purpose is to monitor earthquakes and the testing and use of nuclear weapons around the world. It has been in Russian service since 1994.⁴

Kant Airbase (Kyrgyzstan)

Kant is a Russian airbase (the 999th airbase), located 20km, 12 miles east of Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (latitude: 42°51'19.22"N, longitude: 74°50'48.62"E). Around 400 soldiers from the Russian 5th Air Army, 4th Air Force and Air Defense Troops Command at Rostov-na-Donu, are stationed at Kant. However, after the Russian military restructured into regionally based commands, it is unknown to which command the 999th airbase is subordinate. In 2010, Russia established a unified command of its military facilities in Kyrgyzstan, including at Kant, Koisary, Ichke Suu, Kara Balta, and Mayluusuu. Kant is home to Su-27s, Su-25s, an II-8, II-76s, L-39 trainers and Mi-8s. Russia has been using Kant since 2003 and as of 2010, pays Kyrgyzstan \$4.5 million annually for renting the facility.⁵

Kara Balta (Kyrgyzstan)

Near the city of Kara Balta, located 62 km (38.5 miles) west of Bishkek, is the site of the 338th Communication Hub of the Russian Navy. It conducts long range radio contact with ships and submarines (reportedly, those operating in the Indian and Pacific Oceans). It has been in Russian service since Russian and Kyrgyzstan signed an agreement on it in 1993.⁶

Karshi-Khanabad (Uzbekistan)

Karshi-Khanabad (aka K-2) is an airbase (latitude: 38°50'1.87"N, longitude: 65°55'18.91"E) near the city of Karshi, Uzbekistan. It was used by U.S. forces from October 2001 to November 2005. The base was used for search and rescue operations and deliveries of humanitarian aid in support of Operation Enduring Freedom (OEF). Around 1,500 soldiers were stationed at K-2. In July 2005, the government of Uzbekistan gave the U.S. notice to withdraw all units from K-2 within six months. The last units departed K-2 in November, 2005.⁷

Koisary Naval Base (Kyrgyzstan)

Koisary, the 954th Test Base for Anti-Submarine Weapons, is a Russian naval base located on the eastern shore of Lake Issyk Kul, northwest of the city of Karakol. In operation since the 1950s and under the command of the Russian Navy since 1993, the base conducts torpedo testing in Lake Issyk Kul. This is also the site of a joint Russian-Kyrgyz project (95% Russian-5% Kyrgyzstan controlled) *Ozero*, which develops and tests new torpedoes.⁸

Mailuu Suu (Kyrgyzstan)

Mailuu Suu, a town in the Jalal-Abad Province around 100 km (60 miles) northwest of the city of Jalal-Abad, is the site of Automated Seismic Station #17, under the command of the Russian Defense Ministry. Like the facility at Ichkesu, its purpose is to monitor earthquakes and nuclear weapons testing. It is under the same agreement at Station #1.⁹

Okno (Tajikistan)

Okno (latitude: 38°16'47.78"N, longitude: 69°13'31.12"E) is an optical electronic facility located near the Nurek Dam in Tajikistan. Okno is under the command of the 45th Division of Space Monitoring, Russian Space Forces; a command subordinate to the Russian Defense Minister. Construction on Okno started in 1979, stopped because of the Tajik Civil War in 1992, and resumed in 1997. It became operational in 1999. Okno's tasks are to monitor, track, and collect information on objects orbiting the earth at altitudes of 2,000 to 40,000 km (1,300-25,000 miles). The facility sits at 2,200 meters (7,200 feet) above sea level where weather conditions are usually clear; it is only able to operate at night. Russia pays Tajikistan a symbolic rent of \$0.30 annually based on a 1994 agreement; in return Russia forgave Tajikistan's \$242 million debt. The agreement also leased the facility to Russia for 49 years.¹⁰

Termez Airport (Uzbekistan)

Termez Airport, located north of the city of Termez (latitude: 37°17'12.81"N, longitude: 67°18'36.34"E), hosted a German Air Force contingent from February 2002 to December 2015. The German Air Force, part of the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF), had around 300 soldiers stationed at the airport with several transport planes and helicopters (C-160s and CH-53s) and served as a hub for German soldiers transiting to bases in Afghanistan.¹¹

Transit Center at Manas (Kyrgyzstan)

The Transit Center at Manas, (formerly Manas Air Base and at one time Ganci Air Base) was a logistics and transit hub outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (latitude: 43.050278, longitude: 74.469444) in support of International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) operations in Afghanistan. It shared space and facilities with the Manas International Airport, which is located about 30km (18 miles) north of Bishkek. The transit center operated from December 2001 to June 2014.¹²

Vozrozhdeniya Island (Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan)

Vozrozhdeniya Island (also called Revival or Rebirth Island; the facility was officially known as Aralsk-7 or Kontubek) was the site of a Soviet biological weapons laboratory and testing site from 1954 until 1992 (reportedly it was also used from the 1930s until 1954). In 1992 Russia turned it over to the joint control of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. During Soviet ownership, they conducted tests on animals using anthrax, various forms of plague, tularemia, and possibly smallpox. Due to the shrinking of the Aral Sea, Vozrozhdeniya turned into a peninsula around 2001 and then completely became a part of the local mainland around 2008. After the island became accessible by land, people from the area scrapped and stripped the facilities of metal and other materials. In October 2001, the United States and Uzbekistan signed an agreement under the Cooperative Threat Reduction (CTR) program to decontaminate testing sites and dismantle the facilities. Some decontamination took place during the years of testing and when Russia turned over the facility. In February 2002, Russia reportedly signed an agreement with Kazakhstan to assist in the decontamination effort, but no further information is available on this cooperation. While the United States-Uzbekistan decontamination was reported as successful, local media claimed there are no published results of the program.¹³

Military and security organizations and programs

Border Management Programme in Central Asia (BOMCA)

BOMCA is a European Union (EU) funded program that started operations in 2003 with specific projects in each of the five Central Asian states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The BOMCA program has been carried out in nine phases, originally a part of the Technical Assistance to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS), and was managed and partially funded by the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) for phases one through eight (2003-2014 with the headquarters in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan and offices in the other four member states) with the ninth (and reportedly final) phase running from December 2014 through the end of 2017, though not under the management of the UNDP. Throughout all nine phases BOMCA has focused on improving security and infrastructure on selected border crossing points and trader corridors as well improvement of training and training facilities, all of which has been based on the European model of Integrated Border Management (IBM). Additionally, the Central Asia Border Security Initiative (CABSI), founded by the Austrian Ministry of the Interior and supported by the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), held annual conferences to coordinate and discuss program activities and strategic objectives. Past CABSI conferences were attended by representatives from the U.S., Russia, and Afghanistan. BOMCA has been one part of the EU's effort against drug trafficking in Central Asia with the other being the Central Asia Drug Action Programme (CADAP) which has been focused on combating drug addiction in the region since 2001, though CADAP reportedly became inactive during the transition from phase five to six in 2013. It started again in 2015 under the management of the Trimbos Institute. Also, the EU funded and UNDP managed Border Management Northern Afghanistan (BOMNAF, formerly BOMBAF – Border Management Badakhshan Afghanistan from 2007-2010) has coordinated projects on the Uzbek-Afghan and Tajik-Afghan borders.¹⁴

Central Asian Battalion (CENTRASBAT)

CENTRASBAT was formed in 1995 by Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan as a peacekeeping battalion. They requested NATO involvement, but the U.S. became the main supporter. CENTRASBAT conducted military exercises in Central Asia with the U.S. in 1997 and 1998, and conducted a seminar in the U.S. in 1999. CENTRASBAT '97 included a parachute drop by all three national members of the battalion and members of the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division. The units took off from Fort Bragg, North Carolina in eight C-17s and flew 16 hours to Kazakhstan. The exercise opened with a parachute jump into southern Kazakhstan followed by an exercise that included checkpoint control, vehicle inspections, riot control, mine field clearing and humanitarian aid operations.¹⁵ The latter half of the exercise took place in Uzbekistan. CENTRASBAT disbanded in 2000, although the battalion's name was used for one exercise in that year. The exercises were renamed Regional Cooperation and continued for several years.¹⁶

Central Asian Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC)

CARICC formed in 2009 with Azerbaijan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan as member states. CARICC's headquarters are in Almaty, Kazakhstan and its main objectives include coordinating efforts of member states in combating drug trafficking, facilitating cooperation among agencies of member states that combat crime associated with drug trafficking, assisting in organizing and executing joint international operations and investigations against drug trafficking, and the collection, storage, protection, analysis and exchange of information on cross-border crime associated with drug trafficking. Interagency coordination of member states takes place among national security services, interior ministries, customs services, border forces, and others. There are observers accredited to CARICC from Austria, Afghanistan, Canada, Finland, France, Germany, Italy, Pakistan, U.S., and Interpol. CARICC has partnerships with several regional and international security organizations including the UNODC Regional Office for Central Asia, Interpol, Europol, the World Customs Organization, the Antiterrorist Center of the CIS, and the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative (SECI) Regional Center for Combating Trans-border Crime. CARICC is largely financed by the UNODC and receives donations from observers and other countries.¹⁷

Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO)

The CSTO, Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (ОДКБ), is an intergovernmental military organization that formed following the collapse of the Soviet Union. Several former Soviet republics created and signed the Collective Security Treaty (CST) in 1992. The initial agreement was set to last for five years and in 1999 all members except Uzbekistan renewed. This treaty later turned into the CSTO in 2002. Uzbekistan rejoined the organization in June 2006 after leaving GUAM in 2005 and then suspended its membership in 2012.¹⁸ Current members of the CSTO are Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan.¹⁹ The CSTO reportedly allows member states to purchase weapons and equipment from the Russian defense industry at the same prices the Russian military pays; however, it has never been verified if service or spare parts is include with sales.²⁰ The charter of the CSTO (from 2002) is made up of 10 chapters that state the organization's purposes and principles and areas of activity.²¹ Since 2002 there have been additional amendments to the charter, including a 2007 amendment to conduct peacekeeping missions under a UN Security Council resolution, a 2010 amendment to allow the organizationa to respond to an internal threat to security of a member state (the prior treaty only allowed a response to an external threat of a member), and a 2011 amendment that would require all members to agree before any member hosts a foreign military in its territory. In 2012 CSTO signed a memorandum of understanding with the UN Department for Peacekeeping Operations. The memo allows the organization to to carry out a peacekeeping mission under a UN mandate.²²

CSTO Collective Forces

The CSTO has had some form of a collective force since 2001. At the CSTO (then CST) summit in Yerevan, Armenia in May 2001, members created the Collective Rapid Deployment Force for the Central Asian Region (CRDF CAR), sometimes referred to as Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF). This force included Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan each contributing either a battalion and/or a special forces unit with the goal of averting external aggression and terrorism. Additionally, Russia contributes a variety of fighter and transport

aircraft and helicopters that are deployed to the Kant Airbase outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan (see also Kant).²³

At a CSTO summit in 2008 and in February 2009, members discussed the need for a new collective force. In June 2009 they created the Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF), (Russian) Коллективные силы оперативного реагирования (КСОР). All CSTO members contribute to the force and it can be deployed to deal with threats from conventional militaries and non-state armed groups, as well as emergency or disaster situations and peacekeeping. CORF (КСОР) is made up of units from Russia (the 98th Guards Airborne Division, the 31st Guards Air Assault Brigade, special police units 'Bison' and 'Lynx', and a unit 'Leader,' from the Ministry of Emergency Situations); Belarus (the 103rd Guards special operations force and an Interior Ministry special forces unit); Kazakhstan (the 37th Air Assault Brigade); Kyrgyzstan (a battalion and a special unit from the Interior Ministry); Tajikistan (a battalion), and Armenia (a battalion) under Russian command. All units are home-based except for annual joint exercises with the exception of the Russian air units based at Kant.²⁴

Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)

The CIS, formed in 1991, is an association and successor organization to the Soviet Union. Its members include Russia, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Ukraine is a participant but not an official member. In 2005, Turkmenistan withdrew from the CIS and became an associate member and does not participate in the majority of councils or other activity in the organization. The CIS includes several military and security structures and councils of cooperation between member states (note: the Collective Security Treaty Organization grew out of the framework of the CIS, but is now a separate organization): the Council of Defense Ministers, the Air Defense Coordination Committee (for the CIS Air Defense system), the Council of Interior Ministers, the Council of the Heads of Security Agencies and Special Services, the Office of Coordination of Combating Organized Crime (BKBOP), the CIS Antiterrorism Center, and the Council of Commanders of Border Troops.²⁵

Commonwealth of Independent States Peacekeeping Force (CIS/PKF)

The CIS/PKF was a regional peacekeeping force made up of units from Russia (the 201st Motorized Rifle Division, which had been stationed in Tajikistan prior to the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and Russian Border Guards, which deployed along the Tajik-Afghan border and had likewise been in place prior to the civil war), and battalions from Kazakhstan (consisting of elements from the 35th Air Assault Brigade, Interior Ministry, and the Border Guards), Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan deployed to Tajikistan during the Tajik Civil War, 1992-97. The CIS/PKF numbered around 25,000 total soldiers, reaching a high of 28,000 in April 1997. The 201st, the Russian Border Forces, and an Uzbek force became involved in Tajikistan in 1992 when the war started. They did not become a formalized CIS peacekeeping force until September 1993. Despite CIS attempts to obtain a UN mandate, the CIS/PKF was not a UN backed peacekeeping force, but the CIS/PKF maintained contact with UNMOT. Each of the battalions from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan deployed to a sector on the Tajik-Afghan border; Kazakh forces operated in a sector near Qal'ai Khumb, Uzbek forces operated near Shahrtuz, and Kyrgyz forces operated near Khorog. The CIS/PKF's numbers were reduced following the 1997

peace agreement and the mandate ended in 2000. The Russian Border Forces remained in Tajikistan until 2005, when Tajikistan's Border Guards took over.²⁶

The Council of Commanders of Border Troops

The CIS heads-of-state created the Council of Commanders of Border Troops (Совета командующих Пограничными войсками or СКПВ), also referred to as the CIS Border Guards, in 1991 in order to protect each CIS state's borders during the transition to independence. Current members are Azerbaijan, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Moldova, Russia, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. The CIS Borders Guards' goals are to coordinate efforts and develop relations of the border troops in each member country in the field of external borders and economic zones as well as to ensure a stable overall situation. The CIS Border Guards members also cooperate on military-technical policy and training. The organization is headed by a chairman (historically a General of the Russian Federal Border Service) with each member state holding the position of vice-chairmen (represented by officers from the border or security services of each member state). The CIS Border Guards also coordinates with the CIS Anti-terror Center and the CIS Executive Committee.²⁷

GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development

GUAM, formerly GUUAM, is a regional organization established in 2001 consisting of Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova as members. Uzbekistan was a member but withdrew in 2005.²⁸

Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT)

Kazakhstan's peacekeeping battalion (KAZBAT) grew out of the peacekeeping company that Kazakhstan contributed to the former Central Asian Peacekeeping Battalion (CENTRASBAT). The government of Kazakhstan formed the unit in January 2000 from the company sized element that existed in CENTRASBAT. KAZBAT has been expanding and developing since its inception through the country's NATO Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP) and involvement with the Global Peace Operations Initiative, a U.S. security assistance program. The unit's main efforts to develop come from its annual "Steppe Eagle" peacekeeping exercises, the first of which took place in 2003. As part of Kazakhstan's IPAP with NATO, KAZBAT is being assessed according to NATO's Operational Capabilities Concept (OCC). NATO established the OCC in April 1999 in order to build up the capabilities and interoperability of Partnership for Peace members' armed forces to participate in NATO peacekeeping operations. NATO has been assessing KAZBAT according to two evaluation levels, with level one measuring interoperability status with NATO forces and level two measuring capabilities to be added to NATO's Pool of Forces, the latter of which would make the unit available for a peacekeeping mission. KAZBAT reportedly achieved evaluation level one during the 2017 iteration of Steppe Eagle.²⁹

Members of KAZBAT deployed to Iraq from 2003-2008. The deployment consisted of 27 soldiers serving for six month periods with a total of 10 rotations, with a total of 200 soldiers deploying, and worked on water purification and demining projects under the command of a division from Poland. The unit sustained one casualty in January 2005. In 2008 the government of Kazakhstan considered a deployment of four soldiers from the unit to the International

Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan; however, in June 2011 the deployment was delayed indefinitely after the Kazakh Senate (the upper section of Kazakhstan's parliament) did not ratify an agreement to allow the deployment. Also, members of the unit have deployed as experts on mission to the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) and the UN Operation in Côte d'Ivoire (UNOCI). KAZBAT has been in the process of expanding into a peacekeeping brigade (KAZBRIG), but it is unknown when this transition will be complete.³⁰

National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP)

The U.S. Army National Guard State Partnership Program (SPP) was established in 1991, out of a EUCOM Joint Contact program that matched U.S. reservists with the militaries of the Baltic countries (Estonia, Latvia, and Lithuania). The program grew into the SPP with the National Guard Bureau. All Central Asian countries are matched with the National Guard of a U.S. state; Kazakhstan – Arizona, Kyrgyzstan – Montana, Tajikistan – Virginia, Turkmenistan – Nevada (ended), and Uzbekistan – Mississippi. The cooperation is military focused but often includes assistance from various state agencies.³¹

Kazakhstan – Arizona

The Kazakhstan – Arizona partnership started in 1993; cooperation has included a project on a Non-Commissioned Officers program in Kazakhstan, joint training (including Steppe Eagle, aviation operations and maintenance, military police procedures, and HMMWV maintenance), and Arizona's Department of Emergency and Military Affairs together with Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations, a program on disaster preparedness and firefighting techniques.³²

Kyrgyzstan – Montana

The Kyrgyzstan – Montana partnership started in 1996; cooperation has included a visit by then President Askar Akayev to Montana in 2003, training exercises (military, medical, search and rescue, and emergency response), and work with Kyrgyzstan's Drug Control Agency. The Alaska and Nebraska National Guard have also been involved with some of these efforts.³³

Tajikistan – Virginia

The Tajikistan – Virginia partnership started in 2003; cooperation has included exchanges on disaster response, staff officer information, military medicine, peacekeeping operations, and junior leader development.³⁴

Turkmenistan – Nevada

The Turkmenistan – Nevada partnership started in 1996, although activities did not start until 2002; cooperation included fire response, border control and construction on border crossing facilities, and search and rescue. The partnership ended sometime in 2009-2010 and Turkmenistan is not partnered with any state as of August 2016.³⁵

Uzbekistan – Mississippi (formerly Louisiana)

The Uzbekistan – Louisiana partnership started in 1996. In 2003, Louisiana hosted the International Workshop for Emergency Response (IWER), an event also attended by observers

from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.³⁶ Uzbekistan is now partnered with the Mississippi National Guard.³⁷

North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) Program

NATO PfP started in 1994 as a program of bilateral cooperation between NATO and non-member countries in Eastern Europe and Central Asia. The Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council (EAPC) provides the political framework for cooperation between NATO and PfP members; it started in 1992 as the North Atlantic Cooperation Council (NACC) until 1997 when it changed to EAPC. PfP members set up cooperation with NATO through an Individual Partnership and Cooperation Program (IPCP), formerly known as the Individual Partnership Program (IPP). The IPCP is a two year program that consists of activities which NATO and PfP members agree upon based the latter's interest and needs. There are a number of activities that the two sides can conduct, but most focus on interoperability with NATO forces and building member capacity in addition to support for defense and security sector reform. The focus on interoperability and capacity building came out of the September 2014 NATO summit, though both initiatives were in place for PfP members before 2014. There are several activities (also known as tools in NATO cooperation) that develop interoperability and build member capacity, including:

- the Planning and Review Process (PARP), which works to develop forces for NATO training, exercises, and operations as well as defense reform and modernization
- the Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP), which offers a closer partnership with NATO than the PARP and includes political aspects in addition to the ability of individual NATO members to provide bilateral assistance
- the Partnership Action Plan against Terrorism (PAP-T), which focuses on intelligence sharing, training and exercises against terrorism, and responding to a terrorist attack
- the Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), which works to coordinate disaster relief efforts
- the Science for Peace and Security (SPS) program, which provides funding and support for science and technology projects related to security
- the Defense Education and Enhancement Program (DEEP), which focuses on developing and reforming military and security educational institutions.³⁸

Additionally, a NATO Liaison Office operated in Central Asia for several years and it worked with the five states on their PfP activities. It closed in March 2017 and moved its operations to NATO headquarters in Brussels. The Liaison Office had been located in Astana and Tashkent.³⁹

NATO and Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan joined the PfP program in 1994 and started participation in the PARP in 2002. The Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT), transitioning to a bridge (KAZBRIG), is being developed through the framework of the PARP. The Kazakhstan PfP training center KAZCENT, which offers peacekeeping relates courses, received accreditation from NATO in 2010 and was supported by the Global Peace Operations Initiative. Kazakhstan is also the only Central Asian PfP member to have an IPAP, which began in 2006 and has continued to the present every two years. Kazakhstan is also involved with PAP-T, EADRCC, SPS, in addition to hosting a number of the Steppe Eagle exercises and allowing shipments of non-lethal cargo to forces in Afghanistan.⁴⁰

NATO and Kyrgyzstan

Kyrgyzstan joined PfP in 1994 and the PARP in 2007, as well as participation with EADRCC and the SPS program. Kyrgyzstan has selected an infantry company, a National Guard platoon, and a border guards company to be involved with PfP exercises and potential peacekeeping operations.⁴¹

NATO and Tajikistan

Tajikistan joined PfP in 2002, has been involved with the SPS program, and has been considering joining the PARP as of 2014. Tajikistan has selected an infantry platoon and a group of staff officers and military medics to be involved with PfP exercises.⁴²

NATO and Turkmenistan

Turkmenistan joined PfP in 1994, has been involved with the SPS program and while it has an IPCP, it does not participate in any other activities because of its neutrality status (Turkmenistan has a status of permanent neutrality officially recognized by the UN) and does not offer any forces for PfP exercises.⁴³

NATO and Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan joined PfP in 1994 and the PARP in 2002, though the latter suspended operations from 2005-2010 following the incident in Andijan. Uzbekistan is also involved with DEEP, the SPS program, and allowed shipments of non-lethal cargo to forces in Afghanistan starting in 2010.⁴⁴

The Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE)

The OSCE is a security organization that grew out of the Helsinki Accords in 1975; a declaration to improve relations between the communist bloc and the west. It officially became the OSCE in 1995. The OSCE views security as having three dimensions: politico-military, economic and environmental, and human.⁴⁵ Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan are all OSCE members. Afghanistan is an OSCE Partner for Cooperation. Each of the five post-Soviet countries has an OSCE Field Operation working on politico-military projects.

OSCE Centre in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan

The OSCE established a Centre in Turkmenistan in 1998 with an open-ended mandate. The Centre's politico-military activities include: promoting OSCE Confidence-and Security-Building Measures, combating terrorism and organized crime, combating trafficking in small arms and light weapons, drugs, human beings and chemical, biological, radioactive and nuclear substances, and strengthening border security. Since 2006 the Centre has been training border security officials on detecting contraband through x-rays and physical searches. The Centre also worked with Turkmenistan's State Border and Customs Services, and the Ministries of Interior and National Security on modern techniques for finding drugs in railroad cars, trucks, and ships.⁴⁶

OSCE Centre in Astana (formerly in Almaty)

The OSCE established a Centre in Almaty in 1998 and moved it to Astana in 2007. The mandate was open-ended until 2001, when it changed to an annual renewal. The Centre's politico-military activities include: international terrorism, border security, control of small arms and light weapons, and police activities. The Astana Centre works with other Central Asian OSCE Centres on these issues. These activities are done with support of two other OSCE programs, the Action against Terrorism Unit (ATU) and the Strategic Police Matters Unit (SPMU). Created in 2001 the ATU works with all OSCE members on their individual anti-terror activities. It also works with a variety of organizations, including the CIS, the CIS Anti-Terror Center, the CSTO, and the SCO.⁴⁷ OSCE member states created the SPMU in 2001 in order to strengthen police-related activities and protect against organized crime, arms, drugs and other forms of trafficking. Police advisors from the SPMU work in OSCE regional or field operations.⁴⁸

OSCE Centre in Bishkek

The OSCE established a Centre in Bishkek in 1998 with an open-ended mandate until 2003, when it changed to an annual renewal. The Centre is involved with policing and several politico-military activities. The policing program includes police order management, emergency call centers, working with the (Bishkek) Police Academy, human resource management, professional development in forensics and criminal investigations and community policing. The politico-military activities include border security (building capacity against trans-border crimes and threats among Kyrgyzstan's border agencies, there is also work done on conflict prevention at the OSCE field office in Osh), and anti-terrorism (building capacity for cooperation among Kyrgyzstan's agencies tasked with anti-terror activities).⁴⁹

OSCE Office in Tajikistan

The OSCE opened a Mission to Tajikistan in 1994, changed it to a Centre in 2002, and finally into an Office in 2008. The mandate is open-ended and renewed annually. The Office's headquarters is located in Dushanbe and there are field offices in the cities of Khujand, Kurgan-Tyube, Garm, Kulyab and Shaartuz. The Office is involved with counter-terrorism and police assistance, border management, and weapons disposal activities.⁵⁰ Counter-terrorism and police assistance include working with all law enforcement agencies to combat organized crime, drug trafficking and terrorism, focusing on police training, structural and operational reforms, and the introduction of community policing. Border Management includes three projects as solutions to developing Tajikistan's border management following the withdrawal of the Russian Border Guards in 2005. The first project is developing a national border strategy and a related implementation plan. The second and third projects are providing training and equipment (training to detect and prevent illegal movement across the Tajik/Afghan border and equipment to help the Tajik customs service and a group of Afghan customs officials detect chemicals illegally entering Tajikistan). Additionally, the OSCE established a Border Management Staff College (BMSC) in Dushanbe in 2009. The purpose of the BMSC is to enhance the knowledge of present and future senior managers of border security and management agencies of OSCE members and Partners for Cooperation. This is done through the framework of the OSCE Border Security and Management Concept.⁵¹ The BMSC conducts staff courses several times a year; each course is around 5 weeks in duration and will have 25 places open for senior border managers (15 places are for Central Asian OSCE members, 5 for Afghans, and 5 for other OSCE members).⁵²

OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan

The OSCE opened a Liaison Office in Central Asia (in Tashkent) in 1995. It changed into an OSCE Centre in 2000, and then became the Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan in 2006. Its mandate is renewed annually. The Project Co-ordinator's headquarters is located in Tashkent and has been involved in working with Uzbekistan on combating terrorism, violent extremism, and drug trafficking. A series of projects ran from 2008-09 that included seminars and workshops on combating terrorism and drug trafficking, and assisting Uzbekistan's Police Academy under the Ministry of Internal Affairs largely through improving training.⁵³

Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO)

The SCO, originally called the "Shanghai Five", is a security organization formed in 1996 with China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as original members. Uzbekistan joined in 2001 and the organization renamed itself the SCO. In June 2017 India and Pakistan became members, while Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran and Mongolia are observer states in the organization. There are also six dialogue partners in the SCO: Azerbaijan, Armenia, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Turkey. Turkmenistan has attended SCO meetings as a guest. The SCO focuses on military-security issues between member states, and in more recent years the focus widened to include economic and trade cooperation. One of the permanent bodies of the SCO, besides the Secretariat position, is the Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS). The RATS was established in 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan and is tasked with several duties, based on three areas the SCO views as threats: terrorism, separatism, and extremism. The main duties are working with institutions of member states and international organizations against the three threats; assist member states with staging counter-terrorism exercises and conducting search operations against the three threats; joint drafting of legal documents against the threats; gathering and analyzing information from member states on threats, which is later stored in a database in RATS; jointly responding to global challenges and threats; and holding conferences and workshops on fighting the three threats.⁵⁴

Six plus Two/Six plus Three

In 1997, the President of Uzbekistan Islam Karimov proposed the Six plus Two group to the UN Secretary General's Special Envoy on Afghanistan Lakhdar Brahimi. It became officially known as the Declaration on Fundamental Principles for a Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in Afghanistan, signed in Tashkent, Uzbekistan in 1999. Six plus Two included all the countries bordering Afghanistan (China, Iran, Pakistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan) plus the two other countries with an interest in security in Afghanistan (the U.S. and Russia). The UN Security Council backed the declaration, particularly its goals of not providing weapons or military support to any group in Afghanistan. The goal of Six plus Two was to create a dialogue between members of the declaration and all factions in Afghanistan, ultimately so that the conflict would be resolved through negotiation and not military means.⁵⁵ A few meetings were held (that included all members) to discuss ending conflict and eliminate drug trafficking and production out of Afghanistan.⁵⁶ Six plus Two effectively stopped activities following the September 11 attacks in the U.S.

The group reemerged in 2008 as Six plus Three, to include all the previous members with the addition of NATO. Karimov revitalized the idea during the 2008 NATO Summit in Bucharest.⁵⁷ However, since then the group has remained as a proposal but has not held any meetings. Russia did not support Six plus Three in 2008; they believed NATO involvement gave the U.S. too much influence and that Afghanistan should be included in the group as a full partner, not as a participant of the dialogue. Russia instead backed the SCO Afghanistan Contact Group (which took shape during Russia's presidency of the SCO in 2008-09).⁵⁸ Russia's position changed somewhat in late 2009; Russian Foreign Minister Sergei Lavrov stressed diplomatic solutions to Afghanistan's problems.⁵⁹ Pakistan's Prime Minister Gilani expressed support for the proposal in a visit to Uzbekistan in March 2011.⁶⁰

United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan (UNMOT)

UNMOT was a UN peacekeeping operation in Tajikistan from December 1994 through May 2000. UNMOT grew out of a UN mission of 15 military observers already in Tajikistan. They arrived in October 1994. The team was observing the September 1994 Tehran (cease-fire) agreement between the Tajik government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO). The UN Security Council established UNMOT in December 1994 under UN Security Resolution 968. The main points of UNMOT's mandate were to assist the Joint Commission (made up of government and UTO members); to monitor the implementation of the Tehran agreement; to investigate reports of cease-fire violations; to provide mediation; and to maintain contacts with the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (the predecessor of the OSCE), with the CIS peacekeeping force in Tajikistan (which included units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Uzbekistan), and with the Russian Border Forces. UNMOT personnel were a collection of military observers, international civilian staff, and local staff. The number of military observers started at 40, rose to 120 in September 1997, and ended at 17 in May 2000. This did not include civilian or local staff. UNMOT continued work even when violence broke out again in 1996. A ceasefire in December 1996 led to the General Agreement on the Establishment of Peace and National Accord signed in June 1997. As a result of the agreement, UNMOT expanded in 1997 to include more civil affairs personnel and military observers. The 1997 agreement created a transition period during which refugees returned, UTO fighters demobilized or integrated into the government (although this did not take place to the extent it was expected), the military and security forces reformed, and improvement of the democratic process that would lead to new parliamentary elections. The first parliamentary elections took place in early 2000. The transition period was successful, outside of some violence in 1998, and UNMOT's mandate expired in May 2000 and the peacekeeping operation ended.⁶¹

United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC)

The UNODC is a UN agency headquartered in Vienna, Austria with the the Regional Office for Central Asia (ROCA) in Tashkent, Uzbekistan and program offices in all Central Asian countries. The UNODC's main goals are to assist member states with combating drugs, crime and terrorism and it carries out these goals through field-based projects, research and analysis of the three issues, and working with member state governments on legislation. Based on these goals, the UNODC's activities in Central Asia include work with the Central Asia Regional Information and Coordination Centre (CARICC), work on precursor chemical control, a border liaison office project, working with national drug control agencies and intelligence led policing.

In addition to these activities, all five Central Asian states are partners in the UNODC led Paris Pact Initiative (PPI), a framework created in 2003 by 55 countries to coordinate actions on combating drug trafficking from Afghanistan, including improving security on Central Asia's borders with Afghanistan.⁶²

United Nations Regional Centre for Preventative Diplomacy for Central Asia (UNRCCA)

The UNRCCA, headquartered in Ashgabat, Turkmenistan, was established in December 2007 at the request of member states: Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. It is a special political mission of the UN. The opening of the UNRCCA took place not long after the closure of the United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peace Building. The functions of the UNRCCA are: to work with regional governments on preventative diplomacy; to provide the UN and Secretary General with up-to-date information on conflict prevention efforts; to maintain contact, coordinate, and exchange information with the OSCE, the CIS, the SCO, and other regional organizations; to provide framework and leadership for preventative efforts of UN country teams; and to maintain close contact with the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan.⁶³ Ashgabat was the site of previous multi-party negotiations. The government of Turkmenistan hosted a later round of the Inter-Tajik Negotiation, from November 1995 through July 1996, and the International Forum on Assistance to Afghanistan in January 1997.⁶⁴

United Nations Tajikistan Office of Peacebuilding (UNTOP)

UNTOP was a UN peacebuilding office in Tajikistan from June 2000 to August 2007 that provide support following the end of UNMOT. UNTOP's annually renewable mandate was to provide the political framework and leadership for post-conflict peace-building activities; to mobilize international support for the implementation of programs (rule of law, demobilization, voluntary arms collection and employment creation for former irregular fighters); to help create an environment for consolidating peace; and to liaise with the government, political parties, and other society members to broaden national consensus and reconciliation. UNTOP's staff were made up of international civilian and local support staff.⁶⁵

Section Two

Joint exercises with Central Asian military and security forces

Ala-Too Antiterror 2013

Ala-Too Antiterror 2013 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Ukraine exercise that took place in two phases, the first from September 4-13, 2013 and the second on September 26, 2013 in Kyrgyzstan. The first phase of the exercise included personnel from the security services of participants, while the second phase included a special forces unit from the Russian Ministry of Defense, units from Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of Defense and National Security Committee as well the country's Ministry of Emergency Situations. The first phase focused on

intelligence sharing and cooperation among agencies of member countries with an emphasis on possible scenarios related to the withdrawal of forces from Afghanistan in 2014. The second and active phase involved units from Russia and Kyrgyzstan and focused on scenarios of hostage rescue at a school (which included an insertion by Mi-8 transport helicopter and the use of a BRDM armored vehicle) and in an airplane, followed by decontamination of radioactive materials (by the Kyrgyz Ministry of Emergency Situations), and then an assault (by Kyrgyz Defense forces with the use of BMP infantry fighting vehicles and an armed variant of a Mi-8 helicopter) against an armed group in the mountains; all portions of the second phase took place near Bishkek and the Kant Airbase. Also in attendance at the exercise were all members of the CIS ATC (except for Uzbekistan) and the Secretary General of INTERPOL.⁶⁶

Aldaspan 2008

Aldaspan (Алдаспан, Sword) 2008 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September-October 2008 near Almaty. The exercise included an airborne and aviation units from Kazakhstan's Southern Command, and a special forces command element and aviation units (including Su-27 fighter aircraft and Tu-160 bombers) from Russia. The exercise focused on joint operational readiness between the two countries.⁶⁷

Aldaspan 2012

Aldaspan (Алдаспан, Sword) 2012 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place July 7-12, 2012 at the Koktal range, Kazakhstan. The exercise included airmobile forces and aviation units from Kazakhstan's Southern Command, and Russian units from the Central Military District and aviation units from the Russian airbase at Kant (Kyrgyzstan), and focused on a scenario of surrounding, cutting off escape points and destroying a group of militants in a mountain village.⁶⁸

Anyrakai 2018

Anyrakai-2018 (Аныракай-2018) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 23-29, 2018 at the Otar base, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved around 300 personnel (from Kazakh and Kyrgyz special purpose units) and focused on a joint special operation (including night ambushes and raids, and the use of unmanned aerial vehicles and artillery).⁶⁹

Anyrakai 2019

Anyrakai 2019 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place September 2-6, 2019 at the Edelweiss training center (Issyk Kul Oblast), Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from Kazakh reconnaissance and Kyrgyz special purpose units) and focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group in mountainous terrain.⁷⁰

Ararat Antiterror 2019

Ararat Antiterror 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 9-13 and 25-26, 2019 at several locations. The CIS Antiterrorism Center exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from various security agencies of participating members) and was carried in three phases. The first phase

(September 9-13) took place in each of the participating member states and focused on a scenario of a joint operation to gather intelligence on a network of terrorists from Syria and Iraq attempting to infiltrate the region and carry out attacks. The second and third phases (September 25-26) took place at the Bagramyan base in Armenia and focused on a scenario of a hostage rescue, protecting and preventing sabotage of energy-related infrastructure and the elimination of a terrorist group.⁷¹

Azov Antiterror 2003

Azov Antiterror 2003 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Ukraine exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place June 9-11, 2003 in two phases in the ports, Krym (Ukraine) and Kavkaz (Russia). The first phase involved operational planning and the second, active phase involved antiterrorist units from the security, emergency, and interior ministries of participants, including Kazakhstan's National Security Service (KNB) 'Arystan' unit, in a maritime hostage rescue scenario.⁷²

Balance exercise series

"Balance" was a series of bilateral exercises conducted through the U.S. Joint Combined Training Exercises (JCET) program in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan.⁷³

- *Balance Bars*
Balance Bars was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan exercise conducted from July 22-August 22, 2002 at the Kapchagay range, north of Almaty. The exercise focused on reconnaissance and small unit tactics in desert and mountainous environments.⁷⁴
- *Balance Kayak*
Balance Kayak was a set of joint U.S.-Kazakhstan exercises conducted in August 1996, June 1997, August 1998, and the spring of 1999. The exercises focused on combat medical training.⁷⁵
- *Balance Knife*
Balance Knife was a joint U.S.-Kyrgyzstan exercise conducted in March 2003 and focused on mountain combat and combat medicine.⁷⁶
- *Balance Knight*
Balance Knight was a joint U.S.-Kyrgyzstan exercise conducted in January and February 2003 and included soldiers from the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry, the "Scorpion" battalion. The exercise focused on mountaineering, rapid response, helicopter maneuvers, and first aid skills.⁷⁷
- *Balance Ultra*
Balance Ultra was a set of joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercises conducted in the Fergana Valley, Uzbekistan in autumn 1996, June 1997, September 1998, and June 1999. The exercises focused on combat medical and mountain training.⁷⁸

- *Balance Umbra*
Balance Umbra was a joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercise that took place in April 2000 near Chirchik, Uzbekistan. It involved U.S. and Uzbek special forces and focused on counterinsurgency operations in mountain areas.⁷⁹
- *Balance Umpire*
Balance Umpire was a joint U.S.-Uzbekistan exercise that took place in June 2001 and focused on desert operations, including patrols, medical and first aid treatment, helicopter insertions, ambush techniques, and logistical planning for desert conditions.⁸⁰

Baykonur Antiterror 2007

Baykonur Antiterror 2007 was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place September 25-28, 2007 at the Baykonur Cosmodrome in southern Kazakhstan. Planning sessions were held from September 6-25 in participating states to identify facilities that could be targeted by terrorist groups and ways to better secure them. The exercise included antiterrorist units from security agencies of participants in a scenario of hostage rescue at a rocket fuel storage facility in Baykonur. Antiterrorist units parachuted into the area to rescue hostages and neutralize terrorists, while a group from the Russian ‘Alpha’ antiterrorist unit role played as terrorists.⁸¹

Caspian Antiterror 2005

Caspian Antiterror 2005 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Ukraine exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place August 17-19, 2005 in the port Aqtau in western Kazakhstan. The exercise included antiterrorist units from security agencies of participants, and Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Emergency Situations, in a scenario of rescuing hostages and neutralizing a terrorist group in a fuel-energy industrial complex in the port.⁸²

Caspian 2011

Caspian 2011 was a joint Azerbaijan-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 29, 2011 in the north of the Caspian Sea (near the Astrakhan Province, Russia). The exercise involved 332 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of each participant, 9 aircraft (including the Be-200 amphibious plane and the Mi-171 transport helicopter) and 22 ships (including a firefighting ship), and focused on a scenario of responding to a collision between an oil tanker and another ship near an oil drilling platform. Turkmenistan sent observers to the exercise.⁸³

Central Asia Antiterror-2015

Central Asia Antiterror-2015 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 15-17, 2015 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO command and staff exercise included members of the security services of participants and focused on organizing and carrying out a joint operation to search for terrorist groups in the event of a crisis.⁸⁴

CENTRASBAT 97

CENTRASBAT 97 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Georgia-Latvia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 14-21, 1997 near Shymkent, Kazakhstan and at the Chirchik base, Uzbekistan. The first phase of the exercise involved an airborne drop of 540 soldiers (500 from the U.S. 82nd Airborne Division and 40 from CENTRASBAT, made of up soldiers from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan); the soldiers took off from Fort Bragg, North Carolina on September 14 and flew non-stop (with mid-air refuelings) on six C-17 cargo planes to Kazakhstan. The soldiers dropped outside Shymkent and trained on securing an airfield; this was immediately followed by a group of 80 soldiers (40 from Russia and Turkey each flying from their home bases) conducting a drop. Additional soldiers from CENTRASBAT joined the group on the ground and all units conducted peacekeeping drills (setting up checkpoints and vehicle inspections, and delivering humanitarian aid). On September 18 the exercise moved (over land) for the second phase at the Chirchik base in Uzbekistan, where soldiers from Georgia and Latvia also joined the exercise (120 U.S. soldiers remained for the second phase, while the rest departed) and peacekeeping training continued.⁸⁵

CENTRASBAT 98

CENTRASBAT 98 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Azerbaijan-Georgia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 22-28, 1998 at the Chirchik base, Uzbekistan and near Osh, Kyrgyzstan. The peacekeeping exercise involved over 700 soldiers (around 250 soldiers from the U.S. 10th Mountain Division, though some estimates put this number at 160 soldiers, 272 soldiers from CENTRASBAT, and another 200 total from the other participants) and during the first phase (at Chirchik) focused on setting up checkpoints, conducting patrols, and containing civil unrest. The second phase (near Osh) focused on establishing a separation zone between belligerents during a conflict.⁸⁶

CENTRASBAT 2000

CENTRASBAT 2000 was a joint U.S.-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan-Azerbaijan-Georgia-Mongolia-Russia-Turkey exercise that took place September 11-18, 2000 at the Ilysky range, Kazakhstan. The peacekeeping exercise involved several hundred soldiers from participants (estimates range from 500-1400, reportedly a company from each country; the U.S. 82nd Airborne and the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Divisions were involved) and focused on a scenario of peacekeeping tasks, but also included hostage rescue (with Russian and Uzbek soldiers freeing hostages from Turkish and Mongolian soldiers role-playing as militants), border security, and counterinsurgency. This was the last CENTRASBAT exercise to take place before the battalion disbanded.⁸⁷

CIS Antiterrorist Center Command and Staff Training

The CIS Antiterrorist Center has conducted command and staff training, in addition to joint antiterrorism exercises, since its inception.⁸⁸

Clear Sky 2012

Clear Sky 2012 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place from October 5-16, 2012 in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan. The exercise included

around 20 aircraft (unknown numbers of MiG-31 interceptors, A-50 airborne early warning and control, and Mi-8 transport helicopters) and the air defense systems of each country, and focused on defending the airspace of participants.⁸⁹

Clear Sky 2018

Clear Sky 2018 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 25-27, 2018 in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The CIS joint air defense operational-tactical command-staff exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on improving command and control issues of the joint air defense system in Central Asia.⁹⁰

Coalition 2003 (also called Cooperation 2003)

Coalition was a joint Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) anti-terror exercise that took place from August 6-12, 2003 in Kazakhstan and China. Around 1,300 total soldiers from China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participated. The exercise happened in two phases; the first was in Ucharal, Kazakhstan and dealt with a scenario of taking a plane back from hijackers and eliminating terrorists across borders, while the second was in Ili in the Xinjiang Province, China and dealt with hostage rescue operations and destroying terrorist camps.⁹¹

Combat Brotherhood (2006)

Combat Brotherhood was a joint Russia-Uzbekistan exercise that took place from September 19-23, 2006 in the Krasnodar territory, Russia. The exercise included almost 400 airborne and special operation soldiers from Russia and Uzbekistan with the scenario of destroying a group of armed gangs in the region. This was a follow up to the Forish range exercise that took place the previous year in Uzbekistan.⁹²

Combat Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Combat Brotherhood 2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place November 10-20 at the Kharbmaydon and Lyaur ranges in Tajikistan. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise was the fourth and final part of the CSTO series “Combat Brotherhood-2017” and involved 5,000 personnel, 60 aircraft (including Su-27 and Su-30 fighters, Tu-95 bombers, and transport helicopters) and over 1,000 pieces of equipment (including the Iskander-M short-range ballistic missile system and various unmanned aerial vehicles). The exercise focused on a joint operation to eliminate an armed group in mountainous terrain.⁹³

Combat Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Combat Brotherhood 2018 was a series of operational-strategic exercises consisting of “Poisk-2018 (Search 2018),” “Vozdushniy Most 2018 (Air Bridge 2018),” “Vzaimodeystviye 2018 (Interaction 2018),” and “Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018,” which took place October 2-November 2, 2018 at various locations of CSTO member states. “Rubezh 2018 (Frontier 2018)” was listed as one of the exercises in the series and reportedly took place October 22-27, 2018 at

the Kharbmaydon range (Tajikistan) as an exercise of the Collective Operational Reaction Force, but little information appeared in media at the time the exercise took place.⁹⁴

Combat Commonwealth 2018

Combat Commonwealth 2018 was a joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 18-22, 2018 at the Chorukhdayron training center (Sughd Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 600 personnel (500 from Tajikistan and 100 from Uzbekistan) and various equipment (including T-72 tanks, armored personnel carriers, helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group in the Fergana Valley region.⁹⁵

Combat Commonwealth 2019 (Belarus-Uzbekistan exercise)

Combat Commonwealth 2019 was a joint Belarus-Uzbekistan exercise that took place May 20-27, 2019 at the Gurumsaray range (Namangan Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number personnel and focused on a joint tactical scenario.⁹⁶

Combat Commonwealth 2019 (CIS air defense exercise)

Combat Commonwealth 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place August 27-September 18, 2019 at the Saryshagan range (Karaganda Oblast), Kazakhstan and the Ashuluk range (Astrakhan Oblast), Russia. The CIS air defense exercise involved around 2000 personnel and 200 pieces of equipment (including S-75, S-125, S-200V, S-300PS, and S-400 surface-to-air missile systems, Mi-35, Mi-171, Mi-17 and EU-145 helicopters, Su-25 close air support aircraft, Su-24MR, Su-27, Su-30SM, Su-34, MiG-29, and MiG-31B fighters, a Tu-22M3 bomber, and a WinlongWL unmanned aerial vehicle) and focused on a scenario of defending against enemy air strikes (from fighters, bombers and missiles) and took place first at Saryshagan (with units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Russia) and later at Ashuluk (with units from all participants).⁹⁷

Combat Commonwealth series

Combat Commonwealth is a CIS Joint Air Defense system exercise conducted annually from 1998-2005 (except for 2002), and then every other year. The first exercise in 1998 included Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia. In 1999 Armenia joined in the exercise, and in 2000 Tajikistan and Ukraine participated, in addition to the participants from previous years.⁹⁸

- *Combat Commonwealth 2000* took place at the Ashuluk range near Astrakhan, Russia, from August 21-25, 2000, with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Ukraine participating; 1,600 soldiers and 30 aircraft took part in the exercise. The exercise included test firing missile systems (S-75, S-125, and S-300) as well as air strikes with Su-27, Su-25, and Su-24 aircraft.⁹⁹
- *Combat Commonwealth 2001* took place at the Ashuluk range in Russia, from August 22-30, 2001, with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The exercise included test firing surface-to-air missiles, specifically the S-200V and S-300 systems, in a scenario of stopping enemy airstrikes and regaining airspace control in order to

ultimately halt a planned enemy ground offensive. This was the third phase of the exercise; the first took place near Chita, Russia in June, and the second in Russia's Baltic Sea region (Kaliningrad) in early August.¹⁰⁰

- *Combat Commonwealth 2003* took place in three phases: the first phase in the Baltic region (in Kaliningrad) from June 15-July 4, 2003 with Russian and Belarus participating; the second phase at the Sary Shagan range, Kazakhstan from July 5-August 20, 2003 with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan participating; and the third phase at the Ashuluk range, Astrakhan, Russia, from September 1-4, 2003 with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The Minister of Defense from Turkmenistan attended the third phase as an observer. The third phase included around 1,000 soldiers and 40 aircraft (MiG-29s, Su-24s, Su-25s, and Su-27s), as well as anti-aircraft units (the S-125, variants of the S-300 surface-to-air missile systems) in operational practice against terrorism and regional conflicts.¹⁰¹
- *Combat Commonwealth 2004* took place April 7, 2004 at command posts and air bases of members of the CIS Air Defense System, Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan. Aircraft (including the A-50 airborne warning and control, Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support, and Su-24 and Tu-22M3 bombers) from Belarus, Russia, and Kazakhstan (including Russian units stationed at Kant Airbase in Kyrgyzstan) conducted practice flights.¹⁰²
- *Combat Commonwealth 2005* took place in three phases: the first phase at the Telemba range in the Chita region, Russia, June 25-July 10, 2005 with Russia and Belarus participating; the second phase at the Sary Shagan range, Kazakhstan, August 5-12, 2005 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participating; and the third phase at the Ashuluk range, Russia, August 22-30, 2005 with Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan participating and Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan sending observers. The second phase in Kazakhstan included five air defense brigades; while the second included S-75, S-125, and S-300 anti-aircraft missile systems; and A-50 early warning aircraft, Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-24 bombers; and around 2,000 soldiers from participants.¹⁰³
- *Combat Commonwealth 2007* took place in four phases: the first phase at the Telemba range in Chita, Russia, June 20-29, 2007 with Belarus and Russia participating; the second phase at the Ashuluk range, Russia, August 14-24, 2007 with Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, and Russia participating and Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan sending observers. The second phase included around 3,000 soldiers and over 30 aircraft and helicopters, including Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-27 fighters, MiG-29 fighters, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters, as well as S-125 and S-300 missile systems. The exercise focused on a scenario of support operations against a terrorist group. The third and fourth phases took place in late August and September in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan respectively.¹⁰⁴

- *Combat Commonwealth 2009* took place at the Ashuluk range from August 7-September 18, 2009, with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The exercise focused on the joint use of air force and air defense formations and units and included the S-300 missile defense system and MiG-29 fighter.¹⁰⁵
- *Combat Commonwealth 2011* took place in two phases; the first at the Ashuluk range from September 6-12 with Armenia, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan, Russian, and Tajikistan participating and the second at the Sary Shagan range in Kazakhstan from September 15-October 5, 2011 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan participating. The first phase included over 2,000 military personnel, 30 aircraft (Russian and Belarusian Su-25 close air-support, and Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, Su-34 fighter bombers, and Tu-22M3 bombers) and over 25 air defense units (a mix of S-400, S-300, S-200, S-75, and S-125 missile defense systems) in a scenario to provide air support and cut off and destroy a terrorist group.¹⁰⁶
- *Combat Commonwealth 2013* took place from August 13/14-September 12, 2013 over three phases; the first phase (August 14-22) at the Ashuluk range in Russia and the second phase at the Sary Shagan range in Kazakhstan with Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan participating. The first phase of the exercise involved around 500 personnel and 100 pieces of equipment (including S-200, S-300, S-400, Pantsir, Buk, and Tor missile systems), while the second phase involved around 2,000 personnel (some estimates mention 4,000) and reportedly 100 pieces of equipment (same equipment from the first phase in addition to S-75 and S-125 missile systems) and around 50 aircraft (including MiG-29 and Su-27 fighters, Su-24 and Su-34 bombers, Su-24 reconnaissance planes, Su-25 close air-support, and Tu-22MR bombers). The exerciser focused on joint interaction of air defense units in reconnaissance, air defense, and close air support in the event of a conflict in the region. Armenia, Turkmenistan, Ukraine, and Uzbekistan sent observers.¹⁰⁷
- *Combat Commonwealth 2015* took place in multiple phases September 7-25, 2015 at the Ashuluk range (Russia) and the Saryshagan range (Kazakhstan) with units from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan taking part. The exercise involved around 4,000 personnel and included various aircraft (Su-34, Su-30SM, MiG-31BM, Su-27, and MiG-29SMT fighters, Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25SM close air support aircraft, and Tu-22M3 bombers from Russia, in addition to MiG-29, MiG-31, Su-27 fighters, MiG-27 close air support aircraft, and Mi-17 and EC-145 transport helicopters from Kazakhstan) and surface-to-air missile systems (S-75, S-125, S-300, and S-400s) in a scenario of joint operations in air defense and support to ground forces during an operation.¹⁰⁸
- *Combat Commonwealth 2017* took place in multiple phases from August 14 – September 22, 2017 at the Saryshagan range (Kazakhstan), Ashuluk range (Russia), and the Chorukh-Dayron and Kharbmaydon ranges (Tajikistan) with aircraft and air defense units from Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan taking part. The exercise involved around 2,000 personnel, various aircraft (including MiG-29, MiG-31,

Su-27, Su-30, Su-34, and L-39 fighters; Su-24 and Su-25 attack aircraft; Tu-22 bombers and Mi-8AMTSh, Mi-171Sh, Mi35M and EC-145 helicopters) and various air defense systems (including S-75, S-125, S-200, S-300, and 2K11 “Krug” and 2K12 “Kub” surface-to-air missile systems; ZU-23-2 anti-aircraft cannon; and the 9K38 “Igla” man-portable surface-to-air missile system) in a scenario of a joint air defense operation.¹⁰⁹

Combined Endeavor

Combined Endeavor is a U.S. European Command (USEUCOM) sponsored interoperability exercise conducted with the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Partnership for Peace (PfP) program. The first exercise took place in 1995, with Central Asian countries participating or observing in subsequent years. The exercise focuses on preparing NATO and PfP countries to collaborate, plan, and execute ‘C4’ (command, control, communications, and computer) systems in crisis response and combat operations. Kazakhstan has participated in the exercises from 1998-2004 and 2009-2013, while Kyrgyzstan has participated from 1998-2004 and 2012-2013, and Uzbekistan participated from 1998-2004.¹¹⁰

Commonwealth Shield 2019

Commonwealth Shield 2019 (Щит содружества – 2019) was a joint Pakistan-Turkey-Uzbekistan joint exercise that took place April 22-27, 2019 at the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on eliminating an armed group in mountainous terrain (with the support of Uzbek Mi-24 attack helicopters).¹¹¹

Commonwealth Southern Shield 1999

Commonwealth Southern Shield 1999 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place from October 27-November 2, 1999 in the Osh Province in southern Kyrgyzstan as well as the Fergana Valley region of Uzbekistan, northern Tajikistan in the Vorukh mountain region, and southern Kazakhstan near Shymkent. The exercise included the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, two infantry and one air assault battalion from Tajikistan, units from Uzbekistan’s Air Force, and mountain infantry and special forces units from Kyrgyzstan, focusing on a scenario against an armed incursion in the region, similar to the Batken incursion by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan in August 1999.¹¹²

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2000

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2000 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place March 24-April 3, 2000 in three phases, including a live-fire phase, in the Tigrovaya Balka region of Tajikistan, near Termez and in the Fergana Valley of Uzbekistan. The exercise included airborne units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, air force units from Russia and Uzbekistan, and the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division. The exercise focused on coordinating operational efforts to eliminate terrorists and gangs of religious extremists.¹¹³

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2001

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2001 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the CST that took place from April 2-7, 2001 in Moscow. The virtual command post exercise included general officers from participating members (and from Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, and Ukraine) as well as representatives from the Council of Commanders of Border Troops and the CIS Antiterrorist Center. The exercise focused on responding to an assault on Central Asian states by an armed group. While this exercise took place, the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division held an exercise in Tajikistan with a similar scenario.¹¹⁴

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2002

Commonwealth Southern Shield 2002 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan that took place June 12-June 17, 2002 in two phases, the first near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan, and the second near the Almaty Military Academy, Kazakhstan. This was the first exercise of units in the CSTO's Rapid Deployment Force, including the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, units from Kyrgyzstan's Army, and from Kazakhstan tactical air units and the Kazakh Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT). The scenario was the same as previous years, conducting joint counter-terrorism operations.¹¹⁵

Cooperation-2009

Cooperation-2009 (Взаимодействие-2009) was a joint Armenia-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 2-16, 2009 at the Matybulak training center in southern Kazakhstan. The exercise included a few thousand soldiers, a few hundred tanks and armored personnel carriers and around 40 aircraft and helicopters (Russia contributed around 600 soldiers from the 31st Air Assault Brigade, nine Il-76 transport aircraft, five Su-24 attack and two Tu-22M bomber aircraft, four Mi-8 helicopters, and 93 personnel from the Interior Ministry and Ministry of Emergency Situations; Kazakhstan contributed 1,500 personnel – an unknown number of soldiers; Armenia sent 105, Kyrgyzstan 86, and Tajikistan contributed three). The exercise focused on destroying a terrorist group that seized a chemical plant, hostage rescue, and reconnaissance operations in mountain terrain.¹¹⁶

Cooperation-2010

Cooperation-2010 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 25-28, 2010 at the military facility Chebarkul, in the Chelyabinsk region of Russia. The Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) exercise included 1,700 soldiers (from Kazakhstan an air assault battalion and 5 Su-25 close air support aircraft, from Kyrgyzstan a mountain infantry platoon, and from Tajikistan an air assault company; Russia sent its 98th Airborne Division – minus a battalion, 12 Il-76s transport planes, an unknown number of Su-24 attack and Su-27 fighter aircraft, and 20 BMPs - infantry fighting vehicles) and focused on a scenario of finding and destroying an armed group that had infiltrated the Ural mountain region.¹¹⁷

Cooperation-2012

Cooperation-2012 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 15-19, 2012 at the Marshal Bagramyan range in Armenia. The CSTO Collective Rapid Reaction Force (CRRF) exercise included around 2,500 personnel (a special forces unit of the National Security Committee of Armenia, the 103rd special forces brigade from Belarus, the 98th Guards Airmobile Division and the Interior Ministry “Lynx” special forces unit from Russia, and an airmobile assault unit from Kazakhstan – presumably the 37th Air Assault Brigade), over 500 pieces of equipment (including tanks, armored personnel carriers, and artillery pieces), and aircraft (Mi-24 attack helicopters, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and for the first time, an unknown number of unmanned aerial vehicles). Tajikistan sent military observers to the exercise. Participants in the exercise conducted hostage rescue and practiced repelling a terrorist group in the Caucasus region through a combined arms assault.¹¹⁸

Cooperation-2013

Cooperation-2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 19-26, 2013 at the Asipovichy range in Belarus. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise included around 600 personnel (including contingents from the Russian 31st Air Assault Brigade, the Belarusian 103rd Special Operations Mobile Brigade, the Kazakh 37th Air Assault Brigade and an Armenian motorized special forces platoon) and around 60 pieces of equipment (including the 2S9 «Nona» 120mm self-propelled artillery) and aircraft (Il-76 transport planes, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a scenario of destroying an armed illegal group of up to 250 people that had taken control of a natural gas compressor station; the active phase of the exercise include the use of unmanned aerial vehicles for reconnaissance followed by a combined arms assault and airdrops of artillery. During the exercise, Belarusian, Russian, and Kazakh forces blocked off the area before the conducting the main assault, while a (separate) Kazakh and Armenian force destroyed the portion of the armed group that had broken off.¹¹⁹

Cooperation-2014

Cooperation-2014 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 18-22, 2014 at the Spassk range in Kazakhstan. The CSTO Collective Operational Reaction Force (CORF) exercise included around 3000 personnel (the 31st air assault separate brigade and units from the Federal Drug Control Service and Interior Ministry of Russia, the 37th airmobile brigade and a National Guard unit from Kazakhstan, a special forces brigade and Interior Ministry unit from Belarus, an air assault company from Tajikistan, a mountain-rifle company from Kyrgyzstan, and a police special purpose unit from Armenia, as well as air defense units from Russia and Kazakhstan), a few hundred pieces of equipment (including BM-21 “Grad” and TOS-1 rocket launchers, BTR-80A armored personnel carriers, D-30 122mm howitzers, BMD-2 airborne infantry fighting vehicles, BTR-D armored personnel carriers, and 2S9 Nona self propelled 120mm mortars), and 30 aircraft and helicopters (including Su-25 close air support aircraft, Su-27 fighters – acting in a bomber role, Il-76 transport aircraft, Mi-17 and Mi-26 transport helicopters, and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a scenario of a CSTO member (named Karaniya for the exercise) dealing with a situation in a non-member, bordering state (named Irtishiya); a separatist movement (as a

result of interethnic tension) in Irtishiya threatened the territorial integrity of Karaniya and the tactical (active) phase of the exercise involved CSTO reaction forces deploying and combating an illegal armed group through a combined arms assault, as well as information and psychological warfare.¹²⁰

Cooperation-2015

Cooperation-2015 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 22-28, 2015 at the Strugi Krasniye range (Pskov Oblast) in Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise included 2,000 personnel (an airborne and Ministry for Emergency Situations units from Russia; airborne and nuclear, biological, and chemical units from Kazakhstan; around 50 paratroopers from Kyrgyzstan; and an airmobile platoon from Tajikistan), 40 aircraft (including the Su-27, Su-24, Il-76, Mi-24, Mi-26, and Ka-52) and 200 pieces of equipment (including the Sprut tank destroyer, BMD-2, and assorted artillery) in a scenario of eliminating an irregular armed group. The active phase of the exercise involved Belarusian forces traveling 350 km over land into position, while Kazakh forces were transported by rail and all other units were transported by air to eliminate a foreign military contingent (note: reports on the exercise mentioned the exercise's opposing force as an irregular armed group and a foreign military), all with through the coordination using the "Andromeda-D" command and control system, in addition to dealing with disaster relief and decontamination in adverse weather situations.¹²¹

Cooperation-2016

Cooperation-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 16-19, 2016 at multiple locations in the Pskov and Leningrad Oblasts, Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise included 6000 personnel (including 1300 from the CORF and the rest from the Russian Western Military District) and a large number of pieces of equipment (various artillery, including the TOS-1) and aircraft (including Su-34 fighters, Su-24 bombers, and Mi-8, Mi-28, and Ka-52 helicopters). The exercise scenario involved a conflict near the border of a member state and combating, through a combined arms assault, an outside force that had invaded under the guise of a peacekeeping mission not sanctioned by the UN. The exercise also included a psy-ops component of broadcasting messages in Russian, German, Polish and English at the opposing force.¹²²

Cooperation-2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Cooperation-2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 9-13, 2017 at the Bagramyan and Alagyaz bases in Armenia. The exercise was the second part of the CSTO series "Combat Brotherhood-2017" and involved around 2,500 personnel, 500 pieces of equipment and 25 aircraft (including MiG-29 fighters, Mi-24 attack helicopters and Mi-8 transport helicopters). The exercise took place over several phases at Alagyaz and Bagramyan: the first set of phases at Alagyaz focused on a scenario of Russian forces deploying from the Southern Military District in response to an incursion in Armenia alongside Armenian units and Russian units from the 102nd Military Base (Gyumri), while the second set of phases at Bagramyan focused on coordinating a joint operation of CSTO members

to combat an armed group. The phases at Bagramyan also involved the Armenian Ministry of Emergency Situations and the International Red Cross.¹²³

Cooperation 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Cooperation 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 10-13 at the Edelweiss training center (Issyk Kul Oblast), Kyrgyzstan. The command-staff exercise was the second in the series of CSTO exercises titled “Combat Brotherhood-2018” and involved around 1600 personnel from participants (from the units of members’ contribution to the Collective Operational Reaction Force) and various equipment and aircraft in a scenario of responding to and eliminating an armed terrorist group in a member state.¹²⁴

Cooperation-2019

Cooperation-2019 was a joint China-Uzbekistan exercise that took place May 5-15, 2019 at the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise included an unknown number of personnel from Uzbekistan’s National Guard and Chinese People’s Armed Police and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.¹²⁵

Cooperation 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Cooperation 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 16-18, 2019 at the Mulino training facility (Nizhny Novgorod Oblast), Russia. The command-staff exercise involved around 3000 personnel, 300 pieces of equipment and focused on a scenario of carrying out a joint operation in Eastern Europe against an armed group in a border region with units from the CSTO’s Collective Operational Reaction Force. The exercise was the third of the four in the CSTO’s Combat Brotherhood 2019 operational-strategic series of exercises.¹²⁶

Cooperative Nugget series

Cooperative Nugget was a peacekeeping exercise held in 1995, 1997, 2000, and 2002; the exercises emphasized interoperability with NATO and PfP members. The first exercise took place in 1995 at Fort Polk, Louisiana with a platoon each from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, in addition to several European countries, as participants. The exercise focused on developing peacekeeping and refugee assistance skills. The second exercise, held in June-July 1997 at Fort Polk, Louisiana, focused again on developing peacekeeping skills. Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan sent a platoon to participate with several other European countries. The third exercise took place in two phases, at Kaiserslautern, Germany in March 2000, and at Fort Carson, Colorado in May 2000. Officers from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan attended and the exercise focused on a command post and computer based peacekeeping scenario.¹²⁷

Cooperative Osprey series

Cooperative Osprey was a peacekeeping exercise that took place in 1996, 1998, and 2001 through the NATO PfP program and like the Cooperative Nugget Exercises, focused on

peacekeeping interoperability with NATO. The first exercise took place at Camp Lejeune, North Carolina, August 24-26, 1996 with units from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan in attendance, as well as from other PfP members. The exercise included amphibious and maritime operations off the shore of North Carolina. The second exercise also took place at Camp Lejeune, June 1-20, 1998 with approximately 42 soldiers each from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan. The third and final exercise under this name took place at Lester B. Pearson Canadian International Peacekeeping Training Centre in Clementsport, Nova Scotia, March 1-9, 2001 with Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan attending. The exercise conducted computer based training.¹²⁸

Cooperative Safeguard 2002

Cooperative Safeguard 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and NATO partners, including participants from Uzbekistan, that took place June 24-July 1, 2002 on the Vestmannaeyjar archipelago off the southern coast of Iceland. The exercise focused on search and rescue procedures and humanitarian relief in response to a volcanic eruption.¹²⁹

Cooperative Zenith 2002

Cooperative Zenith 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and NATO partners, including participants from Uzbekistan, that took place September 5-13, 2002 at Moody Air Force Base in the U.S. The exercise focused on developing interoperability for air operations.¹³⁰

Coordination 2006

Coordination 2006 was a joint China-Tajikistan exercise that took place from September 22-23, 2006 near Kulyab, Tajikistan. The exercise included over 450 soldiers (around 150 Chinese and over 300 from Tajikistan) and a Chinese aviation unit in a mountain warfare scenario with a hostage rescue.¹³¹

Cyber-Antiterror-2016

Cyber-Antiterror-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place in two phases, the first from May 23-25 in multiple locations and the second from May 31-June 2, 2016 at the Lukoml power station in Belarus. The first phase took place simultaneously in each of the participating states and involved their respective security services defending against large-scale Distributed Denial of Service (DDoS) attacks on critical infrastructure and dealing with CryptoLocker ransomware on a network. The security services coordinated their efforts through the CIS Antiterrorism Center during the first phase. The second phase involved special purpose units from the KGB, Interior and Defense Ministries, and the Border Guard Service of Belarus in a scenario of preventing a terrorist attack on the Lukoml power station. In this scenario, the group responsible for carrying out the DDoS attacks planned a backup attack on the Lukoml station and took hostages. The units involved in the exercise then carried out a counterterrorism operation and worked on hostage rescue.¹³²

Dostarym 2017

Dostarym 2017 was a joint Kazakhstan-Pakistan exercise that took place November 10-24, 2017 at the National Counter Terrorism Centre in Pabbi (Khyber Pakhtunkhwa Province), Pakistan.

The exercise involved around 100 personnel, various equipment and focused on a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation.¹³³

Dostarym 2019

Dostarym 2019 was a joint Kazakhstan-Pakistan exercise that took place August 18-25, 2019 at the Novo Akhmirovo base (East Kazakhstan Oblast), Kazakhstan. The exercise involved around 200 personnel (from special purpose units of both participants) and 30 pieces of equipment and focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group.¹³⁴

Dostlik 2019

Dostlik 2019 (Friendship 2019) was a joint India-Uzbekistan exercise that took place November 4-13, 2019 at the Chirchik training facility outside Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and equipment and focused on a counterterrorism scenario.¹³⁵

Dostuk-2013

Dostuk-2013 (Достук-2013, Friendship-2013) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place June 5-10, 2013 at the Buzhum range in Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan. Dostuk (Friendship) included an unknown number of soldiers (though it was called a battalion-tactical exercise) from Kyrgyzstan's Ministry of Defense and Southwest regional command, a self-propelled artillery battalion, a unit from the Ministry of Emergency Situations, and the quick reaction unit "Sher" from the Interior Ministry (Batken Province), in addition to Russian Su-25 close air support aircraft and Mi-8 helicopters from the Kant Airbase. The scenario of the exercise focused on eliminating a group of a few hundred militants crossed the border from Uzbekistan and had taken over a mountain village in Batken. During the live-fire portion of the exercise on June 7, grounds forces from Kyrgyzstan blocked off the village before "Sher" assaulted and freed the hostages. Artillery and Su-25s then destroyed the remaining militants.¹³⁶

Dushanbe-Antiterror-2017

Dushanbe-Antiterror-2017 was a joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place May 30-June 1 at multiple locations in Tajikistan. Prior to the exercise in Tajikistan, the CIS Antiterrorism Center (ATC) held a joint command and staff exercise (also called Dushanbe Antiterror-2017), which involved countering the recruitment efforts of terrorists groups through the internet. This phase included the security agencies of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan training in their own territory. The CIS ATC exercise in Tajikistan took place at the military facilities of Kharbmaydon and Lyaur as well as in the city of Dushanbe and included around 5000 personnel (2000 from Russia and 3000 from Tajikistan), and around 400 various aircraft and equipment (including Su-24M bombers, Mi-24 attack helicopters and Mi-8 transport helicopters, all of which deployed from units in Russia prior to the exercise). The exercise also included the use of the Iskender ballistic missile system (which also deployed from Russia for the exercise), which is the first time the system appeared at an exercise outside of Russia in addition to the armed forces of participants being used for a CIS ATC exercise. The exercise focused on a scenario of combating a terrorist group near the Tajik-Afghan border and an operation (by Russian and Tajik special purpose units) to free hostages and retake a TV station and other infrastructure that had been seized by the terrorist group.¹³⁷

Echelon 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Echelon 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 8-10, 2019 at the Mulino training facility (Nizhny Novgorod Oblast), Russia. The exercise involved around 900 personnel, 250 pieces of equipment (including the MTU-20 bridge layer) and focused on a scenario of providing logistical support for an operation of the CSTO's Collective Operational Reaction Force in two phases. The first phase involved preparing and loading material and equipment for rail transport and working out issues for moving cargo across borders, while the second phase involved providing logistical support during an operation (including replenishing ammunition, setting up a field refueling depot and organizing the repair and maintenance of equipment). The exercise was the first of its kind for the CSTO and was the first of the four in the CSTO's Combat Brotherhood 2019 operational-strategic series of exercises.¹³⁸

Echelon 2020

Echelon 2020 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 17-20, 2020 at the Kapustin Yar training facility, Astrakhan Oblast, Russia. The CSTO exercise involved around 1000 personnel (with units from the CSTO's Collective Operational Reaction Force), 250 pieces of equipment and focused on a scenario of providing logistical support for an operation (including providing ammunition and ordnance, carrying out refueling and repairs on various vehicles, and having a reserve supply of water in arid conditions among other logistical issues; personnel also utilized the MTU-20 bridge layer to load and offload equipment onto rail cars).¹³⁹

Erik Dala (2018)

Erik Dala was a joint Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place July 13-15, 2018 (first phase) and July 21-23, 2018 (second phase). The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group. The first phase took place in the Almaty Oblast, Kazakhstan and worked out eliminating a terrorist group after discovering its location through surveillance with an unmanned aerial vehicle and airstrikes from a Su-30SM, while the second phase took place at the Forish training facility, Jizzah Oblast, Uzbekistan and also worked out combating a terrorist group through the use of special forces units and the support of Su-25 aircraft and Mi-24 helicopters.¹⁴⁰

Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) series

The Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC) coordinates disaster relief operations for NATO and NATO Partnership for Peace members.¹⁴¹ EADRCC conducted several joint exercises since 2000 that included Central Asian participants.¹⁴²

- *Dacia 2003*

Dacia 2003 was a joint EADRCC exercise took place October 7-10, 2003 in Pitesti, Romania. The exercise involved around 1600 civil emergency personnel from participating countries (including the U.S. and Uzbekistan) in a scenario of responding to a terrorist attack conducted with radioactive materials.¹⁴³

- *Ferghana 2003*
Ferghana 2003 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place April 28-30, 2003 in the Ferghana Valley region of Uzbekistan. The exercise included over 1000 personnel from Uzbekistan and 225 personnel from other countries (including the U.S., Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan) and focused on civil-military disaster response to an earthquake and flooding.¹⁴⁴
- *Zhetysu 2009*
Zhetysu 2009 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place September 5-10, 2009 at the “Rock City – Astana” training range on the Ili River (around 20 km north of Kapchagay, Almaty Province). The exercise involved over 1000 personnel from participating countries (including a few hundred from Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Emergency Situations) in a scenario of disaster relief following an earthquake.¹⁴⁵
- *CODRII 2011*
CODRII 2011 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place August 27-September 5, 2011 near the city of Chisinau, Moldova. The exercise involved around 1300 personnel (including 15 from Kazakhstan and 10 from Kyrgyzstan; both countries personnel were search and rescue teams) in a scenario of disaster relief operations following an earthquake.¹⁴⁶
- *Georgia 2012*
Georgia 2012 was a joint EADRCC exercise that took place September 22-28, 2012 near Tblisi, Georgia. The exercise involved 1000 personnel (including an unknown number from Kazakhstan) in a scenario of disaster relief operations following an earthquake, particularly preventing the release of chemicals from a damaged chemical plant.¹⁴⁷

Exercise-01

Exercise-01 was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place from October 10-11, 2002 on their border region of the Pamir-Alay mountain range. The exercise included hundreds of soldiers from both sides as well as border forces in an anti-terror scenario.¹⁴⁸

Grom-2012

Grom-2012 (Гром-2012, Thunder-2012) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise, conducted through the Collective Security Treaty Organization (CSTO), that took place on September 14, 2012 at the Geodiziya range (near the city of Krasnoarmeysk, around 30 miles north of Moscow). Participating in the exercise were the units “Thunder” (from the Russian federal drug control agency), “Bison and Lynx” (from the Interior Ministry), “Hawk” (a special aviation detachment from the Interior Ministry), as well as special purpose units from the drug control agencies of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The counternarcotics exercise focused on joint tactics in a scenario of finding and destroying an armed criminal group involved in drug trafficking.¹⁴⁹

Grom-2013

Grom-2013 (Гром-2013, Thunder-2013) was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place over two phases; the first from August 27-September 6, 2013 in the Osh Province, Kyrgyzstan and the second September 15-20, 2013 at the “Ala-Too” range outside Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. The second phase of the CSTO exercise involved units from Kyrgyzstan’s Interior Ministry (a Special Rapid Reaction Unit) and Drug Control Agency, a unit each from Russia’s and Tajikistan’s Drug Control Agencies, personnel from the Drug Control Agencies of Belarus and Kazakhstan, as well as aircraft from the Kant Airbase. The exercise focused on a joint counternarcotics operation; during the first phase units trained in detecting routes of drug traffickers in mountain roads near the Fergana Valley while the second phase involved destroying drug labs, freeing hostages, and eliminating a group of traffickers. The second phase also involved a helicopter insertion (with Mi-8s) followed by an air strike (with Su-25s) conducted by aircraft from the Kant Airbase.¹⁵⁰

Grom-2015

Grom-2015 (Гром-2015, Thunder-2015) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 27-September 3, 2015 at the Fahrabad range (Khatlon Oblast), Tajikistan with a field headquarters set up at the Momirak range. The exercise involved around 500 personnel (including personnel from the Russian Drug Control Agency, FSB, and soldiers from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division; members of Tajikistan’s Drug Control Agency, National Security Committee, Interior Ministry, National Guard, and Ministry of Defense, as well as small contingents from other participants) in a scenario of developing tactics to combat armed drug traffickers, including seizures of drugs and weapons, cutting off trafficking routes, arresting traffickers, and rescuing hostages. Additionally, the exercise was the last part in a series in 2015 that tracked the trafficking route from destination (Russia) to source (the Tajik-Afghan border).¹⁵¹

Grom 2017

Grom 2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 14, 2017 at the “Geodesy” research center outside Moscow, Russia. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from the drug control agencies of member states involved with the Collective Security Treaty Organization’s Collective Operational Reaction Force as well as the Russian Ministry of Emergency Situations) and focused on a scenario of a joint operation against drug traffickers (with the use of unmanned aerial vehicles), including seizures of drugs and eliminating drug production facilities.¹⁵²

Grom 2019

Grom 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 6-8, 2019 at the Edelweiss training center, Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The CSTO counternarcotic tactical-special exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from special purpose units of counternarcotics agencies, interior ministries, and other units of participants) and an unknown number of armored vehicles and aircraft (from the Kant Airbase) and focused on a joint counternarcotic operation in mountainous terrain.¹⁵³

International Workshop for Earthquake/Emergency Response (IWER) series

IWER (renamed International Workshop for Emergency Response in 2000) was a series of joint, interagency exercises or workshops conducted from 1999-2004 that focused on disaster response scenarios.¹⁵⁴

- *IWER 1999* was a joint Kazakhstan-U.S.-Kyrgyzstan-Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan two part exercise that took place in January 1999 (first part) in Phoenix, Arizona and from May 17-21, 1999 (second part) in Almaty, Kazakhstan. The exercise focused on coordinating responses of civil protection services during emergencies. The exercise included soldiers from the Arizona National Guard, members of Kazakhstan's Ministry of Emergency Situations, and personnel from Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.¹⁵⁵
- *IWER 2000* was a workshop that took place November 13-17, 2000 in Phoenix, Arizona. The workshop was attended by representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan as well as members of the Arizona, Louisiana, and Montana National Guard. The workshop included rescue demonstrations in various scenarios.¹⁵⁶
- *IWER 2001* took place in 2001 in Arizona and was attended by representatives from Kazakhstan.¹⁵⁷
- *IWER 2002* took place in May 2002 in Bishkek and focused on emergency responses to earthquakes.¹⁵⁸
- *IWER 2003* was a joint Uzbekistan-U.S. exercise that took place May 18-25, 2003 in Baton Rouge, Louisiana and focused on a chemical disaster scenario.¹⁵⁹
- *IWER 2004* took place September 20-24, 2004 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The workshop included capabilities demonstrations of hazardous materials incident response, firefighting, emergency medical care for mass casualties, weapons of mass destruction incident response, and search and rescue. Participants included Uzbekistan's Ministry for Emergency Situations, the Louisiana National Guard, and representatives from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan.¹⁶⁰

Issyk-Kul Antiterror 2007

Issyk-Kul was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place May 28-31, 2007 at a training facility near the town of Balykchy on Lake Issyk-Kul. The exercise included law enforcement and special forces units from all participants (the 'Scorpion' mountain warfare unit participated for Kyrgyzstan), representatives from the SCO Regional Antiterrorist Structure, CSTO, the CIS Antiterrorist Center, and observers from India, Iran, Mongolia, and Pakistan. The exercise involved a scenario of three stages; in the first and second stages a group of armed militants seized a village and a dam while taking hostages at the latter, in the third stage the participating special forces units rescued the hostages, detained or disarmed militants, and practiced bomb disposal.¹⁶¹

Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018

Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 24-26, 2018 at the Edelweiss training center, Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved several hundred personnel (including from Kyrgyzstan's GKNB, Interior Ministry and General Staff) and various aircraft (including Su-25 close air support aircraft, Su-24 bombers) and equipment (including the Iskander-M ballistic missile system, the first time the system was transferred outside Russia for an exercise). The exercise focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group that had infiltrated Kyrgyzstan, including a hostage rescue situation at an airport.¹⁶²

Jaihun 2018

Jaihun 2018 was a joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place August 17-18, 2018 in the Shahritus District (Khatlon Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise was the first of its kind between the military and security forces of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and it involved an unknown number of personnel from the Tajik and Uzbek border guards and focused on jointly combating threats to border security, countering narcotics trafficking and eliminating armed groups from Afghanistan.¹⁶³

Joint Border Operation 2013

Joint Border Operation 2013 was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 11, 2013 on the Chinese-Kyrgyz border (Torugart Pass). The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from the border forces of both countries and focused on a scenario of preventing a terrorist group from smuggling weapons and equipment across the Chinese-Kyrgyz border to conduct an attack in China; this included the use of the SCO's Regional Antiterrorist Structure (RATS), which during the scenario, supplied information about the attack. Observers from Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Iran, Pakistan, and the SCO attended the exercise.¹⁶⁴

Kalkan-2019

Kalkan-2019 was a joint Kazakhstan-Uzbekistan that took place September 2019 at the Chirchik base outside Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and equipment and focused on a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation.¹⁶⁵

Kanzhar-2011

Kanzhar-2011 (Канжар-2011, Dagger-2011) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-India exercise that took place December 1-21, 2011 at a special forces training facility near Nahan, India. The exercise involved 20 airborne soldiers from Kyrgyzstan and an unknown number from India and focused on developing cooperation and exchanging tactical experiences.¹⁶⁶

Kanzhar-2015

Kanzhar-2015 (Канжар-2015, Dagger-2015) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-India exercise that took place March 11-25, 2015 in Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved around 50 soldiers (special forces unit) from India and an unknown number of Kyrgyz soldiers from the special forces unit Scorpion (Ministry of Defense) in a scenario of combating an armed group in mountainous terrain in addition to first aid and other tactical training.¹⁶⁷

KAZIND-2018

KAZIND-2018 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place September 10-23, 2018 at the Matybulak training facility (Otar military base, Zhambyl Oblast), Kazakhstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (units from Kazakhstan's Regional Command South and around 90 soldiers from the 5th Ladakh Scouts Regiment of India), various equipment and focused on a joint counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operation under a UN mandate.¹⁶⁸

KAZIND-2019

KAZIND-2019 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place October 3-15, 2019 at a training facility near the town of Pithoragarh, Uttarakhand, India. The exercise involved around 120 personnel (60 from a motorized rifle battalion of the Regional Command South of Kazakhstan and 60 from an infantry brigade of India) and focused on a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation.¹⁶⁹

Khaan Quest 2014

Khaan Quest 2014 was a joint exercise with 24 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, Russia, Mongolia and Tajikistan that took place June 20-July 1, 2014 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. The exercise involved over 1000 personnel (300 from the U.S. and an unknown number from Tajikistan) and focused on peacekeeping tasks (command and staff training, conducting humanitarian aid, riot control, and riverine patrols).¹⁷⁰

Khaan Quest 2015

Khaan Quest 2015 was a joint exercise with 23 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, China, Mongolia and Tajikistan that took place June 20 – July 1, 2015 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. It included a command post exercise and a field training exercise and involved around 1200 soldiers (600 from Mongolia and 300 from the U.S.) and focused on peacekeeping tasks (dismounted patrols, cordon and search, establishing checkpoints, convoy protection, casualty evacuation, and riot control).¹⁷¹

Khaan Quest 2016

Khaan Quest 2016 was a joint exercise with 47 countries participating, including the U.S., UK, China, Russia, Mongolia, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan that took place May 22-June 4, 2016 at the Five Hills Training Center near Ulaanbaator, Mongolia. The peacekeeping exercise involved around 2,000 personnel and included four components: a command post exercise, a field training exercise (which focused on peacekeeping tasks), an engineering civic action program, and a health services support engagement, as well as training in countering improvised explosive devices, utilizing unmanned aerial vehicles, and first-aid.¹⁷²

Kobalt-2010

Kobalt-2010 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place from June 7-11, 2010 at the Kadamovsky District training center in the Russian North Caucasus Regional Command. The exercise included special operations units from law enforcements agencies and interior ministries of participating members (these included the

special forces units for the CSTO's Rapid Reaction Force). It focused on operations to target terrorist groups and cut off their sources to traffic drugs and weapons.¹⁷³

Kobalt-2013

Kobalt-2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 4-12, 2013 at the Kadamovskiy training center, Rostov Oblast, Russia. The CSTO CORF exercise involved around 500 personnel (including the the special purpose units "Zubr" (Bison) and "Rys" (Lynx) from the Russian Interior Ministry) and various armored vehicles (BTR-80 variant) and aircraft (transport helicopters, including an Mi-8 variant) and focused on a scenario of combating a terrorist group that had infiltrated the border of a member state.¹⁷⁴

Kobalt-2016

Kobalt-2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place May 24-26, 2016 at the Bagramyan training center in Armenia. The CSTO CORF exercise involved more than 500 personnel (the special purpose units "Zubr" (Bison) and "Rys" (Lynx) from the Russian Interior Ministry, members of the National Guard of Kazakhstan, and a unit from the Interior Ministry of Kyrgyzstan) 20 armored vehicles (including the GAZ Tiger) and 4 aircraft (Mi-8 transport helicopters and a Mi-24 variant) and focused on a scenario of conducting joint counterterrorism operations within the CORF. The active phase of the exercise involved an operation to eliminate a terrorist group that had attacked a patrol and military checkpoint and taken hostages. Representatives from the CIS ATC and the SCO attended the exercise.¹⁷⁵

Kobalt-2018

Kobalt-2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place May 20-22, 2018 at a training center of Kazakhstan's National Guard, Almaty Oblast. The CSTO CORF exercise involved around 700 personnel (police from Armenia, Interior Ministry units from Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, and National Guard units from Kazakhstan and Russia), various equipment (including unmanned aerial vehicles, armored personnel carriers and helicopters) and focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group in various tactical situations.¹⁷⁶

Norak Anti-terror 2009

Norak Anti-terror 2009 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise held from April 17-19, 2009 in the Fakhrobod training grounds, Tajikistan. The SCO exercise included specialized units from participant militaries and an unknown amount of armored vehicles and Mi-8 helicopters. It focused on an operation to put special forces into a crisis situation and hostage negotiation.¹⁷⁷

Okhota na lis – 2015

Okhota na lis (Охота на лис, Fox hunt) – 2015 was a joint Kazakhstan-China exercise that took place over two phases in late October and November 5, 2015 (Note: the exercise has also been called "Antiterror-2015" in some media). The first phase of the exercise was carried out at the

“Korla” training center in Xinjian Province, China and involved a scenario of combating a terrorist group through a joint operation in a mountainous border area with over 100 total personnel from Kazakh and Chinese special forces units. The second phase took place at the “Koktal” range in the Almaty Oblast, Kazakhstan on November 5 and focused on the same scenario. Additionally, during both phases, soldiers from Kazakhstan used Chinese weapons.¹⁷⁸

Okhota na lis – 2019

Okhota na lis (Охота на лис, Fox hunt) – 2019 was a joint Kazakhstan-China exercise that took place October 14-20, 2019 at the Novo Akhmirovo base (East Kazakhstan Oblast), Kazakhstan. The exercise involved around 200 personnel (from special purpose units of the defense ministries of Kazakhstan and China) and around 30 pieces of equipment (including unmanned aerial vehicles and other aircraft) and focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group in two stages (in the first stage the two sides made preparations, while in the second stage the units carried out reconnaissance, airstrikes and an ambush of the terrorist group).¹⁷⁹

Peace Mission 2005

Peace Mission 2005 was a joint China-Russian exercise that took place from August 18-25, 2005 in the Shandong Peninsula, China and Vladivostok, Russia. The exercise included approximately 9,800 soldiers (8,000 Chinese and 1,800 Russian), 140 naval ships, and from Russia, two Tu-95MS and four Tu-22M3 long range bombers. The exercise was a scenario of responding to an interethnic conflict; this was done through a combined amphibious and airborne assault done by Chinese and Russian troops respectively.¹⁸⁰

Peace Mission 2007

Peace Mission 2007 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the SCO from August 9-17, 2007, the first exercise with all SCO members participating. The anti-terror exercise took place in parts, the first in Chelyabinsk, Russian and the second in Urumqi, Xinjiang, China. Around 6,500 soldiers participated (1,600 from China; 2,000 Russia; 143 Kazakhstan; 120 Tajikistan and unknown amounts from Kyrgyzstan, while Uzbekistan only sent a few officers) supported by armored vehicles, artillery, bombers, fighters, and helicopters in a scenario similar to the events of Andijan, Uzbekistan in 2005.¹⁸¹

Peace Mission 2009

Peace Mission 2009 was a joint China-Russia anti-terror exercise that took place from July 22-26, 2009 in three phases; the first phase was in Khabarovsk, Russia and the second and third in Shenyang, China. The exercise included a combined 3,000 soldiers, 300 armored vehicles, and 40 aircraft.¹⁸²

Peace Mission 2010

Peace Mission 2010 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO from September 9-25, 2010 at the Matybulak Range in southern Kazakhstan. A total of 5,000 soldiers participated with 300 military vehicles (including tanks, self-propelled artillery, and infantry fighting vehicles) and 50 combat aircraft (including Russian

Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air support aircraft, and Mi-8 helicopters, and Chinese J-10 fighters and H-6 bombers) in a three phase exercise to increase interoperability of SCO forces to respond to an attack on a member state from terrorists, extremists, or separatists. The first phase was strategic consultation, followed by a second phase of coordinated drills and maneuvers for the third phase of a combined arms exercise.¹⁸³

Peace Mission 2012

Peace Mission 2012 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place from June 9-14, 2012 at the Chorukh-Dayron range in the Sugd Province, Tajikistan. Over 2,000 soldiers participated (Russia sent over 350 soldiers) with over 500 vehicles (including BTR-80s armored personnel carriers) and aircraft (including Su-24 bombers, Mi-17 transport helicopters, Mi-24 and WZ-9 attack helicopters, and an AN-26 transport plane) in a three phase exercise that focused on a scenario of blocking off an area where a group of armed terrorists seized a village (in mountainous terrain), then moving civilians out of the area before destroying the group through a combined arms assault. The first phase and second phases included planning and coordinating for the third phase of carrying out the exercise.¹⁸⁴

Peace Mission 2014

Peace Mission 2014 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the SCO that took place August 24-29, 2014 at the Zhurihe range (on a mock-up city constructed in 2012), Inner Mongolia, China. The exercise involved several thousand service members from participants, including around 5000 from China, over 800 soldiers from Russia (from the 36th Guards Motorized Rifle Brigade), over 300 soldiers from Kazakhstan (from the 37th Air Assault Brigade), around 500 soldiers from Kyrgyzstan (special forces units Ilbirs and Scorpion), and over 200 soldiers from Tajikistan (from the 7th Air Assault Brigade) in addition to various pieces of equipment (“Shilka” anti-aircraft systems, BM-21 rocket launchers, and Akatsiya self-propelled artillery from Russia; BMD infantry fighting vehicles from China; and BTR armored personnel carriers from Kazakhstan) and aircraft (Su-25 close air support aircraft, Il-76 transporters, and Mi-8 transport helicopters from Russia; Xian H-6 bombers and Z-8 transport helicopters from China; and Su-27 fighters from Kazakhstan). The active phase of the exercise focused on combating a large group of terrorists that had taken over an urban area and held hostages. Chinese, Kazakh, and Russian aircraft cleared an area outside the city, then Russian ground forces, together with Tajiks and Chinese forces, surrounded the terrorist group and assaulted them; around the same time, a Chinese special forces unit and Kazakh paratroopers took over an airfield outside the city, while Chinese and Kyrgyz special forces practiced hostage rescue on multi-story buildings.¹⁸⁵

Peace Mission 2016

Peace Mission-2016 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 15-21, 2016 at the “Edelweiss” training center in the Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise included 2000 personnel from participants (500 from the Russian 55th Separate Motorized Mountain Rifle Brigade, which specializes in mountain warfare and 300 from China), 40 aircraft (including Russian Tu-95MS, Tu-22M3 and Su-24M bombers, Su-

24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25 close air support aircraft, Mi24 attack helicopters, Mi-8 transport helicopters, some of which came from the Kant Airbase; additionally, an armed variant of the Chinese Z-9 helicopter took part), and 300 pieces of equipment (an assortment of armored vehicles and artillery, 60 pieces of which came from China). The counterterrorism exercise focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group that had infiltrated the border of a member state through a combined arms assault. Tactical parts of the exercise included a hostage rescue, countering improvised explosive devices, and evacuating civilians.¹⁸⁶

Peace Mission 2018

Peace Mission 2018 was a joint China-India-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Pakistan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 22-29, 2018 at the Chebarkul base (Chelyabinsk Oblast), Russia. The exercise involved around 3000 personnel (1300 from Russia), 500 pieces of equipment (including T-72 tanks, BMP-2 infantry fighting vehicles, and BTR-80 armored personnel carriers), and a few dozen aircraft and focused on a scenario of a joint operation against a terrorist group, some of which was based on Russia's experience in Syria. The exercise marked the first participation of Indian and Pakistani forces, while Uzbekistan sent observers.¹⁸⁷

Poisk 2016

Posik 2016 (Поиск-2016, Search-2016) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place April 18-22, 2016 at the Magob and Lyaur ranges in Tajikistan. The reconnaissance exercise (the first of its kind for the CSTO) involved around 1500 personnel (reconnaissance units from participants, including an air mobile unit from Russia and the unit "Ilbirs" from Kyrgyzstan) various aircraft (Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters and Su-24 MR reconnaissance aircraft) and unmanned aerial vehicles (Forpost) and signals intelligence/surveillance systems (Torn-8P and Strelets) and focused on a scenario of conducting reconnaissance on a terrorist group in mountainous terrain and carrying out an operation to eliminate it.¹⁸⁸

Poisk 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Poisk 2017 (Поиск, Search) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 3-7, 2017 at the Southern Military District Headquarters in Rostov-Na-Don, Russia and at the Bagramyan base in Armenia. The exercise was the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled "Combat Brotherhood-2017" and involved over 1000 personnel from intelligence and reconnaissance units of participants and 15 aircraft (fixed-wing and rotary) and took place over two phases. The first phase (October 3-4) took place in Rostov-Na-Don and focused on a scenario of a CSTO command and staff response to a conflict in a member state, while the second phase (October 5-7) took place at Bagramyan and focused on continuing the command and staff phase in addition to conducting reconnaissance, exchanging real-time intelligence with commanders of the CSTO's Collective Operational Reaction Force and carrying out special operations.¹⁸⁹

Poisk 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Poisk 2018 (Поиск, Search) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan that took place October 1-5, 2018 at the Otar (40th) military base (among other

facilities in the Zhambyl Oblast) in Kazakhstan. The exercise was the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled “Combat Brotherhood-2018” (the second time this series took place) and involved around 3000 personnel from intelligence and reconnaissance and special purpose units (including an amphibious assault squad from Kazakhstan) of participants and 500 pieces of equipment (including two Russian Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft and an unknown number of Orlan and Forpost unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group (at the bases of Matybulak, Munke, Aysha-bibi and Teris-Ashchybulak in Zhambyl).¹⁹⁰

Poisk 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Poisk 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan that took place October 14-18, 2019 at the Obuz-Lesnovskiy training facility (Brest Oblast; the exercise also took part at the facilities of Domanovskiy, Chepelevo, and Osipovichskiy in other oblasts), Belarus. The exercise involved around 2000 personnel (from reconnaissance units of participants), 250 pieces of equipment (including aircraft) and focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group in Eastern Europe. The exercise was the second of the four in the CSTO’s Combat Brotherhood 2019 operational-strategic series of exercises.¹⁹¹

Prabal Dostyk 16

Prabaly Dostyk 16 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place September 3-17, 2016 in the Karaganda Oblast, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (both participants sent a platoon) and focused on counterinsurgency and counterterrorism operations in rural and semi-urban settings.¹⁹²

Prabal Dostyk 2017

Prabaly Dostyk 2017 was a joint India-Kazakhstan exercise that took place November 2-14, 2017 in Bakloh, Himachal Pradesh, India. The exercise involved 40 personnel (a platoon from India’s 11th Gorkha Rifles and a Kazakh platoon) and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.¹⁹³

Regional Cooperation series (2001-2018)

The Regional Cooperation exercises are the successor military exercises of CENTRASBAT; the exercises have largely focused on disaster response. The exercises are mainly conducted as simulated training, not in the field, and U.S. participants have often been from state National Guard units. The exercise has been held annually since 2001, although the exercises in 2002 and 2003 were cancelled because of combat operations in Afghanistan and Iraq.¹⁹⁴

- *Regional Cooperation 2001* (also referred to as CENTRASBAT 2001), was a command post exercise held at U.S. training facilities at Ramstein Airbase, Germany with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, and the United States participating.¹⁹⁵
- *Regional Cooperation 2004* was a battalion-level command post exercise that took place in September 2004 in Germany with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and the United States participating in a disaster response scenario. Turkmenistan sent observers and Uzbekistan declined because of Pakistan’s presence.¹⁹⁶

- *Regional Cooperation 2005* took place at the Joint Warfighting Center in Suffolk, Virginia with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, and the United States participating. The exercise emphasized border security, illegal migration, and narcotics trafficking. This was the first exercise to utilize a region coordination center, which would be used in subsequent exercises.¹⁹⁷
- *Regional Cooperation 2006* took place in July 16-25, 2006 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States as participants. Russia and Turkmenistan sent observers. The exercise focused on responding to acts of terrorism during disaster situations.¹⁹⁸
- *Regional Cooperation 2007* took place in June 2007 in Astana, Kazakhstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise focused on disaster response.¹⁹⁹
- *Regional Cooperation 2008* took place July 15-24, 2008 in Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Pakistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise worked on a scenario of a natural disaster followed by terrorist attacks on infrastructure.²⁰⁰
- *Regional Cooperation 2009* took place July 31-August 10, 2009 in Tajikistan, with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. Again, the simulated exercise focused on responding to an earthquake and a series of terrorist attacks in Tajikistan.²⁰¹
- *Regional Cooperation 2010* took place August 19-28, 2010 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany. In attendance were participants from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States. The exercise scenario dealt with civil unrest following a natural disaster in Kyrgyzstan.²⁰²
- *Regional Cooperation 2011* took place September 23-27, 2011 in Dushanbe, Tajikistan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise focused on responding to an earthquake in northern Tajikistan, including rescue operations and combating civil unrest and terrorism.²⁰³
- *Regional Cooperation 2012* took place June 18-29, 2012 in Kyrgyzstan with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise involved around 300 personnel from participating countries (including personnel from Interior Ministries, Border Forces, and Emergency Ministries) and focused on responding to disasters and acts of terrorism; the exercise ended practical emergency training in the field.²⁰⁴
- *Regional Cooperation 2013* took place July 8-18, 2013 in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, Germany (George C. Marshall Center) with Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan,

Afghanistan, and the United States participating. The exercise focused on a coordinated response to an earthquake and a subsequent explosion at an ammonia plant set off by a terrorist group, the latter of which was dealt with strictly through information operations; officers from Kazakhstan took the lead on the overall scenario response.²⁰⁵

- *Regional Cooperation 2014* took place September 17-24, 2014 at Camp Edwards, Joint Base Cape Cod in Massachusetts with Tajikistan (who also took the lead in the exercise), Afghanistan, Mongolia, and the U.S. participating; Kazakhstan sent observers. The command post exercise focused on a peacekeeping scenario and developing interoperability among participants.²⁰⁶
- *Regional Cooperation 2015* took place September 16-24, 2015 in Dushabe, Tajikistan with a total of 187 personnel from Tajikistan, the U.S., Afghanistan, Pakistan and Mongolia participating. The exercise included a computer based phase and a field portion and focused on peacekeeping.²⁰⁷
- *Regional Cooperation 2016* took place September 16-28, 2016 at the Joint Base Cape Cod, Massachusetts with around 200 personnel from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the U.S., Mongolia and Pakistan. The command post exercise focused on interoperability and best practices on counterterrorism, border security, and peacekeeping operations.²⁰⁸
- *Regional Cooperation 2017* took place July 10-23 in Dushanbe and Fakhrabad, Tajikistan with over 200 personnel taking part from Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, the U.S., Mongolia and Pakistan, while Kazakhstan sent observers. The exercise included command post (in Dushanbe) and field (in Fakhrabad) phases and focused on a scenario of a conducting a UN mandated peacekeeping mission.²⁰⁹
- *Regional Cooperation 2018* took place September 10-21, 2018 at the Joint Base Cape Cod, Massachusetts with around 200 personnel participating from Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, the U.S., Afghanistan and Mongolia, while Kazakhstan sent observers. The exercise focused on interoperability and a joint response to several scenarios.²¹⁰

Regional Exercise 2014

Regional Exercise 2014 (REGEX 2014) was a command post exercise of NATO partners (including several officers from Kazakhstan's Peacekeeping Brigade) that took place October 20-24, 2014 at the Ataturk Wargaming and Convention Center in Instabul, Turkey. The exercise focused on coordination and planning for a multinational peacekeeping operation.²¹¹

RESCUER/MEDCUER (2005)

The RESCUER/MEDCUER exercises are typically conducted with EUCOM countries, but in September 2005 the exercise included participants from Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. The exercise took place over two weeks in Tbilisi, Georgia and focused on disaster response and mass casualty evacuation.²¹²

Rubezh 2004

Rubezh 2004 (Рубеж, Frontier) was a joint military exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place August 2-6, 2004 in two phases; the first phase was near Almaty, Kazakhstan and the second phase at the Edelweiss training facility near Balykchy, Kyrgyzstan. The first phase focused on training for joint actions and the second phase focused on a scenario of destroying an international terrorist group through ground and air assaults; the scenario is based on a terrorist group operating in the Fergana Valley. The exercise included around 1,700 soldiers from members; Russia contributed a special forces unit, Su-25s and MiG-29s, and Mi-8, Mi-24, and Ka-50 helicopters, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan contributed a battalion, and Tajikistan sent two battalions. Kyrgyzstan also provided logistical support.²¹³

Rubezh 2005

Rubezh 2005 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place April 2-6, 2005 in two phases; the first in Dushanbe and the second near Kurgan-Tyube, Tajikistan. The first phase focused on joint staff training and the second phase focused on a scenario of a border outpost repelling an enemy attempting to cross the border through retaliatory strikes with Su-24 and Su-25 attack aircraft and Su-27 fighters and unknown number of soldiers.²¹⁴

Rubezh 2006

Rubezh 2006 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. The exercise took place August 24-29, 2006 around 30 kilometers (18 miles) northeast of Aqtau, Kazakhstan. The exercise included a total of 2,500 soldiers, 60 armored vehicles, 35 aircraft, and 14 warships. The exercise focused on a scenario of destroying a terrorist group through a combined arms assault; air mobile units joined with marine forces landing on the Caspian shore in the ground assault while aircraft and artillery provided support. Some of the participating units in Rubezh exercises were designated for the CRDF CAR.²¹⁵

Rubezh 2007

Rubezh 2007 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Russia, and Tajikistan while Armenia, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan sent observers. The exercise took place March 27-April 6, 2007 at the Lyaur range north of Dushanbe, Tajikistan. The exercise included around 500 soldiers, 50 armored vehicles, and an unknown number of Su-25 attack aircraft and Mi-24 helicopters and focused on detecting and destroying terrorist groups.²¹⁶

Rubezh 2008

Rubezh 2008 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Armenia, Russia, and Tajikistan that took place July 22-August 22, 2008 at a training range west of Yerevan, Armenia. The exercise included around 4,000 soldiers from the military and border forces of Armenia, troops and aircraft (MiG 29s, Su-25s, Mi-24s, and Mi-8s) from the Russian 102nd military base in Armenia, and an air assault unit from Tajikistan. The exercise was conducted over four phases, two phases of planning followed by two active phases, and focused on a scenario where a member state is threatened by an outside aggressor. This was the first *Rubezh* exercise not to focus on counter-terrorism and the first to utilize strategic, operational, and tactical levels.²¹⁷

Rubezh 2010

Rubezh 2010 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan that took place April 20-26, 2010 at the Chorukh-Dayron training range near the city of Khujand, in northern Tajikistan. The exercise included over 1,000 soldiers (mechanized infantry units from Russia and Kazakhstan, an air assault unit from Tajikistan, and mountain infantry from Kyrgyzstan), and over 150 pieces of equipment and various aircraft (L-39 and An-2 aircraft, and Mi-8 helicopters) from participating members. The exercise was conducted in two phases; the first involved operational planning and the second active phase included a scenario of operating in a border region against a terrorist group, specifically four steps of deploying along the border, identifying and evacuating civilians from the area, blocking off the terrorist group in a mountainous area, and destroying the group.²¹⁸

Rubezh 2012

Rubezh 2012 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as part of the Collective Rapid Deployment Force (CRDF) of the Central Asia Region (CAR) that took place August 6-10, 2012 at the Chebarkul range in the Chelyabinsk Province of Russia. The exercise included over 1,000 soldiers (a motorized rifle battalion from Russia, a mountain rifle company from Kyrgyzstan, and a mountain air assault company from Tajikistan; a group of officers from Kazakhstan also attended), around 100 pieces of equipment (unknown numbers of T-72 tanks, 2C23 «Nona-SVK» 120mm self-propelled artillery, and 2S3 «Akatsiya» 152.4mm self-propelled artillery), and several aircraft (Su-24 bombers, Mi-24 attack helicopters, and Mi-8 transport helicopters). The active phase of the exercise involved a scenario of cutting off and destroying logistics, training camps, and bases of terrorist groups, as well as working on issues of conducting joint operations.²¹⁹

Rubezh 2014

Rubezh 2014 was a joint exercise of CSTO members Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Tajikistan as part of the CRDF CAR that took place July 15-18, 2014 at the Chebarkul range in Russia. The command-staff exercise included an unknown number of personnel and focused on logistical issues of deploying a joint force in response to a regional threat with an emphasis on the Afghan-Tajik border.²²⁰

Rubezh 2016

Rubezh 2016 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place October 4-7, 2016 at the Edelweiss training facility in Issyk Kul Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The CRDF CAR of the CSTO exercise involved around 1000 personnel (including a contingent from the Russian 55th Separate Mountain Motorized Rifle Brigade and Russian air units of the Central Military District and the Kant Airbase, and a special purpose unit from the Kyrgyz Interior Ministry and National Guard as well as 50 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of Kyrgyzstan) and around 200 aircraft and pieces of equipment (including Tu-22M3 and Su-24 bombers, Su-25 close air support aircraft, Mi-8 transport helicopters, the Orlan 10 unmanned aerial vehicle and the Tiger armored vehicle) in a scenario of combating and eliminating (through a combined arms assault that included bombers flying out of Chelyabinsk, Russia) an armed group that had

infiltrated across the border of a member state in mountainous terrain. The exercise scenario also included responding to a terrorist attack on infrastructure and dealing with hazardous (radioactive, chemical) materials.²²¹

Rubezh 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

“Rubezh 2018 (Frontier 2018)” was listed as one of the exercises in the Combat Brotherhood 2018 series and reportedly took place October 22-27, 2018 at the Kharbmaydon range (Tajikistan) as an exercise of the Collective Operational Reaction Force, but little information appeared in media at the time the exercise took place.²²²

Saperler Dostighi-2017

Saperler Dostighi-2017 (Саперлер Достығы, Sapper’s Friendship) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place August 21-25, 2017 at the Otar military base (40th military base, Zhambul Oblast, Kazakhstan). The exercise included engineer units from both participants (a company from Kazakhstan and a platoon from Kyrgyzstan) and focused on joint manual mine detection (with the use of dogs), demining in a residential area (including jamming signals for radio controlled improvised explosive devices), and ordnance disposal.²²³

Skala-2018

Skala-2018 (Скала-2018, Rock-2018) was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 10-11, 2018 at the Skalniy Gorod facility outside Almaty, Kazakhstan. The CSTO exercise involved personnel from the Emergency Situations Ministries of member states and focused a joint response to an earthquake and related emergency scenarios.²²⁴

Security 2009

Security 2009 was a counterterrorism exercise that involved over 500 soldiers from Kyrgyzstan in March/April 2009. While the exercise initially only included Kyrgyzstan’s Ministry of Defense, Russian Su-25 aircraft from the Kant Airbase participated on April 25, 2009.²²⁵

Shanti Prayas-2

Shanti Prayas-2 was a joint exercise that involved around two dozen participating states, including Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and the U.S that took place March 25-April 7, 2013 at the Birendra Peace Operations Training Centre in Nepal. The Global Peace Operations Exercise included around 700 personnel and focused on peacekeeping training.²²⁶

Shanti Prayas-3

Shanti Prayas-3 was a joint exercise that involved over two dozen participating states, including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and the U.S. that took place March 20-April 3, 2017 at the Birendra Peace Operations Training Centre in Nepal. The Global Peace Operations Exercise included around 1000 personnel and focused on peacekeeping training with phases for staff and units in the field.²²⁷

Shygys 2011

Shygys 2011 (ШЫҒЫС, East) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place June 20-29, 2011 at the Matybulak, Koktal, and Kyzyl-Agash ranges. The exercise included over 3,000 soldiers (an air assault and air defense units from Kazakhstan, and the 31st Guards air assault brigade and air force units from Russia), over 500 armored vehicles, tanks, and artillery pieces, and 30 aircraft (MiG-31 interceptors, Su-27 and MiG-23 fighters, Su-24 and Tu-22 bombers, and MiG-27 ground-attack aircraft). The exercise, which also included reservists, focused on joint interoperability between regional commands (East, South, and Astana for this exercise) and with Russian forces. A related exercise, «Air Force-2011», took place at the Kyzyl-Agash range with the air forces of both countries participating.²²⁸

Shygys 2013

Shygys 2013 (ШЫҒЫС, East) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place October 8-14, 2013 at the Shygys, Koktal, Maylino, and Novo-Akhmirovo ranges. The exercise included an unknown number of soldiers from Kazakhstan and Russia (a group from the Central Military District) in a scenario of coordinating an assault on an enemy force in Kazakhstan's Regional Command "East" with motorized infantry, artillery, airborne, and air defense units participating.²²⁹

Shygys-2019

Shygys 2019 (ШЫҒЫС, Восток, East) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 10-22, 2019 at multiple locations in Kazakhstan. The exercise involved around 4000 personnel (including a mountain unit from Kazakhstan's Regional Command South and a unit from the Russian 55th Mountain Motorized Rifle Brigade as well as border guards forces from both participants) and around 1500 pieces of equipment and aircraft (including Su-30SM fighters and Su-34 fighter bombers operating out of the Taldykorgan Airbase) and focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group in mountainous terrain.²³⁰

South Antiterror 2001

South Antiterror 2001 was a joint Azerbaijan-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Moldova-Russia-Tajikistan-Ukraine-Uzbekistan exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place April 24-26, 2001. The exercise included representatives of intelligence and security agencies from participating states as well as the Coordination Service of the Council of Commanders of Border Troops. The exercise scenario involved an armed group crossing into Kyrgyzstan and taking hostages and control of a dam, and ending with a hostage rescue operation.²³¹

South Antiterror 2002

South Antiterror-2002 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise conducted through the CIS Antiterrorist Center that took place in three phases; the first April 15-16 in Kyrgyzstan, the second April 17-18 in Kazakhstan, and the third April 19-20 in Tajikistan. In the first phase participants held a command and staff training for a scenario of an armed incursion by militants. In the second phase special forces units from Kazakhstan's National Security Service (KNB) 'Arystan', and the Ministry of Interior (MVD) 'Berkut' and 'Sunkar' practiced hostage

rescue at the Saryshagan training range. In the third phase the scenario involved a group of 600 militants attempted to break through to a U.S. transport plane in Kulyab, Tajikistan. Units from Tajikistan's Ministry of Interior and Armed Forces as well as around 200 soldiers from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division, with artillery and air support, conducted an operation to destroy the militant group on the Mumirayu training range near Kulyab.²³²

Steppe Eagle series (2003-2019)

Steppe Eagle (Дала Қыраны) is a joint military exercise held annually in Kazakhstan since 2003 with Kazakhstan, the United States, and the United Kingdom as the main participants.²³³

- Steppe Eagle 2003 took place at Kapchagai in July 2003 with 500 airborne soldiers from Kazakhstan, elements of KAZBAT, the Scots Guards (U.K.), and U.S. Special Forces. The scenario of the exercise was combating an insurgency in southern Kazakhstan.
- Steppe Eagle 2004 took place in August 2004 at Kapchagai with KAZBAT, Kazakh airborne and air defense units, and the 3rd Motorized Infantry Battalion of the Princess of Wales Regiment (U.K.). The U.S. had limited participation because of Operation Iraqi Freedom. The exercise focused on anti-terrorism and peacekeeping operations.
- Steppe Eagle 2005 took place in September 2005 at Kapchagai and focused on anti-terrorism. Units from Kazakhstan, the U.K. and the Arizona National Guard participated.²³⁴
- Steppe Eagle 2006 took place in September 2006 and was the first exercise to include NATO, specifically that Steppe Eagle became a part of Kazakhstan's Individual Partnership Action Plan (IPAP). Units from Kazakhstan, the U.K., and the U.S. worked on improving interoperability between Kazakh and NATO units. Military observers from Turkey, Ukraine, and Kyrgyzstan also attended.²³⁵
- Steppe Eagle 2007 took place in September with units from Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K. participating.²³⁶
- Steppe Eagle 2008 took place in September 2008 and was the first time that Kazakh forces were given interoperability status with NATO, although some experts believe the declaration is a few years premature. The 2008 exercise included units from Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K. and were held at the Ilysky training grounds north of the city of Almaty.²³⁷
- Steppe Eagle 2009 took place in September 2009 and included the usual participants (Kazakhstan, the U.S., and the U.K.) with an emphasis on developing KAZBRIG.²³⁸
- Steppe Eagle 2010 took place in August 2010 at the Ilysky range with 1,000 soldiers from Kazakhstan and around 80 from the U.S. and 10 from the U.K. participating. The exercise focused on Kazakhstan's interoperability with NATO forces. Observers from Tajikistan also attended the exercise.²³⁹

- Steppe Eagle 2011 took place from August 9-19, 2011 at the Ilysky range with around 1,500 soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., Lithuania, and Kyrgyzstan. The exercise focused on interoperability in peacekeeping operations..²⁴⁰
- Steppe Eagle 2012 took place from September 6-21, 2012 at the Ilysky training range with over 1,500 soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., and Tajikistan. Kyrgyzstan sent a group of observers. The exercise focused on peacekeeping operations and the continued development of the Kazakhstan Peacekeeping Battalion (KAZBAT) into a brigade (KAZBRIG)..²⁴¹
- Steppe Eagle 2013 took place from August 10-23, 2013 at the Ilysky range with a reported 1,680 soldiers participating; 1,500 were from Kazakhstan (one battalion from KAZBRIG), while the other soldiers were from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Italy, Lithuania, and Switzerland. The exercise focused on joint peacekeeping operations, including delivering humanitarian aid (by air), patrolling (and combating ambushes on patrol), and repelling an attack on a checkpoint..²⁴²
- Steppe Eagle 2014 took place September 29-October 13, 2014 at the Joint Multinational Readiness Center in Hohenfels, Germany with 150 soldiers from Kazakhstan's Peacekeeping Brigade (headquarters battalion) participating in addition to personnel from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan (six from the Chief of the General Staff), and Tajikistan. The exercise focused on land navigation, setting up checkpoints, delivering humanitarian aid, IED disposal, and crowd control during a riot..²⁴³
- Steppe Eagle 2015 took place April 6-17 and June 15-25, 2015 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan in two phases. The first phase (April 2015) focused on peacekeeping operational tasks, including protecting convoys, medical training, riot control, and a counterterrorism operation to rescue hostages. Participants from the U.K. worked at the company level with a Kazakh battalion from KAZBRIG, while the U.S. worked with the battalion's headquarters. The second phase (June 2015) focused on command and staff training with the Joint Conflict and Tactical Simulation (JCAT) program in areas of civil-military affairs, demobilization, dearmament, and reconciliation between combatants and included soldiers from Kazakhstan, the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Afghanistan, France, Nepal, and Turkey..²⁴⁴
- Steppe Eagle 2016 took place in two phases, the first from April 11-22, 2016 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan. The first phase focused on peacekeeping tactical and operational tasks, including procedures for a battalion headquarters staff, tactical communications, patrolling, establishing checkpoints, demining, riot control, and first aid. The first phase involved around 60 personnel from the U.S. and U.K. and an air assault company and a battalion headquarters from KAZBAT..²⁴⁵ The second phase took place July 16-28, 2016 at the Stanford Training Area in the U.K. Around 800 personnel (270 from Kazakhstan, and the rest from the U.S., U.K., Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan) took part in Situational Training Exercises that focused on peacekeeping or peace support

operations, including civil-military operations, cordon and search, border security, and responding to civil unrest.²⁴⁶

- Steppe Eagle 2017 (aka Koktem 2017) took place in two phases, the first phase from March 31-April 11, 2017 and the second from July 22-August 4 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan. The first phase involved around 500 personnel from Kazakhstan and 50 from the U.S. and U.K. and focused on peacekeeping tasks, including patrols, establishing roadblocks, riot control, base protection, escorting convoys, demining and first aid. The second phase involved over 700 personnel from Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkey, the U.S. and the U.K. and worked on peacekeeping tasks while being evaluated on NATO's Evaluation Level 1 certification, under the NATO Operational Capabilities Concept.²⁴⁷
- Steppe Eagle 2018 took place August 10-20, 2018 at the McCrady Training Center, Fort Jackson, South Carolina. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., Tajikistan and Turkey (Uzbekistan sent observers) and focused on scenario of a UN peacekeeping operation, including specific training on urban operations, riot control, and medevacs.²⁴⁸
- Steppe Eagle 2019 took place June 17-27, 2019 at the Ilysky training range, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from Kazakhstan, the U.S., the U.K., Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan (though Kazakhstan sent three platoons, Tajikistan sent one platoon, and the U.S. sent a platoon), while India, Turkey and Uzbekistan sent observers and focused on peacekeeping tasks, including establishing checkpoints, delivering humanitarian aid, riot control, conducting patrols, and countering improvised explosive devices.²⁴⁹

Stikhiya-2013

Stikhiya-2013 (Стихия-2013, Element-2013) was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 9-12, 2013 in the Issyk-Kul Province, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO exercise included around 500 personnel from the Ministry of Emergency Situations of each participant and focused on a scenario of disaster response to flooding around the Issyk Kul Province. China, Uzbekistan, Afghanistan, and Mongolia attended as observers.²⁵⁰

Strong Resolve 2002

Strong Resolve 2002 was a joint exercise of NATO and PfP members, including participants from Uzbekistan, which took place March 1-15, 2002 in two separate but simultaneous operations. One operation took place in Norway and included 14,000 soldiers from participants in a NATO Article 5 scenario, where NATO members defend a member from an attack by a conventional military. Various naval and aircraft were also used in the exercise. The other operation took place in Poland and included 26,000 soldiers in a crisis response scenario where NATO deploys outside its area of responsibility to mediate between two warring nations.²⁵¹

Tianshan-I (2006)

Tianshan-I was a joint China-Kazakhstan law enforcement exercise that took place from August 24-26, 2006 over two phases, the first in the Almaty region of Kazakhstan and second in the Xinjiang Autonomous region of China. The exercise included 700 soldiers from China's Xinjiang border police and anti-terror special forces, helicopter gunships and armored vehicles, with an unknown number of Kazakh soldiers. The second phase in Xinjiang was a scenario of a battle between border police and terrorists. The exercise was an effort to enhance cooperation between the two countries' law enforcement and security services on the Chinese-Kazakh border.²⁵²

Tianshan-II (2011)

Tianshan-II was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise that took place on May 6, 2011 in Kashi (Kashgar) Xinjiang region. The exercise included an unknown number of law enforcement and security personnel from each participant and focused on coordinating efforts to crackdown on terrorists in the border regions.²⁵³

Tianshan-3 (2017)

Tianshan-3, also referred to as Tianshan-3 (2017), was a joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise that took place June 27, 2017 near the city of Artush (Xinjiang Province), China. The SCO exercise included over 700 personnel from the border guards services of both participants (other SCO members sent observers, including the Executive Committee of the SCO's Regional Antiterrorism Structure, RATS) and unknown numbers of attack helicopters and armored vehicles. The exercise focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate a terrorist group in the Kyrgyz-Chinese border region after a series of terrorist attacks.²⁵⁴

Tsentr-2008

Tsentr-2008 (Центр, Center) was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 1-27, 2008 at several military facilities in Russia. Kazakhstan participated in the first phase, September 1-5 at the Chebarkul range, near Chelyabinsk, Russia. This phase included around 2,000 soldiers from Russia and 700 from Kazakhstan. In the exercise scenario an enemy penetrated around 60km (around 37 miles) into Kazakhstan. Units from Kazakhstan moved into defensive positions while two Il-76 transport planes dropped a company of paratroopers from Ulyanovsk for an offensive operation, all supported by Russian artillery, Su-24 bombers, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters.²⁵⁵

Tsentr-2011

Tsentr-2011 was a joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise (conducted through the CSTO) that took place September 19-27, 2011 at several locations simultaneously, at bases in each participant. In Kazakhstan, at the Oymasha range on the Caspian Sea, the exercise included around 3,500 soldiers, 19 aircraft, and over 40 boats from Kazakhstan (specifically an air assault division, and units from the Navy, Interior Ministry, Border Guards, National Security Committee, and the Ministry of Emergency Situations) and Russia conducted air strikes followed by an amphibious assault against an enemy trying to seize oil fields. Near Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan the exercise included a mountain rifle company and a special forces unit from Kyrgyzstan and

Russian air units from the Kant Airbase. The scenario involved an operation to eliminate an armed group. At the Lyaur range in Tajikistan the exercise included around 1,000 soldiers from Tajikistan and Russia (specifically tanks, armored personnel carriers, and anti-aircraft units from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and elements of the 98th Guards Air Assault Division) in a scenario of destroying a group of 150 terrorists trying to seize power. In Russia the exercise took place at the Ashuluk range near Astrakhan and at the Chebarkul range, near Chelyabinsk. It included units from Belarus, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Ukraine in a scenario of defending against a large combined arms attack. The scenario at Chebarkul involved the 98th Guards Air Assault Division destroying a terrorist group. Units at the 102nd Russian military base in Armenia also conducted a simultaneous exercise.²⁵⁶

Tsentr-2015

Tsentr-2015 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia exercise that took place September 14-20, 2015 in multiple locations in Russia (including Astrakhan, Orenburg, Chebarkul, and Altai) and in the Caspian Sea near the city of Aktau, Kazakhstan. The exercise involved 95,000 soldiers (including a number of Russian units and Naval Infantry from Kazakhstan), 7000 pieces of equipment, over 170 aircraft and 20 ships. The exercise scenario focused on eliminating a terrorist group in the Central Asian region.²⁵⁷

Tsentr-2019

Tsentr-2019 was a joint China-India-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Pakistan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 16-21, 2019 at several locations. The exercise involved around 128,000 personnel (an estimated 12,000 took part in the active phase of the exercise), 20,000 thousand pieces of equipment and about 600 aircraft at facilities in Russia (including Totsky, Donguz, Adanak, Ashuluk, Chebarkul, Safakulevo, Aleisk, Yurginsky, and Kemerovo), Kazakhstan (Sary Shagan and in Kazakh waters of the Caspian Sea), Kyrgyzstan (Edelweiss), Tajikistan (at facilities of the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division) and Uzbekistan (Gurusaray). The strategic command-staff exercise focused on a scenario of combating a terrorist group in two phases, the first of which involved setting up defensive positions, conducting reconnaissance and carrying out airstrikes, while the second phase involved an operation to eliminate the terrorist group (Note: the exercise at facilities in Russia focused on the main scenario, while the exercise at other locations focused on similar scenarios).²⁵⁸

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2012

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2012 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 8-17, 2012 at the Iliskiy, Shoshkala, and Bereg training ranges in Kazakhstan. The exercise included a total of 950 soldiers (535 from Kazakhstan, including the 35th Air Mobile Brigade) and 70 vehicles. The exercise focused on peacekeeping (the first of its kind for the CSTO) tasks in the event of a conflict involving a terrorist or extremist group, or between different ethnic groups in a country in Central Asia. Tasks included delivering humanitarian aid, repelling armed attacks on convoys, protecting vital infrastructure, and riot control.²⁵⁹

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2013

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2013 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 7-11, 2013 at the Chebarkul range (Chelyabinsk Province, Russia). The CSTO exercise included around 2,500 personnel (units from the Ministry of Defense from participants as well as two units from the Russian Interior Ministry) and unknown number of aircraft (Mi-8 transport and Mi-24 attack helicopters). The exercise focused on a joint peacekeeping operation (in a country with ethnic and religious tension and under threat from separatists), including tasks of setting up checkpoints (Kazakh forces were reportedly inserted by helicopters to rapidly set up checkpoints), protecting convoys (with Mi-24s), combating ambushes, hostage rescue, conducting minesweeping and medevacs, and crowd control during civil unrest. The exercise finished with a nighttime live-fire exercise.²⁶⁰

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2014

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2014 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 29-August 1, 2014 at the Ala-Too range, Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan. The CSTO exercise included 700 personnel (the 15th Guards Separate Motorized Brigade, Central Military District command elements, and an Interior Ministry unit from Russia; a battalion from Kazakhstan consisting of an air assault company, platoons of engineers, medics and sappers, and helicopter and air defense units; a battalion and an Interior Ministry unit from Kyrgyzstan; a battalion from Tajikistan as well as Armenia and Belarus), BTR-70 armored personnel carriers, BMP-2 infantry fighting vehicles, and Mi-17 transport helicopters, and focused on a peacekeeping scenario over three stages. The first stage involved planning and preparation for a peacekeeping mission in CSTO territory, the second stage involved blocking off and destroying an armed group in mountainous terrain, while the third stage involved delivering humanitarian aid, protecting infrastructure, riot control, and hostage rescue.²⁶¹

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2015

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2015 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place September 30-October 4, 2015 at the Bagramyan training center in Armenia. The CSTO exercise included around 600 personnel (100 from the Russian 15th Motorized Rifle Peacekeeping Brigade, a platoon from the peacekeeping company in the Belarusian 103rd Guards Mobile Brigade, in addition to units from other participants) and around 50 pieces of equipment (including transport helicopters) in a peacekeeping scenario carried out in three phases. The first and second phases involved preparation and planning and the third phase involved carrying out various peacekeeping tasks (dividing opposing sides of a conflict and creating a buffer zone, delivering humanitarian supplies, dealing with improvised explosive devices and minefields, setting up checkpoints and patrolling, as well as hostage rescue and eliminating groups of militants, the latter of which was conducted by Russian and Armenian units). Additionally, unmanned aerial vehicles (including the Navodchik-2, Orlan, Zastava, and Granat models) from the Russian 102nd Military Base in Armenia reportedly carried out monitoring of the exercise.²⁶²

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2016

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2016 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place August 23-27, 2016 at the Obuz-Lesnovskiy base in Belarus. The CSTO exercise included around 1500 personnel from participants (personnel came from the Armed Forces, Interior Ministry, and other law enforcement agencies of participating states, including a company from the 103rd Guards Airborne Brigade from Belarus, the *Zubr* Interior Ministry special purpose unit and a National Guard unit from Russia, members of KAZBRIG and the National Guard from Kazakhstan) and 300 aircraft and pieces of equipment (including Su-24MR reconnaissance aircraft, Mi-24 and Mi-8 AMTSH attack helicopters, Mi-8 transport helicopters, and BTR-82A armored personnel carriers) in a peacekeeping scenario. The scenario involved the CSTO peacekeeping force receiving a UN mandate and intervening in a state in which two ethnic groups had been clashing over the results of a disputed election and the local government could not maintain control. The exercise also included a tactical portion that established check points and assisted local forces in a hostage rescue situation and delivering humanitarian supplies.²⁶³

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2017 (Combat Brotherhood 2017 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2017 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 16-20, 2017 at the Ilisky training range, in Kazakhstan. The exercise was the third part of the CSTO series “Combat Brotherhood-2017” and involved around 1,500 personnel, over 100 pieces of equipment (including armored personnel carriers) and over a dozen aircraft (including Su-25s from the Russian Airbase at Kant, various armed, transport helicopters and unmanned aerial vehicles – the Skylark from Kazakhstan). The exercise focused on a joint peacekeeping operation (including tasks monitoring a cease-fire agreement between two sides, delivering humanitarian supplies, dealing with improvised explosive devices, and setting up checkpoints and patrolling) and was divided into several tactical portions, including working with Emergency Ministries of CSTO member states and the International Red Cross.²⁶⁴

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 was a joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place September 18-22, 2018 at the Chorukhdayron training center (Sughd Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved 600 personnel (500 from Tajikistan and 100 from Uzbekistan) and various equipment and aircraft (including T-72 tanks, H215M and Mi-8 helicopters) and focused on a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation in the Fergana Valley region.²⁶⁵

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 30-November 2, 2018 at the Sverdlovsk training center (Russian Central Military District). The exercise was the last in the Combat Brotherhood 2018 series and involved around 1300 personnel (a battalion from Russia and an estimated 300 from the other participants), 300 pieces of equipment and 20 aircraft and focused on a scenario

of a peacekeeping operation (through a UN resolution and in a non-member CSTO state) of maintaining a ceasefire agreement and various related tasks..²⁶⁶

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2019 (Combat Brotherhood 2019 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2019 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 21-29, 2019 at the Kharbmaydon training facility (Khatlon Oblast), Tajikistan. The CSTO exercise involved around 3500 personnel, 600 pieces of equipment (including Su-30SM fighters from Kazakhstan and Mi-24 and Mi-8 helicopters from Russia as well as Grad multiple rocket launcher systems and various artillery from the Russian 201st base in Tajikistan) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group and peacekeeping tasks in two stages. The first stage involved a counterterrorism operation against a group that had crossed the Afghan-Tajik border into Tajikistan with units from the Collective Rapid Deployment Force of the Central Asian Region (which is made up of units from Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan; the operation included an airstrike carried out by Su-30SMs operating out of Kazakhstan), while the second stage involved a peacekeeping operation in the region (which included units from Armenia and Belarus). The exercise was the last of the four in the CSTO's Combat Brotherhood 2019 operational-strategic series of exercises..²⁶⁷

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2020

Unbreakable Brotherhood 2020 was a joint Belarus-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 12-16, 2020 at the Losvido training facility, Belarus. The CSTO exercise involved around 700 personnel and more than 100 pieces of equipment and focused on a peacekeeping scenario in two stages. Armenia and Kyrgyzstan had planned to take part in the exercise, but did not participate (Armenia because of the conflict over Nagorno Karabakh and Kyrgyzstan because of domestic political issues), while Kazakhstan sent observers instead of participants because of the coronavirus pandemic..²⁶⁸

Volgograd Anti-terror 2008

Volgograd Anti-terror 2008 was a joint Kazakhstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan SCO exercise that took place from August 18-September 4, 2008 in Volgograd, Russia. The exercise included anti-terrorist units of the participants and focused on hostage rescue and neutralizing terrorists in an environmentally hazardous facility. The final part of the exercise took place at the Lukoil refinery in Volgograd, with a simulated hijacking of an oil tanker at the refinery's port on the Volga River..²⁶⁹

Vostok-Anti-terror 2006

Vostok (East) Anti-terror 2006 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place from March 2-5, 2006 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. The exercise was conducted through the Regional Anti-Terrorism Structure (RATS-later renamed RCTS) of the SCO. The exercise included an unknown number of soldiers from special forces and law enforcement units. It focused on hostage rescue and protecting infrastructure from terrorist groups, in particular a simulated attack at the Institute of Nuclear Physics at the Uzbek Academy of Sciences which houses a nuclear reactor..²⁷⁰

Vozdushniy Most 2018 (Combat Brotherhood 2018 – CSTO Operational-Strategic exercise series)

Vozdushniy Most (Air Bridge) 2018 was a joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise that took place October 1-14, 2018 near Yekaterinburg, Russia. The CSTO air exercise was the first of its kind and the first in a series of CSTO exercises titled “Combat Brotherhood-2018” (taking place at the same time of the exercise “Poisk-2018”) and it involved around 3500 personnel and 620 pieces of equipment (including Il-76, C-295 and An-26 transport planes) in a scenario of transporting a large number of mobile forces.²⁷¹

Xiamen-2015

Xiamen-2015 was a joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise that took place October 14-16, 2015 in the city of Xiamen (Fujian Province), China. The SCO exercise involved an unknown number of personnel from the security services of participants and focused on a scenario of countering terrorist groups on the internet (websites, forums and social media) and removing the groups’ online presence.²⁷²

Yug (2006)

Yug (South) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia anti-terrorist exercise that took place October 3-5, 2006 in Osh, Kyrgyzstan. Around 350 soldiers participated (Russia sent a special forces company, two Mi-8 helicopters and unknown number of Su-25 close air-support aircraft, while Kyrgyzstan sent engineering and communication soldiers, two Mi-8 helicopters, and a special purpose infantry company) in a scenario to locate and destroy a terrorist group in mountainous terrain.²⁷³

Zaslou-2015

Zaslou-2015 (Barrier-2015) was a joint Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise that took place July 22 and 24, 2015 in the Batken Oblast, Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved the Border Guards of Kyrgyzstan (including the special forces unit Boru), the Border Guards of Tajikistan and members of the expert working group of the Russian FSB. The first phase of the exercise on July 22 focused on command and staff coordination between Kyrgyzstan’s Border Guard headquarters and a detachment in Batken. The second and active phase of the exercise on July 24 focused on a scenario of a joint operation to eliminate an armed group that had infiltrated across the Kyrgyz-Tajik border in addition to dealing with a large number of civilians crossing the border. The OSCE Centre in Bishkek provided support to the exercise.²⁷⁴

Zhetisu Antiterror 2014

Zhetisu Antiterror 2014 was a joint Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise that took place August 14-22 and September 9, 2014. The first phase of the exercise did not take place at a specific location, but involved a scenario of law enforcement agencies of the Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia (and the Russian State Atomic Energy Corporation “Rosatom”) working together to track a group of terrorists traveling from Belarus through Russia and on to Kazakhstan with radioactive materials. The second phase of the exercise included the units “Arystan” and “Boran” from the National Security Committee of Kyrgyzstan and “Kalkan”

(Republican Guard), “Sunkar” (Interior Ministry) and “Berkut” (National Guard/Interior Ministry) from Kazakhstan carrying out an operation to eliminate the terrorists at the Kargaly border post, west of Almaty. The operation involved BTR-80 armored personnel carriers conducting an assault while other units were inserted by Mi-8 transport helicopters. Kazakhstan’s Ministry of Emergency Situations also participated in the exercise.²⁷⁵

Zhardem (aka Balance Zhardem)

Zhardem was a set of joint Kazakhstan-U.S. exercises held in 1999, 2002, and 2005 at various locations in Kazakhstan. In 1999, the exercise was held from July 14-August 10 in the Shymbulak area near the city of Almaty with 54 soldiers from the U.S. and over 150 from Kazakhstan. The exercise focused on crisis response, humanitarian assistance, refugee management, as well as combat mountain training, artillery raids, and defending a combined arms assault. In 2002, the exercise was held from March 7-22 (estimate) and focused on rescue and medical preparations in an operational context and mountain warfare. The exercise was reportedly held in 2005, but no information is available on it.²⁷⁶

Untitled Joint Exercises

- ***India-Tajikistan (Fakhrobod, Tajikistan)***

India and Tajikistan held a joint military exercise in 2003 (reportedly in February or August) in the Fakhrobod Mountains, around 30 km south of Dushanbe. The anti-terror exercise included an Indian special forces unit and an air assault brigade from Tajikistan.²⁷⁷

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Exercise (Multiple locations)***

A CIS joint air defense command and staff exercise took place October 19, 2004 in multiple locations. The exercise included around 70 aircraft (including Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, MiG-31 interceptors, Tu-22M bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, and Mi-8 and Ka-26 helicopters), around 1,500 personnel, and S-300, S-125 and S-75 surface-to-air missile systems with Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan (the first time that Uzbekistan actively participated in a CIS joint air defense exercise with Su-27s) participating. The exercise worked on strengthening the air space of the CIS.²⁷⁸

- ***Russia-Uzbekistan (Forish Range, Uzbekistan)***

A joint Russian-Uzbekistan exercise took place in the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan from September 19-23, 2005. This was the first joint exercise between the two; 400 soldiers (200 special forces from each) participated with the focus of the exercise on destroying a group of terrorists trying to establish a forward base for later incursions.²⁷⁹

- ***CIS Antiterrorism Exercise (Magov Gorge, Tajikistan)***

The Interior Ministries of Armenia, Belarus, Russia, and Tajikistan held a joint antiterrorism exercise in the Magov Gorge, Tajikistan on April 22, 2006. Around 700 police officers (400 specifically from special-purpose units, from Russia “Rys” and from

Belarus ‘Almaz’) participated in a scenario where terrorists entered Tajikistan from neighboring countries, seized an arms depot and took hostages.²⁸⁰

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Exercise (Multiple locations)***
A CIS joint air defense command and staff exercise took place April 22, 2008 at multiple locations. Over 110 aircraft from Belarus, Kazakhstan, and Russia (including Su-27 and MiG-29 fighters, MiG-31 interceptors, Su-24, Tu-22M and Tu-95 bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, and Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters) conducted practice operations in the air space of participants, as well as units stationed at the Kant Airbase, Kyrgyzstan.²⁸¹
- ***France-Tajikistan***
A joint France-Tajikistan exercise took place at the Fakhrobod training center in Tajikistan from September 22-27, 2009 and involved around 50 personnel from the Tajik Ministry of Defense and National Guard as well as several French paratroopers and utilized French aircraft, then operating out of the airport in Dushanbe.²⁸²
- ***SCO Law Enforcement Exercise (Saratov, Russia)***
A joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia took place in Saratov, Russia from August 16-28, 2010. The exercise, conducted through the SCO, included law enforcement agencies from participants and simulated an investigation and operation against a terrorist group in a setting with large numbers of people.²⁸³
- ***France-Tajikistan***
A joint France-Tajikistan exercise took place in two phases from May 25-June 11, 2011 with the first phase at Fakhrobod and the second in the Romit Gorge (Vahdat District) and involved 100 personnel (from Tajikistan’s Ministry of Defense and France’s 27th Mountain Infantry Brigade) and focused on conducting operations in mountainous terrain.²⁸⁴
- ***Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan (Buzhum, Kyrgyzstan)***
A joint Kyrgyzstan-Tajikistan exercise took place at the Buzhum training camp in the Batken Province in southern Kyrgyzstan from June 17-20, 2011. The exercise included 30 soldiers from Tajikistan’s army and a special purpose brigade from Kyrgyzstan. The exercise focused on training to find and destroy illegal armed groups.²⁸⁵
- ***Kyrgyzstan-Turkey (Tatyr Gorge, Kyrgyzstan)***
A joint Kyrgyzstan-Turkey exercise took place November 13, 2013 near the Joint Training Center of Kyrgyzstan’s Armed Forces outside Bishkek. The counterterrorism exercise included an unknown number of personnel from Turkey and a Kyrgyz Ministry of Defense special forces unit and focused on a scenario of eliminating a group of terrorists in mountainous terrain. The exercise came at the end of 45 days of mountain warfare training.²⁸⁶
- ***Kyrgyzstan-US (Sadovoye village, Chui Oblast, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-US exercise took place on May 16, 2014 at Ministry of Emergency Situations training center near Sadovoye village (Chui Oblast), Kyrgyzstan. The exercise involved over 300 personnel with an estimated 40 from the Montana National Guard and 285 from various ministries and units from Kyrgyzstan, including Ministries of Emergency Situations, Defense and Interior, as well as the Border Guards, National Guard and Chief of the General Staff. The exercise focused on responding to a natural disaster, including a hostage rescue situation.²⁸⁷

- ***France-Tajikistan***

A joint France-Tajikistan exercise took place in the Romit Gorge from October 16-26, 2014 and involved the (Air) Mobile Forces of Tajikistan and a company of special forces from France and focused on combat operation in mountainous terrain.²⁸⁸

- ***CIS Joint Air Defense Training (Multiple locations)***

A CIS joint air defense training took place October 20-21, 2014 at multiple locations (around 130 command posts) of participants of the air defense system (including Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan; Ukraine did not participate). The training included around several thousand service members, 100 aircraft (Su-27, MiG-29, and MiG-31 fighters, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-24 bombers, Tu-22M, Tu-160, and Tu-95 long-range bombers, A-50 early warning and control aircraft, Ka-27 and Mi-8 transport helicopters) as well as various anti-aircraft units (reportedly included S-400, S-300, and Pantsir-S1 surface-to-air missile systems) and focused on a scenario of defending CIS airspace from enemy aircraft and dealing with hijacked aircraft.²⁸⁹

- ***China-Kyrgyzstan (Artush, Xinjiang, China)***

A joint China-Kyrgyzstan exercise took place October 31, 2014 in the city of Artush, Xinjiang Province, China. The exercise involved an unknown number of soldiers from the Border Guards services garrisoned on the Kyrgyz-Chinese border (Naryn Oblast, Kyrgyzstan and the Kizilsu Kyrgyz Autonomous Prefecture, Xinjiang, China as well as the Boru special forces units from the Kyrgyz Border Guards) in a scenario of conducting joint inspections of vehicles in the event of a threat from a terrorist group and carrying out a joint operation to counter the threat.²⁹⁰

- ***CSTO Arctic Exercise (Arctic Ocean ice floe)***

Paratroopers from Russia, Belarus, and Tajikistan conducted a joint exercise with parachute jump onto an ice floe around 100km from the North Pole on April 7, 2015. The exercise included around 100 paratroopers from units of the CSTO's CORF (85 from the Russian 98th Guards Airborne Division and the 76th Guards Air Assault Division, 13 from Belarusia and two from Tajikistan) conducting a jump from Il-76 and An-74 transport aircraft that took off from Olenegorsk (Murmansk Oblast) onto an ice floe using the special parachute "Arbalet" (Crossbow) and focused on a scenario of setting up a base camp and conducting search and rescue missions in Arctic conditions.²⁹¹

- ***SCO Counterterrorism Exercise (Tokmok, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place April 21-25, 2015 at the Tokmok range, Kyrgyzstan. The SCO exercise included an unknown number of soldiers from special forces units of participating countries and focused on a scenario of combating an armed group in mountainous terrain and rescuing hostages.²⁹²

- ***CSTO CORF Exercise (Kharbmaydon, Khatlon Oblast, Tajikistan)***

A joint Armenia-Belarus-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place May 12-21, 2015 at the Kharbmaydon range in Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 2500 soldiers (450 from Russia's 98th Guards Airborne Division and unknown numbers from the Belarusian 103 Guards Airborne Division, the airmobile forces from Kazakhstan, the "Ilbirs" special forces unit from Kyrgyzstan, and the 7th Air Assault Brigade from Tajikistan), around 20 aircraft (including Su-24 reconnaissance aircraft, Su-25 close air-support aircraft, Su-27 fighters, Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters, and Il-76 and An-124 transport aircraft), and a few hundred pieces of equipment (including BTR and BMD armored vehicles, and the Orlan-10 UAV). The exercise tested the combat readiness of the CSTO's Collective Operation Reaction Force with an order to deploy to the Shahrtuz District (southwestern Tajikistan) in a scenario of combating and repelling an armed group attempting to infiltrate Tajikistan from Afghanistan. The units involved in the exercise traveled to Tajikistan from May 12-14 with Russia providing the bulk of air transports (Kazakhstan provided 3 transport aircraft) to airlift soldiers to the exercise.²⁹³

- ***Russia-Tajikistan***

A joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place on May 21, 2015 in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast. The exercise included more than 500 personnel (the Russian contribution came from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division) and around 100 pieces of equipment (Mi-8 and Mi-24 helicopters and the unmanned aerial vehicles Granat, Zastava, and Forpost) in a scenario of combating a terrorist group.²⁹⁴

- ***Kyrgyzstan-Russia (multiple locations, Kyrgyzstan)***

A joint Kyrgyzstan-Russia exercise took place May 26-June 5, 2015 at multiple locations in Kyrgyzstan. The exercise included over 250 personnel (a couple of platoons and supporting units from the Russian 98th Guards Airborne Division and members of "Pantera" from Kyrgyzstan's National Guard) and various pieces of equipment (including BMD-2 infantry fighting vehicles, Mi-8MTV transport helicopters and the Eleron 3SV and Orlan 10 unmanned aerial vehicles) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group in urban and mountainous terrain. Phases of the exercise involved assaults at the Kant Airbase, the Edelweiss training center and in the Tatyrgorge.²⁹⁵

- ***China-Tajikistan (Vahdat, Tajikistan)***

A joint China-Tajikistan exercise took place on June 6, 2015 at a training facility near Vahdat, Tajikistan. The exercise involved over 100 personnel (over 100 members of a unit from China's Ministry of Public Security, while an unknown number came from a unit in Tajikistan's Interior Ministry) in a scenario of jointly combating a terrorist group in mountainous terrain.²⁹⁶

- ***CSTO CRDF CAR Exercise (Chebarkul, Chelyabinsk Oblast, Russia)***
 A joint Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place October 19-23, 2015 at the Chebarkul base in Russia. The command and staff exercise of the CSTO's Collective Rapid Deployment Force for the Central Asian Region (CRDF CAR) involved an unknown number of personnel and focused on a joint counterterrorism operation.²⁹⁷
- ***Russia-Tajikistan (multiple locations, Tajikistan)***
 A joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place March 14-20, 2016 at multiple locations in Tajikistan. The exercise involved 47,000 personnel (15,000 active duty and 30,000 reservists from Tajikistan's armed forces and security services and 2,000 from Russia from the 201st Motorized Rifle Division and air units of the Central Military District), 950 pieces of equipment (tanks, armored vehicles, and artillery), 20 fixed-wing aircraft (Tu-22M3, Tu-95MS and Su-24M bombers, Su-25SM close air-support aircraft), 12 helicopters (Mi-24 attack and Mi-8 transport helicopters) and unmanned aerial vehicles (Zastava variant) in a scenario of combating an armed group that had crossed the border from Afghanistan into Tajikistan through a combined arms assault. The exercise took place in multiple locations along 1000 miles of the Tajik-Afghan border: at the Halkayor base (Khatlon Oblast, on the Tajik-Afghan border) on March 15th, at the Mumirak base (Khatlon Oblast, near the city of Kulob) on March 16th, at the Sumbula base (Khatlon Oblast, just outside the city of Qurgonteppa) from March 16-17, at the Lyaur base (Khatlon Oblast, northwest of Qurgonteppa) on March 17th (Khatlon Oblast), at the Harbmaydon base from March 18-20. While the exercise scenario focused on combating an armed group, specific phases included a mobilization of reservists at Sumbula and paratroopers jumping into mountainous terrain.²⁹⁸
- ***China-Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan)***
 A joint China-Tajikistan exercise took place October 20-24, 2016 in the Ishkashim District (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast) on the Tajik-Afghan border. The exercise included 10,000 personnel from the Armed Forces of China and Tajikistan, various armored personnel carriers and vehicles and focused on a scenario of combating an international terrorist group that had attempted to cross the border from Afghanistan through Tajikistan and into the Xinjiang Province of China.²⁹⁹
- ***SCO Training Exercise***
 A joint China-Kazakhstan-Kyrgyzstan-Russia training exercise took place November 28-December 4, 2016 at the Korla training facility, Xinjiang, China. The exercise included an unknown number of personnel (the Russian unit came from the Central Military District) and involved joint training with small arms in mountainous terrain.³⁰⁰
- ***Russia-Tajikistan (Khatlon Oblast)***
 A joint Tajikistan-Russia exercise took place March 27-30, 2017 in several locations in the Khatlon Oblast, Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 42,000 personnel (an estimated 40,000 from Tajikistan, including a number of reservists, and 2,000 Russians from units of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division and from the Central Military District),

various equipment and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group at several facilities in the Khatlon Oblast (including Harbmaydon, Mumirak, Fahrobod, Lyaur, Jayrali, Halkayor, and Homien).³⁰¹

- ***Tajikistan-US (multiple locations in Tajikistan)***

A joint Tajikistan-US took place March 27-April 7, 2017 at multiple locations in Tajikistan. The exercise involved around 250 personnel (150 from the US and 100 from Tajikistan) and focused on various counterterrorism scenarios.³⁰²

- ***Russia-Uzbekistan (Jizzakh Oblast, Uzbekistan)***

A joint Russia-Uzbekistan exercise took place October 3-7, 2017 at the Forish range (Jizzakh Oblast), Uzbekistan. The exercise involved around 400 personnel (150 from the Russian 55th Separate Motorized Rifle Mountain Brigade and the rest from Uzbekistan), and various equipment and focused on a scenario of eliminating a terrorist group in mountainous terrain.³⁰³

- ***Russia-Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan)***

A joint Tajikistan-Russia exercise took place July 17-20, 2018 at the Jelondi facility (Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast), Tajikistan. The exercise involved an estimated 10,000 personnel (400 from the Russian 201st Motorized Rifle Division and the rest from Tajikistan's Armed Forces) and various equipment and focused on a scenario of eliminating a group of terrorists which had crossed the border from Afghanistan.³⁰⁴

- ***Russia-Uzbekistan (Samara, Russia)***

A joint Russia-Uzbekistan exercise took place August 23-27, 2018 in the Samara Oblast, Russia. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel and various equipment (including Mi-8 transport helicopters and the Typhoon-K mine-resistant ambush protected vehicles) and focused on a scenario of a special operation (including ambushes and a hostage rescue). The final phase of the exercise included an 80 kilometer march to set up an ambush.³⁰⁵

- ***Tajikistan-Uzbekistan (Fahrabad range)***

A joint Tajikistan-Uzbekistan exercise took place April 25-28, 2019 at the Fahrabad range, Tajikistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (from Tajik and Uzbek scout units) and focused on a joint operation in day and night conditions to eliminate the threat from a terrorist group.³⁰⁶

- ***Kazakhstan-Tajikistan***

A joint Kazakhstan-Tajikistan exercise took place May 13-17, 2019 at the Fahrabad range, Tajikistan. The exercise involved an unknown number of personnel (Kazakhstan's unit came from the Regional Command South) and focused a scenario of a joint counterterrorism operation.³⁰⁷

- ***China-Tajikistan (Gorno-Badakhshan)***

A joint China-Tajikistan exercise took place August 8-14, 2019 in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, Tajikistan. The exercise involved 1200 personnel (a company from China's army and an airborne battalion from Tajikistan) and focused on a scenario of eliminating a group of terrorists attempting to cross from Afghanistan through Tajikistan and into China.³⁰⁸

- ***Russia-Tajikistan (multiple locations)***

A joint Russia-Tajikistan exercise took place November 20-28, 2020 at multiple locations (including training facilities at Lyaur, Sambuli, and Kharbmaydon) in Tajikistan. The exercise involved over 3000 personnel and more than 550 pieces of equipment (including Mi-24 attack helicopters, BMP-2M infantry fighting vehicles, BTR-82A and BTR-80 armored personnel carriers, Grad and Uragan multiple rocket launch systems, Gvozdika and Akatsiya self-propelled artillery systems, and the Strelets surveillance system) and focused on a scenario of eliminating an armed group.³⁰⁹

Section Three – Central Asian military and security structures

Central Asian military and security structures, military doctrine, and other security cooperation activity

Kazakhstan

Military

Army – strength: 20,000

Air Force – strength: 12,000 (includes Air Defense units)

Navy – strength: 3,000

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 20,000 (estimated)

Border Guards (National Security Committee - KNB) – strength: 9,000 (estimated) and includes maritime border guards at the Caspian Sea detachment

State Security Service of Kazakhstan (formerly the Republican Guard and Presidential Guard) – strength: 2,000-2,500 (estimated).³¹⁰

National Military Doctrine

Kazakhstan's most recent military doctrine was published September 29, 2017.³¹¹

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Kazakhstan has received various excess defense articles since 2000, including:

- Office furniture and computer equipment (2000)
- 2 UH-1H transport helicopters

- 4 UH-1H transport helicopters.³¹²

Kyrgyzstan

Military

Army – strength: 8,500

Air Force – strength: 2,400

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 3,500

National Guard – strength: 1,000

Border Guards (National Security Committee - SNB) – strength: 5,000.³¹³

National Military Doctrine

Kyrgyzstan's most recent military doctrine was published in July 2013.³¹⁴

Tajikistan

Military

Army – strength: 7,300

Air Force – strength: 1,500 (includes air defense units)

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 3,800

Ministry for Emergency Situations Security Forces – strength: 2,500

National Guard – strength: 1,200

Border Guards (State Committee for National Security - GKNB) – strength: 1,200 (estimated).³¹⁵

National Military Doctrine

Tajikistan's most recent military doctrine was published on October 3, 2005.³¹⁶

Turkmenistan

Military

Army – strength: 18,500

Air Force – strength: 3,000

Navy – strength: 500.³¹⁷

National Military Doctrine

Turkmenistan's most recent military doctrine was published in January 2009.³¹⁸

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Turkmenistan has received one excess defense article since 2000:

- The Point-class cutter (patrol boat) "Jackson" (2000).³¹⁹

Uzbekistan

Military

Army – strength: 24,500

Air Force – strength: 7,500

Security structures

Interior Ministry Security Forces – strength: 19,000

National Guard (Ministry of Defense) – strength: 1,000.³²⁰

National Military Doctrine

The Uzbek Parliament first ratified a national military doctrine in 1995, a second version in 2000, and the most recent in 2005.³²¹

Other Security Cooperation

Excess Defense Articles

Uzbekistan has received various excess defense articles since 2000, including:

- Clothing, textiles, hand tools, kitchen equipment, and various individual and mountaineering equipment (2000)
- 309 Mine-Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) vehicles (2014-2015)
 - 43 (FPI) Cougar Category I, A1 with independent suspension
 - 5 Cougar Category I, A1 without independent suspension
 - 2 Cougar Category I, A2 with independent suspension
 - 159 (Oshkosh) M-ATV UIK2 (underbody improvement kits)
 - 50 (Navistar) MaxxPro Plus
 - 50 (BAE) RG33L Category II
- 20 MaxxPro (MRAP) recovery vehicles (2014-2015).³²²

Section Four – Terrorist organizations and major incidents of violence and civil unrest in Central Asia since 1991

Terrorist organizations

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan

The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) grew out of a movement called *Adolat*, an Uzbek word meaning justice. When small businesses started to develop in the Soviet Union in the late 1980s, racketeers demanded protection money from business owners and used former athletes (notably boxers, wrestlers or those who practice martial arts) to act as enforcers and security. One business owner formed a protection group, *Adolat*, in the city of Namangan in Uzbekistan's Fergana Valley. Tahir Yuldashev, a young underground mullah, emerged as an important leader in *Adolat* alongside Juma Namangani (born Juma Khojaev and sometimes referred to as Jumaboi). Namangani had served in the Soviet Army in Afghanistan during the last years of the war. When Yuldashev became the group's ideologist, *Adolat* took on more religious aspects. New members reportedly swore *bayat* (Islamic oath of loyalty) to the group and its men patrolled Namangan and enforced aspects of *sharia* (Islamic law). Members numbered a few hundred men (higher estimates put the number at a few thousand) and acted outside of city law enforcement and eventually took over portions of that role. In December 1991 *Adolat* occupied the local Communist Party headquarters, which prompted a visit from the then head of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic and later President Islam Karimov. In front of a crowd of several hundred people, Yuldashev upstaged Karimov in what became a notable piece of propaganda for *Adolat*, and later the IMU, against the government of Uzbekistan. In 1992 the government of Uzbekistan banned and cracked down on the group's activities. A number of members fled to Tajikistan and some reportedly to Afghanistan.³²³

Namangani became involved in the Tajik Civil War with Mirzo Ziyoev, an important figure in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), and eventually commanded a force that had followed him from Uzbekistan, while Yuldashev reportedly traveled to Afghanistan (also, reportedly to Pakistan, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Iran, and the United Arab Emirates) and made contacts with followers of Wahhabism and terrorist groups.³²⁴ Namangani stayed in the Garm District, Tajikistan, after the Civil War ended and reportedly became involved in drug trafficking. Yuldashev traveled to Tajikistan and met with Namangani in 1997 and together formed the IMU in 1998. They declared a jihad against the governments of Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, with their ultimate goal of overthrowing the governments and establishing an Islamic state in the region.³²⁵

On February 16 and 17, 1999, several bombs exploded around the city of Tashkent, Uzbekistan, including one near the Interior Ministry. The bombs killed 16 and injured more than 100 people. The government blamed the IMU for this incident, although there have been conflicting reports of their involvement.³²⁶ On August 9, 1999, IMU militants infiltrated into the Batken Oblast, Kyrgyzstan and took hostages, including the mayor. They demanded a \$1 million ransom and a helicopter to fly to Afghanistan, where Yuldashev had established a relationship with the Taliban. On August 13 the government of Kyrgyzstan granted the militants safe passage out of the country, and reportedly paid a \$50,000 ransom. Uzbekistan responded with air strikes against IMU support bases in the towns of Garm (Rasht Valley) and Tavildara, Tajikistan. More IMU militants infiltrated Batken in the villages of Zardaly and Korgon, and on August 23 they took several hostages, including a major-general from the Interior Ministry and four Japanese

citizens. The IMU hoped to exchange the Japanese citizens for ten militants previously convicted of terrorism in Uzbekistan. The government of Uzbekistan refused to negotiate, while the Japanese government sent representatives to try to free the hostages. Most of the hostages, except for the Japanese, were released by the end of August. On October 2-3 a Kyrgyz motorized rifle unit conducted an operation against the militants, while Uzbekistan conducted two air strikes on the villages in Kyrgyzstan. Uzbekistan's air strikes in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, carried out with Su-24 bombers, caused civilian casualties. The IMU counterattacked in the direction of the town of Kyzyl-Kiya, near the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border, but Kyrgyz forces eventually repulsed them. On October 25 the IMU militants released the Japanese hostages after being paid a ransom estimated between \$2-6 million and went to Afghanistan.³²⁷

On August 4-5, 2000, the IMU made simultaneous incursions into the Surkhandarya Viloyat (Province) and near the city of Akhangaran (Tashkent Viloyat), Uzbekistan. Members of the IMU fortified themselves in mountainous areas with previously hidden caches of weapons and clashed with government security forces. The IMU carried out this operation in conjunction with another incursion into the Batken Province. Around two weeks into the incursions, the IMU also infiltrated into the Bostanlyk District (Tashkent Viloyat). The group numbered an estimated 100-200, and split into a few groups in both viloyats. Special forces units from the National Security Committee (SNB), with support from Mi-24 attack helicopters, killed the majority of the IMU militants by August 25. The government of Uzbekistan reported that more than a dozen soldiers were killed in the operations.³²⁸

While the incursions into Uzbekistan were taking place, on August 11, 2000, IMU militants crossed into Batken in two groups, one of which almost immediately made contact with Kyrgyzstan's security forces. On August 12 the IMU captured more than a dozen mountain climbers, including four Americans. Within days the militants either released the hostages or allowed them to escape because of poor security. Security forces of Kyrgyzstan managed to disperse the militants into smaller groups from August 11-14. The IMU responded by launching an attack on an outpost on August 25, but failed. Around September 9-11, another group of militants attempted to enter Batken; however, Kyrgyzstan's forces, utilizing Mi-8 helicopters (an armed variant), managed to hold back the assault. The IMU completely withdrew its forces from the area by the end of October, and most members went into northern Afghanistan.³²⁹

By 2001 the IMU had a base in Afghanistan, and reportedly maintained one in Tajikistan, and had established a relationship with the Taliban against the Northern Alliance. Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan changed some of the dynamic and goals of the IMU. Namangani was killed in November 2001, along with a number of IMU fighters, leaving Yuldashev in command. Sometime in late 2001, early 2002, the IMU moved into South Waziristan, the Federally Administered Tribal Areas (FATA) of Pakistan where they stayed for several years. They appeared to have broken apart during these years, but the organization regrouped and periodically clashed with Pakistan's Armed Forces. These clashes, in turn, caused a reaction from the local tribes in Waziristan, who had taken the IMU in as guests and bore the brunt of counterattacks from Pakistan's armed forces.³³⁰

Sometime in 2002 an unknown number of members allegedly splintered from the IMU and formed the Islamic Jihad Union (IJU). The existence of the IJU has been questioned and its membership is difficult to determine.³³¹ In 2004 a series of terrorist attacks took place in the cities of Bukhara and Tashkent, Uzbekistan. While the IMU reportedly claimed credit for the attacks, the government of Uzbekistan blamed members of Hizb ut-Tahrir.³³²

From 2002 through 2009 members of the IMU carried out attacks in Afghanistan and Pakistan alongside Taliban affiliated groups.³³³ In August 2009 a strike by an unmanned aerial vehicle killed Yuldashev, though the IMU waited a year before officially announcing his death. The IMU announced Yuldashev's replacement as Usmon Odil, who had served Yuldashev as a deputy commander, before he was killed in April 2012.³³⁴ Membership in the IMU following Yuldashev's death has been difficult to determine; however, the IMU's lists of martyrs has been one way to gauge how membership in the organization changed. The list of martyrs from 2009 (listed as the Islamic year 1430) was a mix of ages and ethnicities, though most came from post-Soviet Central Asian states. The list of martyrs from 2010 (1431) is similar. The list of martyrs from 2011 (1432) showed a large number of fighters from the northern provinces of Afghanistan and even less from Central Asia.³³⁵ Propaganda articles and videos on the website also suggested that IMU has been recruiting fewer members from post-Soviet Central Asian states and that the group became increasingly involved in the goals of other groups in the region.³³⁶

Additionally, the IMU's former website, *Furqon*, included the organization's goals as late as February 2011; however, following the deaths of Yuldashev and Odil, the goals listed bringing back a caliphate and the need to be a devout Muslim and nothing about overthrowing the government of Uzbekistan or combating coalition forces in Afghanistan. A version of the website in 2012 did not have any goals listed.³³⁷

After the death of Usmon Odil in 2012, Usman Ghozi became the leader of the IMU. There has been little information on Ghozi's background, other than he allegedly had a criminal record. In October 2014 the IMU made a statement swearing allegiance to the Islamic State following disputes with the Taliban and other affiliated groups in Afghanistan and Pakistan. In late 2015 Ghozi and several dozen IMU members were reportedly killed in the Zabul Province, Afghanistan after clashing with the Taliban.³³⁸ Since then, the IMU reportedly continues to operate in Afghanistan, but it has kept a low profile (the *Furqon* website has been offline for several years) and its membership is difficult to determine and likely does not include many from post-Soviet, Central Asian countries.

Kazakhstan

Aqtobe – May 17, 2011

On May 17, Rakhimzhan Makhatov, a 25 year old resident of the city of Aqtobe, blew himself up and wounded three people at the entrance of the provincial headquarters of the KNB. The bomber had connections with an Islamic terrorist group and the attack was an act of revenge (or

protest) against the treatment of Islamic extremists in prison. Followers of Wahhabism in Kazakhstan's prisons were reportedly tortured.³³⁹

Astana – May 24, 2011

On May 24, a car blew up outside a KNB detention center in Astana, killing two men inside the vehicle. The blast caused damage to surrounding buildings, but there were no additional deaths or injuries. The two men were identified as Dmitry Kelpler (the owner of the car) and Ivan Cheremukhin, both from the Pavlodar Province. However, Cheremukhin's passport had been stolen and was found at the scene. Kazakhstan's Interior Ministry later said that the second dead man was Sergei Podkosov, a 34-year-old from the city of Pavlodar.³⁴⁰ Podkosov had a criminal record and had converted to Islam a few years earlier.³⁴¹

On May 18, Kazakhstan's Majilis (the lower house of parliament) ratified a law to send four soldiers in non-combat positions to the International Security Assistance Force (ISAF) in Afghanistan.³⁴² The law came from an earlier agreement with NATO. On May 22, the Taliban issued a warning to Kazakhstan that a decision to send soldiers to Afghanistan would have consequences.³⁴³ The timing of the warning and the explosion led to speculation that the Taliban were somehow involved. On June 9, Kazakhstan's Senate (upper house of parliament) rejected the law committing the country to the deployment.³⁴⁴ While this might appear to be Kazakhstan's government yielding to the threat, there was strong opposition to the deployment from veterans groups (of the Soviet war in Afghanistan) and the public.³⁴⁵

Shubarshy – June 30, 2011

On the night of June 30 and early morning of July 1, an unknown number of assailants shot two police officers in the village of Shubarshy, in the Aqtöbe Province. The police identified six suspects (all men between the ages of 22-43; Kuanysh Alimbetov, Akylbek Mambetov, Toktarbek Mambetov, Bektemir Urazov, Miras Karazhanov, and Aybek Dzhumagazin) and offered a reward of 100,000 dollars for information that led to their capture. The men were armed with a Makarov pistol and a Saiga variant rifle. The Interior Ministry launched an operation with special forces units (which included *Sunkar* and *Berkut*) to find the men. The operation on July 2-3 resulted in the death of one officer and three soldiers wounded without the suspects being apprehended. Around this time a unit from the KNB, *Arlan*, became involved in the search. These units conducted another operation near the village of Kenkiyak (not far from Shubarshy) on July 8, killing nine and capturing two suspects and seizing 20 weapons. A soldier from one of the special forces units was also killed in the operation.³⁴⁶

Previously, on June 28, two policemen arrested 22-year-old Talgat Shakanov for having unregistered weapons and radical religious literature in the trunk of his car. Friends of Shakanov retaliated by shooting the two policemen and then fled to a reported weapons cache near the village of Kenkiyak. The Aqtöbe Province administration acted alone in the July 2-3 operation without notifying the Interior Ministry. Special forces from the Interior Ministry became involved in the search, which included Mi-8 helicopters. At some point a few other associates from Shubarshy joined the six suspects in hiding.³⁴⁷ The two policemen killed in Shubarshy were apparently unarmed.³⁴⁸

Atyrau – October 31, 2011

On October 31, two bombs exploded in the city of Atyrau, killing the bomber and damaging a nearby regional government office and an apartment building. The first bomb was placed in a garbage can near the Atyrau provincial government office and blew out several windows of the building. The second bomb killed its handler, in what appeared to be a suicide bombing, and damaged an apartment building next to the provincial prosecutor's office. Broken glass from the explosions caused some minor injuries.³⁴⁹ A terrorist group called *Jund al-Khilafah* (Soldiers of the Caliphate) claimed responsibility for the bombings. A week earlier the group had released a video warning to the government of Kazakhstan that the government must repeal a recently-passed law on religion or face losses. The government passed a law on October 13 that banned prayer in state buildings and unregistered religious activity in the country, as well as requiring previously registered religious groups to reregister. Soldiers of the Caliphate stated that the bombs were just a warning and that the second bomb detonated prematurely; it was not intended to be a suicide bombing.³⁵⁰ The authenticity of the Soldiers of the Caliphate video threat and the group's existence could not be confirmed.³⁵¹

Almaty – November 8, 2011

On November 8, an unidentified man shot and killed two policemen as they were stopping vehicles on a patrol in the Auezov district of Almaty. Police saw the suspect and another man loading a large item into a car. The police followed and cut off the car, forcing it to stop. As the police approached the stopped car, one of the men fired five times at the police, killing both. Almaty police arrested the owner and driver of the car on November 12, and three other suspects on November 15. Police found two Makarov pistols, a Kalashnikov assault rifle, and ammunition at the residence of the three suspects.³⁵²

Taraz – November 12, 2011

On November 12, Maksat Kariev killed seven people in a series of attacks across the city of Taraz, Zhambyl Province (southern Kazakhstan). The first shooting took place in a hunting store, where Kariev shot two men, an employee and a bystander, and stole a few weapons. Kariev used a stolen car to go back to his home, where he shot two members of the Zhambyl KNB who had been following him. Then he shot two nearby policemen, took their weapons, and made his way to the center of the city. There he fired a shot from a rocket-propelled grenade launcher (RPG-26) into a window of the national security building. Kariev then battled with police a few blocks from the city center. He shot and wounded two policemen who were patrolling on horseback. When Kariev tried to throw a grenade, a police captain knocked him to ground, but the explosion killed both men.³⁵³ It was later revealed that Kariev had served in the military.³⁵⁴

Boralday – December 3, 2011

On December 3 in the village of Boralday, on the northwest edge of Almaty, *Arystan* (a special forces unit of the KNB) carried out an operation to apprehend several men with links to the men involved in the shooting in Almaty on November 8. The operation took place late at night on the third.³⁵⁵ Members of *Arystan* surrounded the house where the men were staying and evacuated civilians from nearby houses. During the assault on the house the men inside resisted and killed

two officers. Members of the unit used grenades and sniper fire (the walls of part of the house was supposedly made of adobe) to eliminate the group. All five men inside the house were killed. They were armed with two Kalashnikov assault rifles, two Makarov pistols, and a few RGD-5 grenades.³⁵⁶

Zhanaozen and Shetpe – December 16-17, 2011

On December 16 a large crowd clashed with police in the central square of Zhanaozen (Mangystau Province) during a concert for Kazakhstan's Independence Day. Some of the crowd drove the police from the square and then looted and burned nearby buildings, including the mayor's office and the headquarters of OzenMunayGaz. A unit from the Interior Ministry or provincial police eventually used force to restore order. More than a dozen people were killed and dozens injured.³⁵⁷ Prior to the incident the square had been the site of a strike of oil workers from OzenMunayGaz (Ozen Oil and Gas) and other local oil companies over wages and problems with the union representative. These companies are partially or majority owned by the national oil and gas company, KazMunayGaz.³⁵⁸ A crowd in the village of Shetpe, also in Mangystau, blocked a passenger train and reportedly burned a locomotive on December 18.³⁵⁹

Within a few weeks of the incident a number of videos of it were posted on *YouTube*. These showed the viewpoint of police and civilian eyewitnesses. Two videos, “Беспорядки в Жанаозене” (“Disorder in Zhanaozen”) and “Жанаозен. Как все начиналось” (“Zhanaozen. How It All Started”), show the beginning of the incident on the square.³⁶⁰ Police were like the source of both videos; a policeman grabbed from behind by a man in the crowd at the 2:18 mark (from “Disorder in Zhanaozen”), can be seen in the other video (“Zhanaozen. How It All Started”) at 0:05-0:17. The man told the policeman “Stop Filming.” The camera operator for the second video fled from the crowd as it overwhelmed the barriers by the stage, suggesting it was also made by a policeman. A video titled “Без комментариев. Беспорядки Жанаозен 16.12.2011 / kplustv” (“No commentary. Zhanaozen Disorder 16.12.2011 / from kplustv – an independent TV station based in Moscow”) picks up the incident after the crowd forced police to withdraw.³⁶¹ From 2:37-2:47 police try to stay in the square, but are chased off by men carrying sticks. A woman is shouting, “The square is ours” at 3:15. From 4:00-4:38 the police completely withdraw from the square (at 4:16 a few people threw rocks at police) and the rest of the video shows the destruction that took place in the square. Another video, titled “Жанаозен документальное видео беспорядков 16.12.2011” (“Zhanaozen documentary video of disorder 16.12.2011”), shows the destruction, specifically the mayor's office on fire, north of the square.³⁶²

A widely distributed and viewed video, titled “Жанаозен Расстрел бастующих 16.12.2011 (жана озен 3)” (“Zhanaozen the Shooting of Protesters, or Zhana Ozen 3”), shows the Interior Ministry unit response from the window of an apartment building overlooking the square.³⁶³ The video shows a number of people in the square and a few people throwing rocks at the 0:10-0:14 mark. Shots can be heard around the 0:14 mark and then throughout the video. At the 0:48 mark a few people have been shot in the legs; one was possibly killed or went into shock from his injury. At the 1:15-1:18 mark a plainclothes policeman in the center of the frame is aiming a pistol. From 1:18-1:26 a man in the center of the frame is walking with a camera in his right hand. Video footage from this camera appears in another video. The man is likely a government official or a plainclothes policeman.

A video titled “Жанаозен. Видео расстрела безоружных людей” (“Zhanaozen. Video of the shooting of unarmed people”) shows the footage from the camera of the man seen in the video Zhana Ozen 3.³⁶⁴ The unit in the video was armed with riot shields and batons, while a few carried Kalashnikov rifles (visible at about the 0:35 mark). Starting from 0:04 and throughout the video, gunfire is heard, although it is not until around the 2:14 mark that police fired on the main crowd in a concerted effort. Some police possibly shot people before this along the sides of the street. However, footage from 0:39-2:13 shows that several people remained on the street on both sides of the police column as it moved to the square. While the main crowd moved away from the column during this time, people do not appear to run away until the 2:14 mark. From 3:40-3:54 the crowd, emboldened, can be heard shouting while police scramble to reform a defensive line. A number of shots are heard as the crowd shouts. A video titled “Вид на стрельбу в Жанаозене с крыши” (“View of the shooting in Zhanaozen from the roof”) shows the Interior Ministry unit from a different angle.³⁶⁵ Shot from the roof of an apartment building, it shows the column marching in from northeast of the square. At the 0:51 mark there is a muzzle flash from the weapon of the policeman at the front-left side of the column. Plainclothes police on the left side of the column appear to be waving off bystanders from 1:06 -1:11. However, they take aim at people from 1:14-1:21, but it is difficult to determine if they fired their weapons or aimed them as a threat.

Almaty – July 11, 2012

On the night of July 11 an explosion occurred at a house in the village of Tausamaly (on the edge of Almaty); the bodies of several people (including children) were found inside. Neighbors who live near the house reported seeing a few people fleeing after the explosion. Authorities later reported finding weapons (including an AKS-74U and a few pistols), bomb making materials, police equipment (radios, traffic batons), various police and security services uniforms, and religious literature. It was suspected that explosion took place while someone in the house was making a bomb.³⁶⁶

Almaty – July 30, 2012

On the morning of July 30 members of “Sunkar” (Interior Ministry special forces unit) and Almaty police conducted an operation in a western district of the city to apprehend several men who had killed two police officers on July 28. Police surrounded and evacuated an apartment building where the men were hiding; however, the men refused to surrender. At around noon members of Sunkar assaulted the apartment and killed six men; the operation last a few hours and there were no other casualties reported. Police found two Kalashnikov assault rifles, a few pistols, a shotgun, and a large amount of ammunition. The men killed were not believed to have belonged to an extremist group; some of them had been in prison together for various offenses.³⁶⁷

Karasay District – August 17, 2012

On the morning of August 17 a police rapid response unit conducted an operation in the Karasay District (Almaty Province, southwest of the city of Almaty) to apprehend a group of criminals reportedly linked to the explosion that took place in Tausamaly on July 11. Police cordoned off and evacuated the area around the house that the suspects were in. The government reported that

the suspects opened fire, wounding a member of the unit, before police assaulted the house. Nine people in the house were killed, one of which may have been a minor.³⁶⁸

Atyrau Province – September 5-21, 2012

On September 5 a bomb exploded in a house in the city of Atyrau. The explosion killed one man who had been making improvised explosive devices.³⁶⁹ On the morning of September 12 police and members of the National Security Committee (KNB) conducted an operation in an apartment building in the city of Kulsary (Atyrau Province) to apprehend a group of men wanted in connection with the explosion in Atyrau. Four other men had been arrested on September 7 in connection with the explosion, which reportedly led police to the group in the apartment building. Prior to the operation, police evacuated the surrounding apartments. The men in the apartment refused to surrender and during the subsequent clash with security forces, five of the men were killed and one wounded; one member of the assault force was also wounded and there were no civilian casualties. Later in the day two other suspects were arrested in an apartment building near the site of the operation.³⁷⁰

Just before midnight on September 14 two men attacked a police post in the Isataya-Mamambeta square in Atyrau. The two men wounded a policeman with shotgun blasts but fled when the policeman returned fire. Around twenty minutes later several men attacked the headquarters of the Interior Ministry in Atyrau; the men fired and threw Molotov cocktails at the guards at the building's gate. The men entered the building and fired at members of the ministry on duty, wounding one. The men then fled in a car after one of the guards returned fire and escaped before other ministry units (who had gone to the square) were able to return.³⁷¹

On the morning of September 21 police and Interior Ministry forces conducted an operation on the edge of Atyrau to apprehend the men who carried out the attack on September 14-15. Police first cordoned off the area around the house and evacuated nearby residents. When the men inside the house refused to surrender and fired on police, members of the Interior Ministry (Berkut) unit assaulted the house (with a BTR) and killed four; there were no other casualties reported.³⁷²

Aqtobe – June 5-11, 2016

On the afternoon of June 5, a group of men carried out an attack on two gun stores and a military facility in the city of Aqtobe that left around two dozen people dead and several suspects arrested. The attack started when 26 men entered the *Pallada* gun store in central Aqtobe and stole 17 weapons (3 rifles and 14 shotguns) and ammunition and stabbed a store clerk to death and wounded a bystander. One of the store employees reportedly locked herself in a backroom and triggered an alarm. The group exchanged fire with two members of a security company who had arrived at the store, killing one and wounding the other. The men also wounded three policemen and killed a bystander in his vehicle on the street. The group then split into two, with one group of six men driving to *Pantera*, another gun store in the center of the city, while the others drove a stolen bus to a National Guard facility. The first group clashed with police at *Pantera*, which resulted in four dead (three members of the group and one bystander) and two wounded (a bystander and a group member), while two members of the group escaped. The group that attacked the National Guard facility rammed the gate open with the bus and clashed

with members of the unit and police; three National Guard soldiers were killed and six wounded, while one group member was killed and one wounded and the rest fled the scene.³⁷³

Government security forces carried out an operation early in the morning on June 6 just outside the central part of the city and killed five and arrested two members of the group. Later in the day security forces wounded and captured three men, one of which died in the hospital. Also on June 6, the government released the names and photographs of the suspects still at large, though the list mistakenly identified a man was not involved in the attacks.³⁷⁴ On June 8 the government offered a reward of five million Tenge (around \$15,000) for information leading to the capture of the remaining fugitives.³⁷⁵ Early in the morning on June 10 security forces from the KNB carried out an operation in an apartment building in the same district as the *Pantera* gun store is located and eliminated five members of the group.³⁷⁶ On June 11 security forces claimed that the remaining fugitives involved in the attack were arrested.³⁷⁷ The government claimed that the men involved in the incident had been in contact with an imam from Syria, who instructed them to carry out the attack. The government also claimed that the original group of men included 45, but some of them refused to participate in the attacks. Other reports noted local conditions that contributed to the incident, including radicalization in the prison system; several of the men involved in the attack had been in prison for various crimes.³⁷⁸

Almaty – July 18, 2016

On July 18 a man carried out a series of attacks on a police station and a National Security Committee (KNB) building in Almaty, killing five and wounding several people. The man, later identified as Ruslan Kulekbaev, opened fire on a police station in central Almaty on the morning of July 18, killing a policeman who had been standing at a guard post. He then fled the scene in a stolen car and soon after killed two policemen who had been pursuing him. Reports emerged that Kulekbaev moved quickly around the center of the city during the series of attacks, which also included the KNB building, where he killed a member of the Border Guards service. He stole a car after each shooting and forced a bystander to drive him to a couple of the locations; he also killed the driver of one car while attempting to steal it. It is estimated that his attack took a little over 20 minutes after multiple exchanges of fire with police before he was wounded and arrested. Three policemen injured during the attack later died of their wounds. Prior to the attack, Kulekbaev had a criminal record that included charges of robbery, illegal possession of a firearm, and he is suspected of murdering a woman outside a hotel the night before the attack. It is alleged that the suspect carried out the attacks because of his ties with extremist religious groups and that he may have been influenced by extremist ideology during his time in prison.³⁷⁹

Kyrgyzstan

Batken Province (formerly Osh Province) – August 9-October 25, 1999

On August 9, 21 members of the IMU infiltrated into the Batken region (now Province) from Tajikistan and took four hostages in village, including the mayor, and demanded a \$1 million ransom and a helicopter to fly to Afghanistan, where IMU co-founder Tohir Yuldashev had set up a support base. On August 13 the government of Kyrgyzstan granted the militants safe

passage out of the country, and reportedly paid a \$50,000 ransom, although it may have conducted negotiations through unofficial channels. Uzbekistan responded with air strikes against IMU support bases in the towns of Garm and Tavildara, Tajikistan. More IMU militants infiltrated Batken (in the villages Zardaly and Korgon) and on August 23 took several hostages, including a Major-General from the Interior Ministry and four Japanese citizens. The IMU hoped to exchange the Japanese citizens for 10 militants previously convicted of terrorism in Uzbekistan. The government of Uzbekistan refused to negotiate, while the Japanese government sent representatives to try to free the hostages. Most of the hostages, except for the Japanese, were released by the end of August. On October 2-3 Kyrgyzstan conducted an operation against the militants with a motorized rifle unit, while Uzbekistan conducted air strikes on the villages in Kyrgyzstan. Both air strikes (carried out with Su-24 bombers) caused civilian casualties in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The IMU counterattacked in the direction of the town of Kyzyl-Kiya, near the Uzbek-Kyrgyz border before being repulsed. On October 25 the IMU militants released the Japanese hostages, after being paid a ransom estimated at \$2-6 million, and went to Afghanistan.³⁸⁰

Batken Province – August 11-October (unknown date), 2000

On August 11 a group of IMU militants crossed into the Batken Province in two groups, one of which almost immediately made contact with Kyrgyzstan's security forces. The IMU carried out this operation in conjunction with the incursion into Uzbekistan on August 5 (see entry below). On August 12 militants captured over a dozen mountain climbers, including four Americans. Within days the militants either released the hostages or allowed them to escape because of poor security. Security forces of Kyrgyzstan managed to disperse the militants into smaller groups from August 11-14. The IMU responded by launching an attack on an outpost on August 25, but failed. It was estimated that the IMU held several hundred militants in reserve in Tajikistan, just across the border from Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, during the initial incursion. Around September 9-11, another group of militants attempted to enter Batken, however Kyrgyzstan's forces, utilizing Mi-8 helicopters (an armed variant), managed to hold back the assault. The IMU completely withdrew its forces from the area by the end of October.³⁸¹

Tulip Revolution – March 2005

In response to parliamentary elections that took place on February 27 (with a second round on March 13), protests took place in several parts of the country, particularly in the southern regions. The crowds at protests between rounds of the election ranged in size from a few hundred to over a thousand people. Only one major incident of violence occurred, when someone threw a grenade onto the balcony of opposition party leader (of the Ata Zhurt party) Roza Otunbayeva on March 3. The suspect threw a RGD-5 grenade; no was home at the time of the incident. On March 9, protestors gathered and called for the resignation of President Askar Akayev.³⁸²

On March 15, opposition party leaders Otunbayeva and Kurmanbek Bakiyev led a "kurultai" (a kurultai is a meeting of elders and leaders in Kyrgyzstan) in the central square in Jalal-Abad with several thousand people in attendance. The city of Jalal-Abad deployed extra police, but did not prevent the kurultai from taking place. Also, Kyrgyzstan's Interior Ministry confirmed that the governor of the Talas Province and the head of the Bakay-Ata District in the Talas Province were

taken hostage by supporters of a parliamentary candidate who lost in the election. The police did not intervene or attempt to release the governors. On March 16, a group of protestors seized the district administrative building in the Bazar-Kurgan District (of the Jalal-Abad Province) and took captive two district administrators. Police freed the administrators later in the evening. The Bazar-Kurgan is the same district where Kurmanbek Bakiyev lost the March 13 run-off parliamentary election.³⁸³

On March 20, security forces (OMON) from the Interior Ministry stormed and retook administrative buildings in the cities of Osh and Jalal-Abad. These buildings had been occupied by opposition supporters for two days. Prime Minister Nikolay Tanayev confirmed that opposition protestors seized the mayor's office and the airport in Jalal-Abad; people threw stones and burned tires on the runway to prevent reinforcement from arriving by plane from Bishkek. Protestors also seized and burned a police station. The government promised not to use weapons against protestors, preferring to negotiate. From March 21-23 protests continued in southern Kyrgyzstan as crowds seized a number of government buildings, including police stations, the offices of the security services, and the Osh airport. Some clashes with police took place with a few casualties.³⁸⁴

On March 24, protestors gathered in front of the "White House" (presidential administration building) and briefly clashed with police, before taking control of the building. President Akayev left the capital as the opposition took over other government ministries. Akayev eventually flew to Moscow and resigned as president on April 4.³⁸⁵

Revolution in Kyrgyzstan: Talas, Bishkek, and Jalal-Abad – April 6-16, 2010

On April 6 a group of protestors gathered in the city of Talas (Talas Province) to protest the detention of opposition leader Bolot Sherniyazov (the deputy head of Ata-Meken), who was later released. Sherniyazov had planned to hold a protest on April 7 against the government. The crowd took control of the provincial administration building but later lost it to Interior Ministry soldiers. The crowd in Talas also attempted to seize the police station, but failed due to the intervention of Interior Ministry soldiers.³⁸⁶

On April 7 police detain several opposition leaders including Temir Sariyev (leader of the Ak-Shumkar party), Omurbek Tekebayev (leader of Ata-Meken), and Almazbek Atambayev (leader of the Social Democratic Party). Interior Minister Moldomusa Kongatiyev flew to Talas to try to contain the situation in Talas, but a crowd of people captured and severely beat him in addition to taking over the administration building in the city. During the day protestors in the city of Naryn also seize the provincial administration building.³⁸⁷ Several opposition leaders were then released, including Temir Sariyev and Omurbek Tekebayev. Tekebayev then joined up with his supporters near the government building. In Bishkek a crowd gathered in the Ala-Too square (in front of the "White House") and made several attempts to break down the gate. President Kurmanbek Bakiyev imposes a state of emergency that gives more power to police and security officials to maintain order. Police use tear gas and rubber bullets to drive protestors away. Government security forces fired on the crowd, but are eventually overwhelmed as people burn and loot the White House. Bakiyev then fled the capital while Prime Minister Daniyar Usenov

resigned his post. An interim government, led by opposition member Roza Otunbayeva, took over on April 7. Over 80 people were killed and hundreds injured.³⁸⁸

Bakiyev fled to his support-base in southern Kyrgyzstan and stayed in the city of Jalal-Abad, refusing to resign and trying to rally enough support to return to power, although he also acknowledged that he had little control over the state of affairs of Kyrgyzstan. He remained in Kyrgyzstan until April 15, when he flew to Belarus (where he currently resides) via Kazakhstan. He officially resigned on April 16.³⁸⁹

While the revolution (unofficially called the ‘Roza Revolution’) took place in only a few days, there were events prior to April 6 that led to the revolt. Since the 2005 Tulip Revolution, many members of the opposition government and the general population became disillusioned and frustrated with Bakiyev and his government. Opposition member and former defense minister Ismail Isakov was sentenced to eight years in prison on January 11 for corruption, though many understood the charges to be politically motivated. The government cracked down and seized independent media in the country, in addition to hindering internet access, in the months just before April. On April 1, the Russian government introduced a 100 percent customs duty on oil exports to Kyrgyzstan. The Russian government had been at odds with Bakiyev over previous loans among other issues. The new customs duty led to higher utility prices in Kyrgyzstan, which put a strain on an already weak economic situation among the population.³⁹⁰

Batken, Jalal-Abad, and Osh – May 13-14 and 19, 2010

On May 13, in the cities of Batken, Jalal-Abad, and Osh, supporters of ex-president Bakiyev took over the main government administration buildings (some regional governors who were in power under Bakiyev lost their positions following the April revolution). The regional administration building in Batken went back under control of the interim government by the end of the day. On May 14, government security forces retook the administration building in Osh. Security forces also retake the building in Jalal-Abad, but clashed with crowd, resulting in at least one death (possibly several) and dozens injured. In a village outside Jalal-Abad, unidentified young men burn the house of ousted president Bakiyev. Two of his brothers and another relative’s houses are also burned. On May 19, in the city of Jalal-Abad, a clash between ethnic Kyrgyz and Uzbeks took place; an estimated 1,200 Kyrgyz and over 2,000 Uzbeks are involved. The clash took place near the People’s Friendship University. Government security forces around the university fired warning shots, but these failed to disperse the crowd. Kyrgyz accused Kadyrjan Batyrov (a former parliament member, prominent Uzbek businessman and founder of the university), of dramatizing ethnic issues, assisting the interim government in retaking the administrative buildings from Bakiyev supporters (on May 14), and being involved in the burning of Bakiyev’s relatives’ homes. At least two people were killed and dozens injured.³⁹¹

Southern Kyrgyzstan (Osh and Jalalabad Provinces) – June 9-16, 2010

Overnight on June 9-10, a fight broke out between Kyrgyz and Uzbek youth at a casino near the city of Osh. The fight turned increasingly violent and destructive and spread across the Osh Province and into the city and province of Jalal-Abad within days.³⁹² The level of violence overwhelmed government security forces. There were dozens of reported murders and rapes,

and groups of people looted and destroyed businesses and homes in various cities, towns, and neighborhoods across the two provinces.³⁹³ The groups that fought each other were mainly drawn along ethnic lines of Uzbeks and Kyrgyz. Certain groups targeted security forces; in one incident they hijacked an armored personnel carrier and disarmed the crew. The government confirmed the hijacking and other reports of armed groups.³⁹⁴

The Kyrgyz government asked former law-enforcement officers for assistance in securing Osh. They called on former officers from the Defense Ministry, the Interior Ministry, security services, and even veterans from Afghanistan, regardless of political views for help.³⁹⁵ Uzbekistan sent special units of border troops to secure the Kyrgyz border.³⁹⁶ Tens of thousands of Uzbek refugees crossed into Uzbekistan.³⁹⁷ On June 12, the government launched a special operation in the eastern part of the city of Osh to restore order, imposed curfews in Osh and Jalal-Abad, and even issued a shoot-to-kill order to police to stop law breakers.³⁹⁸ On June 13, a large crowd gathered in Jalal-Abad and demanded that ethnic Uzbeks be moved out of the city and region.³⁹⁹ On June 15, Uzbekistan closed its border with Kyrgyzstan as it was not able to accommodate additional refugees.⁴⁰⁰ The government finally contained the violence by June 16 in Osh and in Jalal-Abad. Only sporadic incidents in the two provinces were reported after this.⁴⁰¹ The final death toll reported over 400 killed from the Osh and Jalalabad Provinces; a human rights group in Kyrgyzstan compiled a list that is periodically updated.⁴⁰² Some estimates double that number, since many of the deaths went unreported.⁴⁰³

Charbak (Batken Province)-Sokh enclave – January 5-7, 2013

Sometime on the evening of January 5, 2013 in Uzbekistan's Sokh enclave (in the Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan), residents of Khushyar (a village in Sokh) became angry when several poles were erected to supply electricity to a border post near the village of Charbak (Kyrgyzstan). Residents confronted the Kyrgyz Border Guards at the post and claimed that the poles were erected on the wrong side of the border. Residents then reportedly assaulted the guards, who fired warning shots into the air to disperse the crowd. Four people in the crowd were injured. Residents returned to the border post in larger numbers (sometime on January 5 or 6) and started destroying the poles and other property, and assaulting residents of Charbak. The villagers of Khushyar then crossed the border into Charbak and kidnapped over a dozen people, taking them back to Khushyar as hostages. Other Kyrgyz citizens were kidnapped while they were traveling through Sokh in vehicles; Sokh residents destroyed these and other vehicles near Charbak. Additionally, a Kyrgyz policeman was injured while attempting to stop Sokh residents. Some Kyrgyz (from Charbak or another village) took several hostages from Sokh in retaliation. Late in the day on January 7 Kyrgyz and Uzbek authorities negotiated the release of the hostages. Uzbek authorities also paid compensation to residents of Charbak for property damaged during the conflict. The border was closed for a few weeks following the conflict.⁴⁰⁴

Ak-Sai (Batken Province)-Vorukh enclave (Tajikistan) – April 27, 2013

On April 27, 2013 residents of Ak-Sai (a village in Batken Province, Kyrgyzstan) and Tajikistan's Vorukh enclave clashed over a dispute on the construction of a road near the Kyrgyz-Tajik border; residents of Vorukh have claimed that construction was taking place on Tajik territory. Construction of the road (which would allow passage to the village of Ak-Sai outside of Tajik territory) had been on hold for several days because of the dispute, and then

resumed on the morning of April 27 and started the clash. During the clash, an estimated 30-50 people took part, which resulted in damage to construction equipment, several injuries (including to policemen attempting to intervene) and over a dozen people from Tajikistan were reportedly temporarily taken hostage. Additionally, people on both sides of the border set up road blocks, which remained in place through April 28, when order was restored, though it was reported that the border was intermittently open following the clash.⁴⁰⁵

Zheti-Oguz District (Issyk Kul Province), Jalal-Abad Province – May 27-June 5, 2013

On May 27, 2013 a group of protestors (with an estimated number of several hundred to over a thousand people) in the Zheti-Oguz District blocked the road to the Kumtor gold mine near the village of Saruu and issued a list of demands, including the termination of the 2009 agreement between the Kyrgyz government and the mine's owners and operators (a Canadian company, Centerra Gold), that more investments be made in local infrastructure, and that the country's president or prime minister meet with them by 1600 on May 31. On the evening of May 30, a group of people from the protest cut off electricity to the mine at a power station near the village of Tamga. On May 31, members of Kyrgyzstan's security services (including the National Guard) and police clashed with and arrested dozens of protestors; there were injuries reported on both sides. A curfew was reported to be in effect at 2100 hours and the road to the mine reopened while the protest dispersed by June 1 after Prime Minister Jantoro Satybaldiyev met with some of the protestors.⁴⁰⁶

On the evening of May 31, a protest started in front of the provincial administration building in Jalal-Abad demanding the nationalization of the Kumtor mine and the release of three politicians (of the Ata-Jurt party) from prison. Protestors (several dozen to 200 strong) went on to seize control of the provincial administration building and appointed Meder Usenov (a local businessman) as acting governor of the Jalal-Abad Province. Sometime on June 1-2 Usenov was arrested, and on the evening of June 2 protestors gathered at the National Security Committee (GKNB) headquarters in Jalal-Abad. The GKNB confirmed that they had arrested Usenov and the protestors were demanding his release; the group then attempted, but failed, to force entry into the building. Overnight on June 2-3 an estimated 150-200 protestors blocked off the Bishkek-Osh road with debris (stones and tires) near the town of Barpy (northeast of the city of Jalal-Abad) and demanded the release of Usenov in addition to earlier demands. Throughout the day on June 3 police negotiated with protestors to reopen the road (several hundred vehicles had remained stranded on the road). On June 5 Prime Minister Satybaldiyev visited Jalal-Abad and met with a group of protestors outside the provincial administration building. The three members of the Ata-Jurt party were not released, though Usenov was released on bail, and the road and administration building were reopened during the day.⁴⁰⁷

Ungar-Too, Aksy District (Jalal-Abad Oblast) – September 20-October 2, 2013

On September 20, 2013 a group of 15-20 of Uzbekistan's Border Guards were inserted by helicopter on the Ungar-Too Mountain (near the town of Kerben) in the Aksy District and took control of a radio tower. Uzbekistan claimed the tower that the tower was in its territory. The governments of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan negotiated a settlement on September 30th and Uzbek forces withdrew from the mountain on October 2nd. There were no injuries reported during the incident.⁴⁰⁸

Karakol and Saruu (Issyk-Kul Province) – October 7-9, 2013

On October 7, 2013 a few hundred people turned up at the Issyk-Kul provincial administrative building in the city of Karakol and called for the restructuring of the agreement on ownership of the Kumtor gold mine. Protestors made one attempt to take over the building, but were blocked off by government security forces. During the protest, government envoy and former mayor of the Zheti-Oguz District, Emilbek Kaptagayev, was taken hostage; he had traveled to the protest to discuss issues about Kumtor. Protestors demanded his resignation, placed him in a car near the administration building and surrounded it (around this time it was alleged that the crowd assaulted a high ranking police officer). They also reportedly poured gasoline on the car, threatening to light it on fire if government forces intervened. Some time in the evening protestors made a second attempt to take over the administration building and clashed with security forces. Government forces used stun grenades to disperse the protestors and at some point Kaptagayev was either released or freed during the clashes. By midnight the protestors had dispersed and some were arrested.⁴⁰⁹

On October 8 a group of over 100 protestors (the number increased as the day went on) blocked the Balykchy-Karakol road at the eastern edge of the village of Saruu (west of the city of Karakol) with debris (an overturned car, tree trunks and rocks) and demanded the release of protestors that were arrested the previous day in Karakol. The protestors had several dozen Molotov cocktails prepared (for defensive purposes) and they assaulted a policeman who went out to negotiate with them because they claimed he had previously lied to their group. Sometime in the afternoon protestors also blocked the road at the western edge of Saruu with a construction crane on a flatbed truck and started a fire on the eastern barricade; they also demanded that the government stop flying a helicopter (a Mi-24 transport) over the area. Later in the afternoon government officials conducted negotiations with the representatives of the protest; protestors had found out that security forces were mobilized in the town of Kyzyl-Suu (around 10km east of Saruu) and started negotiations. At around 1700 the road reopened (though it was not completely cleared as some protestors remained) after both sides reached an agreement to release 21 detainees from the protest in Karakol except for the two main organizers, though all but 10 of the detainees were actually released.⁴¹⁰

Batken District (Batken Province) – July 10, 2014

On July 10 a violent incident took place between the Border Guards of Kyrgyzstan and the Border Guards of Tajikistan and Tajik civilians on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the Tamdyk border post (Batken District) and Tajikistan's Vorukh enclave. The incident started before noon when around 30 civilian residents of Vorukh got into an argument with Kyrgyz border guards over placement of a water pipe from a river in Kyrgyz territory to a village in Vorukh. The Kyrgyz border guards claimed the civilians grew hostile and threw stones at them, forcing them to fire warning shots. Tajik border guards had arrived on the scene during the argument and were fired upon by the Kyrgyz border guards. The Tajiks border guards claimed that they were protecting the civilians and that they never fired their weapons. One Tajik civilian died and several others were injured (including two Tajik border guards) from gunshot wounds, while one Kyrgyz border guard was injured. The Kyrgyz government claimed that Tajiks forces fired grenade and mortars on the Tamdyk border post later that evening. Government officials from

both countries met on July 11 in the Sughd Province and Tajik officials requested the removal of the Tamdyk border post, claiming that Tajik civilians have threatened to attack the post and the Tajik government would not be held responsible. Authorities at the district and village level also met on July on the border to coordinate efforts on resolving the situation. The roads connecting Vorukh to the Sughd Province were closed for two days following the incident.⁴¹¹

Bishkek – July 16, 2015

On the evening of July 16, 2015 the “Alpha” unit of Kyrgyzstan’s National Security Committee (GKNB) conducted two simultaneous operations in Bishkek against suspected members of a terrorist organization. The Alpha unit eliminated four suspects and arrested seven in the operations that took place in the Pervomay District of Bishkek, while the other operation that took place in a town just east of the city resulted in four suspects being killed. During the operation in Pervomay, personnel from the Alpha unit surrounded a house with the suspects inside and then exchanged gunfire before assaulting the house, which also resulted in a fire that damaged several nearby houses. Four members of Alpha received wounds in the operation. The reported leader of the group, Zhanbolat Amirov, was from Kazakhstan and had escaped from a prison in May 2015 after being sentenced to three years in 2014 for various non-violent crimes (an associate of Amirov’s from Kazakhstan blew himself up on July 1 while authorities were attempting to apprehend him). Authorities found seven Kalashnikov assault rifles (different variants), a total of five pistols (Makarov and Tokarev), and a reported 500 kilos of ammonium nitrate which they claimed was going to be used by the group for bombs in the Ala-Too Square in Bishkek and at the Kant Airbase on July 17th. Authorities also claimed that the group had ties with the Islamic State.⁴¹² On July 20 a former member of Kyrgyzstan’s Parliament (and the political party Ak Zhol) was arrested at Manas International Airport and charged with supporting the group eliminated in the operation.⁴¹³ On July 25 a video message was posted to You Tube from a Kyrgyz man urging citizens of Kyrgyzstan to join the Islamic State, but did not mention any of the suspects or any connections to a group in Kyrgyzstan.⁴¹⁴

Kok-Tash (Batken Province) – August 3-4, 2015

On August 3-4 a clash took place between residents of the towns of Kok-Tash (Kyrgyzstan) and Chorkuh (Tajikistan) on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border. The incident started on the evening of August 3 when an argument between residents of Kok-Tash and Chorkuh turned violent when both sides started throwing stones at each other. At some point during the day residents of Chorkuh blocked a road to a cemetery near Kok-Tash, while residents of Kok-Tash blocked a canal that supplied Chorkuh with water, though it could not be confirmed which happened first and there were reports that the argument stemmed from tension over Tajik construction of a pipe to supply water to Chorkuh in July 2015. On the morning of August 4 residents from both villages began arguing again, which resulted in both sides throwing stones in addition to reports of property damage, Molotov cocktails being thrown, and shots fired from a hunting rifle and a shotgun that resulted in injuries to several Kyrgyz and Tajik civilians. Local government officials were able to restore order by August 5.⁴¹⁵

Tajikistan

Rasht District – February 2, 2008

On February 2, 2008, Oleg Zakharchenko, a colonel in Tajikistan's Interior Ministry OMON (Special Purpose Police Unit) was killed in the town of Garm (Rasht District). Zakharchenko was officially in Garm to attend a meeting of the local department of combating organized crime (RUBOP); however, the OMON unit went to Garm to allegedly arrest the head of the department Mirzokhuja Akhmadov (an opposition commander during the Tajik Civil War). Zakharchenko was shot and died instantly outside the department's headquarters not long after the OMON arrived; several members of the OMON unit were also injured. Both sides (the Interior Ministry and the Rasht RUBOP headquarters) each claimed that the other opened fire first. The government blamed Akhmadov for Zakharchenko's death, but later amnestied him for the incident.⁴¹⁶

Kulob (Khatlon Province) – May 27, 2008

On the morning of May 27, 2008 members of the National Security Committee's (GKNB) "Alfa" unit and personnel from the Interior Ministry clashed with a criminal group in the city of Kulob. The security services launched an operation to apprehend Sukhrob Langariev at his home in the city; Langariev was wanted on charges of drug trafficking. Government forces reportedly cordoned off the area around Langariev's house and evacuated civilians before the operation, though later it was revealed that civilians were in the house. Langariev and several people at his house resisted and exchanged gunfire with security forces throughout the day and into the evening. A few ceasefires took place during the day and authorities tried negotiating (including attempts by the suspect's father) with Langariev to surrender; in the early afternoon Langariev's wife and children were able to leave the house. The suspects surrendered in the evening and nine people were arrested, including Langariev, his nephew Azam (son of Langariev, who was killed in 1993 as a commander in the Popular Front during the Tajik Civil; there are two other notable Langariev brothers: Bakhtiyor, head of the Dushanbe Interior Ministry RUBOP, and Faizali, a major-general in the Ministry of Defense), Nurmahmad Safarov (brother-in-law of Langariev and son of Sangak Safarov, also a commander in the Popular Front and killed in 1993) among others. The government reported that Langariev had a large cache of weapons in his house and that there were three people killed in the operation, including two civilians and an officer in the GKNB, as well as three people wounded. Langariev was later sentenced to life in prison.⁴¹⁷

Tavildara District – July 11, 2009

On July 11, 2009 former opposition commander and head of the Ministry for Emergency Situations (from the end of the Tajik Civil War until 2006) Mirzo Ziyoev was killed in the Surkhob Valley area of the Tavildara District. The circumstances of Ziyoev's death remain unclear.⁴¹⁸ On May 15 the government of Tajikistan launched a nation-wide, counternarcotics operation called "Kunkor-2009". Kunkor (the operation is also referred to as Mak) has been conducted annually since 2008.⁴¹⁹ The operation focuses on combating drug cultivation within Tajikistan and cutting off drug trafficking routes from Afghanistan.⁴²⁰ There was speculation not long after the 2009 operation started that former opposition commander Mullo Abdullo (aka

Mullo Rakhimov) had returned from Afghanistan with a group of militants to the Tavildara District and that the operation was a cover for removing him and/or former opposition commanders in the Rasht and Tavildara Districts; the districts are not known for cultivating poppy or other drugs. Ziyoev stated in an interview in May 2009 that he could act as a mediator between the government and militants in the region.⁴²¹

Around the middle of June there were reports of casualties in Ministry of Defense units that took place during clashes in the Rasht and Tavildara districts.⁴²² On July 8 a checkpoint in the Tavildara District was attacked by an unknown number of men; government security forces repelled the attack and killed three. One member of the security force was injured. The attackers were allegedly part of a criminal group led by former member of the opposition during the Tajik Civil War, Nemat Azizov.⁴²³ Government security forces conducted an operation near the village of Childara (Tavildara District) on July 10 and surrounded members of the group that had attacked the checkpoint. Sometime on July 10-11 Ziyoev, along with five other men, reportedly surrender to authorities. An initial report stated that he may have been involved with Azizov.⁴²⁴

On July 12 it was reported that Ziyoev had been killed on the 11th by Azizov's supporters. The reported mentioned that on July 11 Ziyoev agreed to cooperate with the government after surrendering, as well as show the locations of weapons caches and negotiate the surrender of the remaining members of Azizov's group.⁴²⁵ The government released a statement on July 12 that Ziyoev was involved in the June and July clashes with security forces. The statement also mentioned that Ziyoev surrendered on July 11 and that during the operation to seize the weapons cache and negotiate Azizov's surrender, Ziyoev was killed by members of Azizov's group. Several members of the Interior Ministry (MVD) and National Security Committee (GKNB) were injured during the attack.⁴²⁶ The Interior Minister claimed that security forces offered to accompany Ziyoev while traveling to the negotiations, but that he declined. Members of the GKNB traveled in vehicles (behind Ziyoev) and when they arrived, Azizov's group opened fire, killing Ziyoev. The government continued its operation against Azizov's group and on July 16 killed five militants in the Tavildara District. According to the government, the five were ethnic Chechens with Russian citizenship.⁴²⁷ On July 29 government forces killed Azizov in Tavildara, though the remnants of his group escaped.⁴²⁸

Dushanbe – August 22-23, 2010

Overnight on August 22-23, 25 men broke out of a National Security Committee (GKNB) detention facility in Dushanbe. A few men detained in the facility planned the escape in advance. At around 10pm on August 22, the planners killed one security guard and injured two others and seized their weapons and then released the other detainees. The detention facility of the GKNB is located within a Ministry of Justice prison. A few hours passed before the group of men attacked the guard post of the Ministry prison (outer facility) and killed a few more guards. The men escaped in a stolen car and other vehicles driven by accomplices. The escaped men included Abdurasul Mirzoyev (brother of jailed former general Gaffor Mirzoyev) and Azamsho and Jonibek Ziyoev (relatives of Mirzo Ziyoev, former Minister of Emergency Situations and a commander in the United Tajik Opposition in the Civil War). None of the detainees were injured during their escape. Some of the guards were reported to have received bribes to allow

the detainees to escape.⁴²⁹ The GKNB and MVD immediately launched a search operation to recapture the 25 men. By November 2011, the government (including the governments of Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan) recaptured or killed all of the fugitives, though there were no reports on the exact fate of Hamidullo Yuldoshev:

The 25 Escapees

- Ibrahim Nasriddinov (aka Kori Ibrahim), captured by the MVD on September 2, 2010 in the Vakhdat District.⁴³⁰
- Abdurasul Mirzoyev, captured by the MVD on September 6, 2010 in the Faizobod District.⁴³¹
- Magomed Akhmedov, captured by the GKNB on September 10, 2010 in Dushanbe.⁴³²
- Zaydullo Azizov, captured by the GKNB and MVD on September 10, 2010 in Dushanbe.⁴³³
- Saidismon Khujayev, captured (reportedly by the GKNB) on September 12, 2010 in the Jomi District, Khatlon Province.⁴³⁴
- Talibsho Naimov, captured (reportedly by the GKNB) on September 12, 2010 in the Jomi District, Khatlon Province.⁴³⁵
- Ali Aliev, captured on September 16, 2010 in the Vakhdat District.⁴³⁶
- Rakhmiddin Azizov, killed by the GKNB (with support of the MVD) on September 26, 2010 in the Faizobod District; Azizov evaded capture and wounded two members of the GKNB on September 18.⁴³⁷
- Husein Suleymanov, killed by the GKNB and MVD on September 28, 2010 in the Faizobod District.⁴³⁸
- Bozorali valadi Egamberdi, killed by the MVD and GKNB on October 4, 2010 in the Tavildara District.⁴³⁹
- Hikmatullo Azizov, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; Extradited to Tajikistan on December 25
- Bakhrom Orifjonov, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; Extradited to Tajikistan on December 25
- Makhmadamir valadi Kurbonali, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan
- Mukhammadvali valadi Tozagul, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan
- Makhmadzokir valadi Makhmadkhalim, captured (by security services of Tajikistan and Afghanistan) on December 18/19, 2010 in the Takhar Province, Afghanistan; reportedly remained in Afghanistan.⁴⁴⁰
- Fakhriddin Kokulov, killed by the MVD in the operation to neutralize Mullo Abdullo on April 15, 2011 in the Nurobod District.⁴⁴¹
- Juma Ibragimov, killed by MVD and GKNB on May 14, 2011 in the area of the Rasht and Nurobod Districts.⁴⁴²

- Mazkhariddin Khudoyorov, killed by the MVD on June 20, 2011 in the Rasht District.⁴⁴³
- Furkat Khalmetov, captured by the MVD on June 20, 2011 in the Rasht District.⁴⁴⁴
- Kazbek Jabrailov, captured by the MVD on July 6, 2011 in the Jirgatol District.⁴⁴⁵
- Nizami Abiev, captured by members of the State Committee of National Security of Kyrgyzstan on July 13, 2011 in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan.⁴⁴⁶
- Jonibek Ziyoev, captured by the MVD and GKNB on July 25, 2011 in the Tavildara District.⁴⁴⁷
- Bakhriddin Hasanov, killed by the MVD and GKNB on July 25, 2011 in the Tavildara District.⁴⁴⁸
- Azamsho Ziyoev, captured by the MVD on November 13, 2011 in the Panj District.⁴⁴⁹
- Hamidullo Yuldoshev, exact fate unknown; reported still at large on July 26, 2011, though after the capture of Azamsho Ziyoev, it was reported that the operation to capture the 25 fugitives was complete.⁴⁵⁰

Khujand – September 3, 2010

On the morning of September 3 in the city of Khujand a suicide bomber struck a police station, killing two policemen and injuring 25 people. A man drove a car through the front gate of a police station, just as another car was leaving, and then blew himself (with a passenger) up. The Interior Ministry arrested three men suspected of involvement with the bombing, which is reportedly connected to a murder that took place on August 30 in the city of Isfara and other criminal activity. A group called *Jamaat Ansarullah* later claimed responsibility for the bombing, though the group's structure and number of members are questionable.⁴⁵¹

Kamarob Gorge (Rasht District) – September 19, 2010-April 15, 2011

On September 19, in the Kamarob Gorge (Rasht District, around 185 km – 115 miles) militants ambushed a convoy of soldiers; 25 were killed (including five officers) and several injured. The convoy was part of an operation to capture some of the men (at the time of the ambush 18 men were still at large) who escaped from the GKNB detention facility in Dushanbe in August. The government blamed former commanders in the United Tajik Opposition (UTO), Abdullo Rakhimov (aka Mullo Abdullo) and Alloviddin Davlatov (aka Ali Bedaki) for organizing the ambush.⁴⁵²

The government arrested Husnuddin Davlatov, a Rasht District deputy councilman and brother of the suspect, and charged him with supplying explosives and other equipment to the militants. On September 20-21, government security forces also searched the homes of former UTO fighters in Rasht and imposed a curfew from 20:00-06:00. A rumor circulated in the media that former UTO commander Mirzokhuja Akhmadov, and several of his supporters, surrendered their weapons to authorities. Akhmadov held a position in the Interior Ministry (specifically the department to combat organized crime in the Rasht District) after the Tajik Civil War until 2008. Security forces conducted an operation on September 22 and killed several people in a strike at Akhmadov's home, while the former commander's whereabouts were unknown. A number of weapons were reportedly found in Akhmadov's home.⁴⁵³

On October 4, as government security forces continued operations in the Rasht District to apprehend the militants responsible for the ambush, four soldiers (including the commander) from the (Khatlon Province) Interior Ministry (OMON) unit, and a police officer were killed. There were several reported casualties among the militants.⁴⁵⁴ On October 6, a National Guard helicopter crashed, killing the crew, several officers from the National Guard, and over a dozen members of a GKNB unit. Several soldiers were also reported killed by a landmine in a separate incident.⁴⁵⁵ On October 12, the government of Tajikistan announced an amnesty from criminal charges for any militants in the Rasht District that volunteered to surrender their weapons. On October 14, Akhmadov and Mullo Sayriddin, as well as a few dozen of their followers, agreed to surrender their weapons. Akhmadov also became involved in the search for Abdullo and Bedaki.⁴⁵⁶

The operation against militants in the Rasht District continued through January, with occasional reports that security forces eliminated more militants.⁴⁵⁷ On January 4, 2011, security forces killed several militants and reportedly captured one in a village near the town of Garm (Rasht District). The government announced that Bedaki was among those killed.⁴⁵⁸ A few weeks after the operation, a video of Bedaki being interrogated by security forces in the backseat of a vehicle was posted on *You Tube*. The video was removed a few times for violations, but is now available.⁴⁵⁹ The government also released a video of the results of the operation, where Bedaki is shown dead alongside several militants.⁴⁶⁰

On April 14, government security forces launched an operation near the village of Samsolik (Nurobod District). The government stated that special units, helicopters, and artillery would be conducting a live-fire exercise near the Rasht District on April 14.⁴⁶¹ On April 15, security forces killed Abdullo and over a dozen militants in Samsolik. During the operation four people from various security services of Tajikistan were reportedly killed.⁴⁶²

Khorog, Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast – July 21, 2012-August 24, 2012

On the evening of July 21, 2012, General Abdullo Nazarov was killed near the city of Khorog in the Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast (GBAO). The general was on a business trip when an unknown number of men stopped the vehicle he was traveling in and stabbed him to death. General Nazarov was the head of the National Security Committee (GKNB) of the GBAO and was part of the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) during the Tajik Civil War. Members of the GKNB were reportedly in the vehicle with Nazarov and wounded in the attack.⁴⁶³ On July 22, the government of Tajikistan accused former UTO commander (and until the incident, commander of the Ishkashim border guards detachment) Tolib Ayombekov of involvement in the murder. The government demanded that Ayombekov hand over the men responsible, which the latter refused to do. The government then launched an operation in Khorog on July 24 to apprehend Ayombekov and his men, in addition to accusing him of being involved in drug trafficking among other charges of smuggling.⁴⁶⁴ On July 25, the government offered an amnesty to all but four men (including Ayombekov) to stop fighting and surrender their weapons. While communication with the GBAO was severed, on July 26 a video was posted to *You Tube* of the fighting.⁴⁶⁵ The offer also included a two day cease-fire, although sporadic fighting reportedly continued from July 25-27. The government arrested 40 people (around five are allegedly citizens of Afghanistan) involved in the fighting and reported that its security forces

suffered 17 dead and 40 wounded, while those who resisted suffered 30 dead. While the government initially reported only one civilian death, (unofficial estimates believed this number to be at least 20-30 people) the Minister of Defense expressed regret over multiple civilian casualties.⁴⁶⁶ Units from the Ministry of Defense, Ministry of the Interior, and members of the GKNB were reportedly involved in the operation in Khorog.⁴⁶⁷

The government eventually named the four men responsible for the murder of General Nazarov; the list included a former UTO commander, Imumnazarov. In 1994, Imumnazarov became paralyzed from a gunshot wound and was reported to be suffering from diabetes.⁴⁶⁸ After the government negotiated a cease-fire (around July 27), security forces collected a large number of weapons amid reports that some units were leaving the GBAO.⁴⁶⁹ On August 12, Ayombekov surrendered to authorities.⁴⁷⁰ While it appeared that the government would continue to withdraw its forces from Khorog (some units did leave Khorog after Ayombekov surrendered), on the night of August 21-22, a group of unidentified armed men broke into the house of Imumnazarov and killed him.⁴⁷¹ A large crowd of people gathered at Imumnazarov's house, which was followed by a protest in the city square of Khorog where people demanded the withdrawal of government security forces. A few people attempted to break into the regional administration building; two people were wounded as a result. After around two days of protests, the government agreed to withdraw all forces that had participated in the operation.⁴⁷²

Khoja-Alo (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – January 11, 2014

On January 11, 2014 a clash took place between the Border Guards of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan and resulted in injuries to five Kyrgyz and two Tajik border guards. Prior to the clash there had been an ongoing dispute (among other issues related to the border) over Kyrgyzstan's construction of a road from Kok-Tash – Ak-Sai – Tamdyk that would bypass Tajik territory. Tajik authorities and local residents (of Khoja-Alo) believed the construction was taking place on Tajik territory. There had also been tension between residents on both sides of the border a few weeks prior to January 11 over a case of arson and the border was closed for a few days. Additionally, negotiations to demarcate the Kyrgyz-Tajik had taken place in Dushanbe on January 7-9, including an agreement to conduct joint patrols along the disputed border areas.⁴⁷³

The clash started in the early afternoon of January 11 when an argument broke out between Kyrgyz and Tajik border guards over the resumption of the road construction east of Khoja-Alo; both sides claimed the other fired the first shots.⁴⁷⁴ During the clash (which lasted under an hour) Tajik forces launched several mortars at Kyrgyz positions and shrapnel wounds among Kyrgyz border guards were reported. Both countries moved reinforcements (reportedly from their Ministries of Defense) to the border regions in the days following the clash, then withdrew these units by the end of January. Negotiations between local authorities and senior officers from both sides took place in the Batken and Sughd Provinces for a few days following the incident, though the border remained closed until March 31.⁴⁷⁵

Isfara District (Sughd Province)-Batken Province (Kyrgyzstan) – May 7-8, 2014

On the evening of May 7, 2014 a clash took place between residents along the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the villages of Zhaka Oruk and Kok-Terek (Kyrgyzstan) and Khoja-Alo (Tajikistan). The clash started in the evening of May 7 when residents from both sides claimed someone

threw rocks at vehicles traveling in the border area and escalated into a few dozen local residents (from surrounding villages) throwing rocks at each other. Kyrgyz and Tajik security forces restored order after several hours on the morning of May 8, though a gas station and other property near Kok-Terek were damaged in a fire. The incident resulted in injuries to several Kyrgyz and Tajiks, including security forces; one citizen of Kyrgyzstan was injured by a self-inflicted wound from a shotgun.⁴⁷⁶

Ovchiqalacha (Ghafurov District, Sughd Province) – August 25, 2014

On August 25 a clash between the border guards of Kyrgyzstan and the border guards of Tajikistan and Tajik civilians took place on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border near the town of Ovchiqalacha. The incident started when Tajik civilians attempted to remove a bridge (with an excavator) over the Gulkandoz River; construction of the bridge had been planned for several weeks and was nearing completion. Just prior to the incident, Tajik border guards reportedly established a border post in Kyrgyzstan's territory. Kyrgyz border guards claimed that when they attempted to prevent the civilians from destroying the bridge, Tajik civilians threw stones at them, and then Tajik border guards opened fire with mortars. Tajik officials denied that their border guards opened fire. Several people from Ovchiqalacha were wounded and two were killed, including the commander of the Tajik border post. There were no reported Kyrgyz casualties.⁴⁷⁷

Turkmenistan

Ashgabat – September 10-13, 2008

A shooting between criminals and members of Turkmenistan's police and security forces took place over the course of a few days in September in the northern part of the capital Ashgabat. On September 10 two men, Khudayberdy Amandurdyev (Ajdar) and Akhmed Khodjagulyev, shot several police that tried to apprehend them and then fortified themselves in a water bottling facility. Both men were wanted by police and reportedly chose the facility as a place to surrender. Police then cordoned off the facility. Units from the Ministry of National Security (MNB) and the Interior Ministry (MVD) became involved and tried several times, unsuccessfully, to apprehend the men on September 11-12. On September 13, security forces injured Khodjagulyev, who later died, and killed Amandurdyev. There were rumors that a Russian special forces unit (from the Interior Ministry or Federal Security Service) was involved in the operation. However, this involvement was later revealed to be an advisory role. There were conflicting reports on the number of deaths and injuries; estimates ranged from 9-50 killed (including Amandurdyev and Khodjagulyev) and 7-12 wounded among the police and security services. There were no reported civilian casualties.⁴⁷⁸

Uzbekistan

Tashkent – February 16, 1999

Militants from the IMU or government opposition forces detonated several car bombs in Tashkent on February 16 and 17, 1999. The bombs exploded near a cinema, a bank, a house, and the Interior Ministry; 16 people were killed and over 100 injured. The government blamed the IMU for setting off the bombs, although they were conflicting reports of their involvement. The political opposition party *Erk* was also blamed for organizing the explosions.⁴⁷⁹

Tashkent and Surkhandarya Provinces – August 2000

Militants from the IMU infiltrated into the Tashkent and the Surkhandarya Provinces in August 2000. On August 4-5, 2000, the IMU made simultaneous incursions into the Surkhandarya Province and near the city of Akhangaran (Tashkent Province); militants fortified themselves in mountainous areas with hidden caches of weapons and clashed with government security forces. Around two weeks into the incursions, militants also infiltrated into the Bostonlyk District (Tashkent Province). The militants numbered an estimated 100-200, split into a few groups in both provinces; they were armed with assault rifles, rocket propelled grenades, heavy machine guns, and sniper rifles. Special forces units (reportedly from the National Security Committee – SNB) with support from Mi-24 attack helicopters killed the majority of the militants by August 25. A few militants possibly escaped and they all refused to surrender. The government of Uzbekistan reported that over a dozen soldiers were killed in the operations.⁴⁸⁰

Tashkent and Bukhara – March 28-April 1, 2004

A series of explosions and clashes between militants and government security forces took place from March 28 through April 1, 2004 in the cities of Bukhara and Tashkent. Around 10pm on the night of March 28 a bomb exploded in a house in Bukhara, killing nine people. The inhabitants were reportedly making improvised explosive devices. Also in the evening of March 28 in Tashkent, one policeman was killed and one wounded when they investigated a suspicious group of people. In the early morning of March 29, three militants killed two policemen and this was followed by two explosions in the Chorsu bazaar (possibly suicide bombers) and another near the Kolkadash madrasah (near the bazaar) in Tashkent. A total of 19 people (six policemen) were killed with 26 wounded. On March 30 in a suburb of Tashkent, not far from a presidential residence, militants clashed with government security forces. Militants approached a police checkpoint, set off a bomb (reportedly suicide bombers), and exchanged gunfire for several minutes before fleeing into a nearby house. A special forces unit (possibly from the Interior Ministry) then conducted an operation that killed the militants (there were an estimated six militants involved). On April 1, a suspect blew himself up in Tashkent when police tried to apprehend him; no one else was injured in the blast. Dozens of suspected militants were arrested in the days following the incidents. It was speculated that Hizb ut-Tahrir or the IMU planned and carried out the attacks.⁴⁸¹

Tashkent – July 30, 2004

A series of suicide bombings took place outside the Israeli and American embassies as well as the Prosecutor General's office in Tashkent on July 30, 2004. The bombings took place within 10 minutes of each other and killed two Uzbek guards at the Israeli embassy and one Uzbek guard at the American embassy in addition to the bombers. Several people were injured. The

bombers at the embassies did not gain access inside the embassy grounds, only at checkpoints on the perimeter, but the bomber at the Prosecutor General's office managed to get into the lobby. The bombings took place during the trials for people involved in the March-April incidents in Bukhara and Tashkent. The government of Uzbekistan blamed Hizb ut-Tahrir for the bombings, while the IMU and the IJU claimed credit.⁴⁸²

Andijan – May 12-13, 2005

On the night of May 12 in the city of Andijan, a group of militants (around 50-60) assaulted a prison and freed an estimated 400-500 prisoners (there were around 700 prisoners in the facility). The group used a Russian ZIL-131 truck to ram the gate open. A few prison guards were killed and several wounded during the assault. The militants involved in the assault then armed some prisoners, others refused weapons, but all prisoners were forced to march as the group tried but failed to take over an SNB building; casualties on both sides were estimated at 20-50 men. During the early morning hours the group reportedly took over a police patrol building and seized weapons and tried but failed to take over a military garrison in the city. At around four in the morning the group arrived in the main square and took over the main government administration building. They also set fire to a nearby theatre. Some of the prisoners continued to be used as human shields and several people were taken hostage when they arrived to work at the administration building. It was also reported that another group of militants joined the main group at some point, bringing the total number to around 150.

Representatives from the Interior Ministry started negotiations with the militants in the morning, while reinforcements moved into the city. Negotiations lasted most of the day, but sometime in the evening the government announced that security forces were going to retake the building. The assault began shortly afterward, supported by a BTR, and by the night of May 13, government forces (Interior Ministry) retook the square and main building. A number of the militants had possibly slipped out in small groups before the assault. Civilians were killed during the assault to retake the square; the government estimated that 170 people were killed while human rights organizations and political opposition claimed several hundred to a thousand dead. Government security forces killed around 50 militants and captured a large number. It is unknown how many escaped.

For a few months prior to the incident there were protests in the square near the government office against the imprisonment of 23 men accused of involvement in the banned religious group *Akromiya*, a supposed off-shoot group from Hizb ut-Tahrir. Protestors believed the men were successful businessmen which made them a target of individuals in the government wanting to seize their assets. The people felt that the charges of involvement in *Akromiya* were a cover to take over the businesses. Some of the charges were reduced just before the incident took place.⁴⁸³

Kyrgyz-Uzbek border (on the Kerben – Ala-Buka road) – March 18-26, 2016

On the morning of March 18, 2016 an estimated 40 soldiers and two armored personnel carriers (unknown BTR variant) from Uzbekistan established two checkpoints on the road from the town of Kerben to Ala-Buka; both towns are located in the territory of Kyrgyzstan, but the road crosses into Uzbekistan's territory. The Uzbek checkpoints were reportedly not in Kyrgyzstan's

territory, but were in an area that has not been fully demarcated. The government of Kyrgyzstan responded by deploying two armored personnel carriers and a roughly equal number of soldiers (from the Ministry of Defense unit “Scorpion”). The government of Uzbekistan claimed it set up the checkpoints to better protect its territory during the holiday of Nowruz, but there were reports that it was a response to Uzbek citizens being denied access to work at the Orto-Tokoy Reservoir (Kyrgyzstan). Both governments conducted negotiations for several days and on March 26, Uzbekistan withdrew its forces from the checkpoints.⁴⁸⁴

Notes

¹ Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – Russia and the CIS, “Tajikistan, Armed Forces,” September 21, 2016; Andrey Korbut, “201-я база: Год после создания (The base of the 201st: a year after its formation),” *Voенно-Промышленныи Кур’ер*, November 22, 2006, <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/5329>, (accessed August 25, 2017); Mikhail Nechai, “Без спешки и лишних эмоций (Without haste and unnecessary emotions),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 19, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20130918125137/http://old.redstar.ru/2011/07/19_07/3_01.html, (accessed August 25, 2017); Mikhail Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases),” *Kommersant, Vlast*, May 21, 2007, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/766827>, (accessed August 25, 2017); “Russia, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 117, number 1 (February 13, 2017): 224; “Разменная монета или залог безопасности? (Small change or a security deposit?),” *Asia-Plus*, October 3, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/razmennaya-moneta-ili-zalog-bezopasnosti>, (accessed August 25, 2017); “201 российская военная база начала подготавливать

специалистов для вооруженных сил РТ (The 201st Russian military base started to train specialists in the Armed Forces of the Republic of Tajikistan),” *Vechyorka*, June 8, 2015, <http://vecherka.tj/news/201-rossijskaya-voennaya-baza-nachala-podgotavlivat-spetsialistov-dlya-vooruzhennyh-sil-rt/>, (accessed August 25, 2017); Liliya Gaysina, “Россия «сливает» Таджикистан? (Is Russia “consolidating” Tajikistan?),” *Asia-Plus*, November 28, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/rossiya-slivaet-tadzhikistan>, (accessed August 25, 2017).

² Sudha Ramachandran, “India Air Base Grounded in Tajikistan,” *Asia Times*, December 1, 2010, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/LL01Df02.html, (accessed July 20, 2017); Avaz Yuldoshev, “Negotiations on use of Ayni airfield conducted only with Russia, says Tajik FM,” *Asia-Plus*, October 18, 2010, <http://news.tj/en/news/negotiations-use-ayni-airfield-conducted-only-russia-says-tajik-fm>, (accessed July 20, 2017); Border Roads Organisation, “About BRO, Ethos,” <http://web.archive.org/web/20110903171935/http://www.bro.gov.in/index2.asp?sublinkid=286>, (accessed July 20, 2017); Vladimir Solovuev, “Таджикистан оказался по-военному кроток (Tajikistan turned out to be militarily timid),” *Kommersant*, September 3, 2011, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1765831>, (accessed August 2, 2017); “В Таджикистане и во всей Центральной Азии идёт плановое усиление российского военного присутствия, - эксперт (In Tajikistan and across all of Central Asia, a plan of strengthening the Russian military presence is underway – expert),” *CA-News.org*, October 8, 2015, <https://ca-news.org/news:1165657>, (accessed August 2, 2017); “Российские истребители переброшены на аэродром Айни в Таджикистане (Russian fighters have been transferred to the Ayni airfield in Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, February 10, 2017, <http://avesta.tj/2017/02/10/rossijskie-istrebiteli-perebrosheny-na-aerodrom-ajni-v-tadzhikistane/>, (accessed August 2, 2017).

³ Coll, Steve. *Ghost Wars*, New York: The Penguin Press, 2004; Sudha Ramachandran, “India’s Foray Into Central Asia,” *Asia Times*, August 12, 2006, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/HH12Df01.html, (accessed July 20, 2017).

⁴ Lukin, “Все Российские базы”

⁵ Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – Russia and the CIS, “Russia, Air Force,” June 20, 2011; Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases),”; “Russia to discuss rent for military facilities in Kyrgyzstan,” *RIA Novosti*, October 23, 2009, <http://web.archive.org/web/20091027011853/http://en.rian.ru/world/20091023/156568377.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017); “Russia, Kyrgyzstan settle disputes on unified military base,” *RIA Novosti*, September 23, 2010, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20100923/160694461.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017).

⁶ Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases)”

⁷ U.S. Department of Defense, Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense (Public Affairs), News Transcript, “Secretary Rumsfeld Press Conference with President of Uzbekistan,” October 8, 2001, <http://web.archive.org/web/20140929161923/http://www.defense.gov/Transcripts/Transcript.aspx?TranscriptID=2020>, (accessed July 20, 2017); Ron Synovitz, “Uzbekistan: U.S. Confirms End of Air Base Agreement With Tashkent,” *RFE/RL*, July 31, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1060306.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017); “Ceremony to Close U.S. Military Base Held in Uzbekistan,” *RIA Novosti*, November 21, 2005, <http://en.rian.ru/world/20051121/42166025.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017).

⁸ Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases),”; Aleksandr Tuzov, “Военно–морская тайна (The naval mystery),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, August 1, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1122931080>, (accessed at centrasia.ru, July 20, 2017).

⁹ Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases)”

¹⁰ Lukin, “Все Российские базы (All the Russian bases)”; for a collection of articles in English and Russian on Okno, see: Federation of American Scientists, “Space Policy Project, Military Space Programs, Other Resources,” Allen Thomson, “Sourcebook on the Okno and Krona Space Surveillance Systems,” December 30, 2008, <http://www.fas.org/spp/military/program/track/okno.pdf>, (accessed July 20, 2017).

¹¹ Christian Neef, “Absolutism in Uzbekistan,” *Spiegel International*, February 8, 2006, <http://www.spiegel.de/international/spiegel/0,1518,429712,00.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017); Dosym Satpaev, “Europe Discovers Central Asia,” *RIA Novosti*, April 2, 2007, <http://web.archive.org/web/20070410035038/http://en.rian.ru/analysis/20070402/62945253.html>, (accessed July 20, 2017); “СМИ: Германия официально закрыла свою базу в узбекском Термезе (Media: Germany officially closed its base in the Uzbek city of Termez),” *Fergana*, December 13, 2015, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/24248>, (accessed August 23, 2017).

¹² U.S. Air Force, “Ganci AB Supports Flood of Soldiers,” August 7, 2003, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070411220955/http://www.af.mil/news/story.asp?storyID=123005381>, (accessed August 23, 2017); “В Киргизии разместятся до 3000 американских солдат (Up to 3000 American soldiers will be accommodated in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kommersant*, December 20, 2001, <http://www.kommersant.ru/news/929394>, (accessed August 23, 2017); Roman Streshnev, “Талибы и "Аль-Каида" разбиты, но бои продолжаются (The Taliban and al-Qaeda are broken, but the fighting continues),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, December 21, 2001, http://old.redstar.ru/2001/12/21_12/3_01.html, (accessed August 23, 2017); Azamat Kasybekov, “Американцы сидят на чемоданах (Americans are sitting on suitcases),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, June 4, 2014, <http://members.vb.kg/2014/06/04/panorama/1.html>, (accessed August 23, 2017).

¹³ “США помогут Узбекистану на бактериологическом полигоне (The USA will help Uzbekistan with the bioweapons test site),” *Kommersant*, October 24, 2001, <http://www.kommersant.ru/news/925265>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Olga Malakhova, “Чумной остров. Аральский остров Возрождения возрождаться не спешит (Plague island. There is no rush to revive the Aral island Vozrozhdeniya),” *Novoe Pokolenie*, September 5, 2003, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1062966180>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru August 24, 2017); Kseniya Mikhaylova, “Угроза острова Возрождение (The threat of Vozrozhdeniya island),” *Novosti Nedeli*, November 26, 2003, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1069933020>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru August 24, 2017); Elibay Dzhikibaev, “Бесхозный остров Возрождения (The ownerless island of Vozrozhdeniya),” *Karavan*, August 12, 2011, <http://www.caravan.kz/article/33738>, (accessed August 24, 2017); “Russian Announces Plans to Participate in Research on Vozrozhdeniye Island,” *Center for Nonproliferation Studies*, March 19, 2002, <http://www.nonproliferation.org/russia-announces-plans-to-participate-in-research-on-vozhrozhdeniye-island/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Togzhan Kassenova, “Biological threat reduction in Central Asia,” *Bulletin of the Atomic Scientists*, July 18, 2008, <http://thebulletin.org/web-edition/features/biological-threat-reduction-central-asia>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁴ Das BOMCA-Programm – Europa Blog (The BOMCA-Program Europe Blog), <http://www.bomca.eu/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Central Asia Drug Action Programme (CADAP), <https://web.archive.org/web/20141001061302/http://cadap.eu/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Border Management Programme in Central Asia (BOMCA), <https://web.archive.org/web/20140824111016/http://www.bomca.eu/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); European Commission, “Countries and Regions, Central Asia, Border management,”

http://ec.europa.eu/europeaid/node/1333_en, (accessed August 24, 2017); Trimbos instituut, “About Us, Where We Work, Central Asia Drug Action Program 2015-2018,” <https://www.trimbos.org/about-us/where-we-work/details1/?proj=13>, (accessed August 24, 2017); The United Nations University Institute on Comparative Regional Integration Studies (UNU - CRIS), Josh Gartland, “Publications, BRIGG Working Papers, The Border Management Programme in Central Asia: Explaining the European Union’s Choice of Implementing Partners,” March 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20150910060524/http://www.cris.unu.edu/fileadmin/workingpapers/BRIGG_papers/BRIGG_3_2014__Gartland.pdf, (accessed August 24, 2017); Central Asia Border Security Initiative (CABSI), <https://web.archive.org/web/20140802073956/http://bomca.eu/cabsi.html>, (accessed August 24, 2017); EU Border Management Northern Afghanistan (EU-BOMNAF), “About,” <http://eu-bomnaf.org/about/>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁵ Douglas J. Gillert, “After Jumping, Battalion Learns to Crawl,” *Armed Forces Press Service*, October 1, 1997, <http://archive.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=41525>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁶ For a detailed history on CENTRASBAT and U.S. security cooperation programs, see: McCarthy, Michael J., Lt. Col USAF. *The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*. Maxwell Air Force Base, Alabama: Air University Press, 2007, www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?AD=ADA475720, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁷ Central Asian Regional Informational and Coordination Center (CARICC), “CARICC, About CARICC, History,” <http://caricc.org/index.php/en/caricc/about-caricc/history>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁸ “Узбекистан восстанавливает членство в ОДКБ (Uzbekistan restores its membership in the CSTO),” *RIA Novosti*, March 28, 2008, <http://ria.ru/politics/20080328/102417820.html>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Viktor Litovkin, “ОДКБ для Ташкента – проходной двор (The CSTO for Tashkent – a revolving door),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, July 2, 2012, http://www.ng.ru/politics/2012-07-02/3_kartblansh.html, (accessed August 24, 2017); Haydar Shodiev, “Узбекистан отстранился от ОДКБ. С чего бы? (Uzbekistan withdrew from the CSTO. What for?),” *Asia-Plus*, December 24, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/uzbekistan-otstranilsya-ot-odkb-s-chego>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

¹⁹ Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), <http://www.odkb-csto.org/>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²⁰ Aleksandr Gabuyev, “СНГ поставили перед пактом (They put the CIS before a pact),” *Kommersant*, October 8, 2007, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/812422>, (accessed August 24, 2017); “На страны ОДКБ приходится 5 проц. от общего объема российского военного экспорта (CSTO members make up 5 percent of all Russian arms exports),” Центр анализа мировой торговли оружием (Center of Analysis of World Arms Trade), June 30, 2011, <http://www.armstrade.org/includes/periodics/news/2011/0630/13208689/detail.shtml>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²¹ Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), “Документы, Правовая база ОДКБ, Устав Организации Договора о коллективной безопасности (Documents, Legal framework of the CSTO, The Charter of the Collective Security Treaty Organization),” http://www.odkb-csto.org/documents/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=124, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²² Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), “Документы, Правовая база ОДКБ (Documents, Legal framework of the CSTO),” <http://www.odkb->

csto.org/documents/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=1672, (accessed August 24, 2017); Vladimir Solov'yev, "Александр Лукашенко все вызовы и угрозы принял (Alexander Lukashenko has accepted all challenges and threats)," *Kommersant*, December 11, 2010, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1556289>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Yelena Chernenko, "ОДКБ уточнила образ врага (The CSTO has specified the image of the enemy)," *Kommersant*, December 20, 2011, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/1842170>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Oleg Vladykin, "ООН за сотрудничество с ОДКБ, а НАТО – против (The UN is for cooperation with the CSTO, while NATO – is against it)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 5, 2012, http://nvo.ng.ru/eventsnvo/2012-10-05/2_odkb.html, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²³ Erica Marat, "Fissures in the Force – Multilateral Co-operation Can Only Go So Far," *Jane's Intelligence Review*, June 1, 2007, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130509091223/http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/publications/2007/Marat0507.pdf>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, "В Таджикистане начались первые военные учения КСБР ЦАР (The first military exercise of the Collective Rapid Reaction Force of the Central Asia Region has started in Tajikistan)," *Asia Plus*, September 17, 2009, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1253194500>, (accessed at centrasia.ru, August 24, 2017); Farkhod Talipov, "CSTO: Collective Security or Collective Confusion?," *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute (CASI) Analyst*, September 1, 2009, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/11896-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2009-9-1-art-11896.html>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²⁴ "Страны ОДКБ обсудят вопрос о коллективном механизме реагирования (CSTO members will discuss the issue of a collective reaction mechanism)," *RIA Novosti*, February 2, 2009, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20090202/160777952.html, (accessed August 24, 2017); "Лидеры ОДКБ рассмотрят создание коллективных сил быстрого реагирования (Leaders of the CSTO will consider the creation of a collective rapid reaction force)," *RIA Novosti*, February 4, 2009, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20090204/160892571.html, (accessed August 24, 2017); Roger McDermott, "Tashkent and Dushanbe Cautious on CSTO Forces," *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 6, no. 27 (February 10, 2009), <https://jamestown.org/program/tashkent-and-dushanbe-cautious-on-csto-forces/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Oleg Gorupay, "ВПЕРЕДИ - «КАВКАЗ-2012» (Forward – Kavkaz-2012)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 12, 2011, http://old.redstar.ru/2011/08/12_08/3_02.html, (accessed August 24, 2017); Vladimir Socor, "Warsaw Pact, CIS Peacekeeping, CSTO Operations: Moscow Develops "Collective" Intervention Concept (Part Two)," *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, 8, no. 170 (September 16, 2011), <https://jamestown.org/program/warsaw-pact-cis-peacekeeping-csto-operations-moscow-develops-collective-intervention-concept-part-two/>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²⁵ Содружество Независимых Государств (The Commonwealth of Independent States), "Органы СНГ (Bodies of the CIS), Информация об органах СНГ (Information about the organizations of the CIS), Сведения об органах СНГ (Report on the organizations of the CIS), <http://www.e-cis.info/page.php?id=2374>, (accessed August 24, 2017), "Направления сотрудничества (Departments of cooperation), Сотрудничество в сфере безопасности (Cooperation in areas of security), <http://www.e-cis.info/index.php?id=153>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Антитеррористический центр государств-участников Содружества Независимых Государств (The Antiterrorism Center of the member states of the Commonwealth of Independent States), <http://www.cisatc.org/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Бюро по координации борьбы с организованной преступностью и иными опасными видами преступлений на территории СНГ (The Bureau for the coordination of combating organized and other dangerous crimes in the territory of the CIS), <http://bkbopcis.ru/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); "Объединенная система противовоздушной обороны стран СНГ (ОС ПВО СНГ) (The united air defense system of the CIS states)," *RIA Novosti*, February 10, 2015, <http://ria.ru/spravka/20150210/1046758791.html>, (accessed August 24, 2017); For information on the CIS Air Defense Coordination Committee, see: Координационный

Комитет по вопросам противовоздушной обороны при Совете министров обороны государств - участников СНГ (Coordinating Committee on Air Defense under the Council of Defense Ministers of member states of the CIS), <http://www.cis.minsk.by/page.php?id=5702>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²⁶ Smith, Andres Serrano. "CIS peacekeeping in Tajikistan." In *Regional peacekeepers: The paradox of Russian peacekeeping*, edited by John Mackinlay and Peter Cross, 156-183. Tokyo, Japan: United Nations University Press, 2003; Johnson, Lena, *Tajikistan in the New Central Asia* (New York: I.B. Tauris and Co., 2006), 40-52; Stuart Horsman, "Uzbekistan's involvement in the Tajik Civil War 1992-97: domestic considerations," *Central Asian Survey*, 18 (March 1999): 38-39; Bakhran Talibzhanov, "В Шымкенте открыли памятник солдатам, погибшим в Пшихаврском ущелье (A monument for the soldiers killed in the Pshihavr Valley was dedicated in Shymkent)," *Otyrar*, April 7, 2015, <http://otyrar.kz/2015/04/v-shymkente-otkryli-pamyatnik-soldatam-pogibshim-v-pshixavrskom-ushhele/>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Meyrambek Baygarin, "Мы можем и хотим быть полезными Родине - председатель Союза участников боевых действий на таджикско-афганской границе Мурат Мухамеджанов (We can and want to be useful to the Motherland – Murat Mukhamedzhanov, the chairman of the Union of participants of military operations on the Tajik-Afghan border)," *Kazinform*, April 5, 2014, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2645585>, (accessed August 24, 2017); Манижа Курбанова, "Бесстрашный казбат: История казахстанских миротворцев в Таджикистане (Fearless Kazbat: the history of Kazakhstan's peacekeeping in Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, May 8, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/besstrashnyi-kazbat-istoriya-kazakhstanskikh-mirotvortsev-v-tadzhikistane>, (accessed August 24, 2017).

²⁷ Совета командующих Пограничными войсками (The Council of Commanders of Border Troops), <http://www.skpw.ru/>, (accessed August 25, 2017).

²⁸ GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, <http://guam-organization.org/>, (accessed August 25, 2017).

²⁹ McCarthy, "The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia,"; Roger McDermott, "United States and NATO Military Cooperation with Kazakhstan: The Need for a New Approach," *The Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 21 (2008): 615-641; North Atlantic Treaty Organization, "E-Library, Official Texts (Chronological), Towards a Partnership for the 21st Century," http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/official_texts_27434.htm, (accessed August 29, 2017). Capt. Desiree Dillehay, "Flags rise over Exercise Steppe Eagle opening ceremony," *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, July 22, 2017, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/242225/flags-rise-over-exercise-steppe-eagle-opening-ceremony>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Richard Weitz, "Kazakhstan Steppe Eagle Exercise Helps Sustain NATO Ties," *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst*, September 18, 2013, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/12816-kazakhstan-steppe-eagle-exercise-helps-sustain-nato-ties.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017). Sergei Shipulin, "Миротворческий батальон «Казбат» полностью оснащен и экипирован по стандартам НАТО – Министерство обороны РК (The peacekeeping battalion «Kazbat» is completely fitted and equipped to NATO standards – Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan)," *Zakon.kz*, July 1, 2005, <http://www.zakon.kz/62881-mirotvorcheskijj-batalon-kazbat.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), "NATO Topics, NATO's relations with Kazakhstan," http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49598.htm, (accessed August 29, 2017); Irina Moskovka, "Куда же «Казбат» без мин и гранат? (Where will «Kazbat» go without mines and grenades?)," *Vremay*, July 24, 2010, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2010/07/24/17017>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Zhanar Kusanova, "Военная доктрина Казахстана: может, надо вроде НАТО (2-я часть) (The military doctrine of Kazakhstan: maybe NATO is necessary (part 2))," *Inform Buro*, June 25, 2015, <http://informburo.kz/stati/voennaya-doktrina-2-6111.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³⁰ Roger McDermott and Col. Igor Mukhamedov, “Kazakhstan’s Peacekeeping Support in Iraq,” *Central Asia Caucasus Institute Analyst*, January 28, 2004, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/8706-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2004-1-28-art-8706.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017); iCasualties.org, “Operation Iraqi Freedom, Iraq Coalition Casualties: Military Deaths by Country, Nationality: KAZ,” 2009, <http://icasualties.org/Iraq/Nationality.aspx?hndQry=KAZ>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Roger McDermott, “Kazakhstan’s Senate “Rejects” Planned Deployment to Afghanistan,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor*, June 21, 2011, http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews%5Btt_news%5D=38078&tx_ttnews%5BbackPid%5D=512, (accessed August 29, 2015); Galina Naumova, “Первая потеря (The first loss),” *Novoye Pokoleniye*, January 14, 2005, <http://www.np.kz/old/2005/02/rsob5.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017); United Nations Peacekeeping, “Resources, Statistics, Troops and police contributors, Archive, Troop and police contributors archive (1990-2016),” http://www.un.org/en/peacekeeping/resources/statistics/contributors_archive.shtml, (accessed August 29, 2017); Zhanar Kusanova, “Офицеры Казбата в Африке служат без оружия (Officers of Kazbat in Africa serve without weapons),” *Inform Buro*, October 29, 2015, <https://informburo.kz/stati/ne-saharnaya-missiya-na-chuzhbine-oficerov-kazbata-14569.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Zhanar Kusanova, “Казбатовцы обезвредили 4 миллиона мин и заработали по 15 000 долларов (Kazbat soldiers destroyed 4 million mines and earned 15,000 dollars),” *Inform Buro*, July 21, 2015, <http://informburo.kz/stati/missiya-8742.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³¹ National Guard, “For the Media, Homeland Defense Fact Sheets, Global Engagement, State Partnership Program (SPP),” July 22, 2012, http://www.nationalguard.mil/Portals/31/Features/Resources/Fact%20Sheets/new/Global_Engagement/spp-fact-sheet-052017.pdf, (accessed August 29, 2017); Colonel John J. Jansen, “National Guard State Partnership Program: A Whole-of-Government Approach,” *USAWC Strategy Research Project*, March 30, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130221071638/http://www.dtic.mil/cgi-bin/GetTRDoc?Location=U2&doc=GetTRDoc.pdf&AD=ADA520003>, (accessed August 29, 2017); National Guard, “Leadership, Joint Staff, J-5, International Affairs Division (NGB-IA), State Partnership Program,” <http://www.nationalguard.mil/Leadership/Joint-Staff/J-5/International-Affairs-Division/State-Partnership-Program/>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³² Arizona Department of Emergency and Military Affairs, “Joint Task Force Arizona, State Partnership Program,” <https://dema.az.gov/joint-task-force-arizona/state-partnership-program>, (accessed August 29, 2017) and “DEMA – Publications,” <https://dema.az.gov/resources/publications>, (accessed August 29, 2017); “С участием представителей фонда «Партнерство Аризона - Казахстан» в Караганде состоится «круглый стол» по вопросам развития местного управления (Representatives of the “Arizona – Kazakhstan Partnership Program” are holding a “round-table” on the development of local governance),” *Kazinform*, August 15, 2003, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/45544>, (accessed July 27, 2011); “В Алматинской области побывала делегация Национальной гвардии и департамента по чрезвычайным ситуациям штата Аризона (A delegation of the National Guard and Department of Emergency Situations of the state of Arizona visited the Almaty oblast),” *Kazinform*, August 12, 2008, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/213560>, (accessed July 27, 2011); Министерство По Чрезвычайным Ситуациям Республики Казахстан, “Деятельность, Международное сотрудничество, Мероприятия (The Ministry of Emergency Situations of the Republic of Kazakhstan, “Activity, international cooperation, events, <http://emer.gov.kz/ru/deyatelnost/mezhdunarodnoe-sotrudnichestvo/meropriyatiya>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³³ “В США будет подписан Меморандум о взаимопонимании по дальнейшему развитию сотрудничества между Кыргызстаном и штатом Монтана (There will be a memorandum of understanding signed in the USA on

further development and cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and the state of Montana),” *Khabar*, November 26, 2003, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1069834740>, (accessed through Centrasia.ru, August 29, 2017); Staff Sgt. Roger M. Dey, “The Montana National Guard works with the Kyrgyzstan army to develop a ‘backbone’,” *Big Sky Patriot*, Spring 2008, http://ebooks.aqppublishing.com/archive/national_guard/archived/MTBigSkyGuardian/200804_MTBigSkyGuardian_Spring.pdf, (accessed August 29, 2017); Staff Sgt. Jim Greenhill, “National Guard state partners help nations fight drug trade,” National Guard Counterdrug Program, News, June 15, 2009, <http://www.eucom.mil/media-library/article/20204/national-guard-state-partners-help-nations-fight-drug-trade>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Montana Department of Military Affairs, “Information Sheet,” October 1, 2009, http://leg.mt.gov/content/Committees/Interim/2009_2010/State_Administration_and_Veterans_Affairs/Meeting_Documents/Oct-29-30-meeting/dept-military-affairs-report-oct-09.pdf, (accessed August 29, 2017); Maj. Guy Hayes, “Alaska Guard trains with Kyrgyzstan search, rescue team,” National Guard, News, Archives, July 21, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111106021853/http://www.ng.mil/news/archives/2010/07/072710-Alaska.aspx>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³⁴ Virginia National Guard, “Virginia-Republic of Tajikistan State Partnership Program,” <http://vko.va.ngb.army.mil/VirginiaGuard/SPP/index.html>, (accessed August 29, 2017); “Нацгвардия штата Вирджиния (США) провела медицинские семинары среди таджикских солдат (The National Guard of the state of Virginia (USA) carried out a medical seminar for Tajik soldiers),” November 19, 2004, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1100888640>, (accessed through Centrasia.ru August 29, 2017); Joan Scoville, “Military Medical Delegation Tours St. Francis and Sheltering Arms,” *The Bugler*, July 1, 2010, Virginia Defense Force, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140731154351/http://vdf.virginia.gov/images/Public%20Affairs/VDF%20Newsletter%20July2010.pdf>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³⁵ Sgt. 1st Class Erick Studenicka, “Nevada Guard helps curb drug trafficking in Turkmenistan,” December 26, 2006, *Nevada Appeal*, <http://www.nevadaappeal.com/article/20061226/NEWS/112260059>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Bob Conrad, “Nevada Division of Forestry hosts fire chiefs from Turkmenistan,” July 28, 2008, Nevada Department of Conservation and Natural Resources, <https://dconrnews.wordpress.com/2008/07/28/nevada-division-of-forestry-hosts-fire-chiefs-from-turkmenistan/>, (accessed August 29, 2017); Sergei Arbenin, “Туркменистан: В капкане нейтралитета (Turkmenistan: In the trap of neutrality),” *Fergananews*, September 24, 2008, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=5869>, (accessed August 29, 2017); “На туркмено-узбекской границе построен новый КПП «Фарап» (A new border post «Farap» has been constructed on the Turkmen-Uzbek border),” *Turkmenistan.ru*, October 15, 2009, <http://www.turkmenistan.ru/ru/node/27050>, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³⁶ National Guard Bureau of International Affairs (J-5-IA), “Louisiana National Guard State Partnership Program in Uzbekistan and Belize,” https://web.archive.org/web/20121129043524/http://www.ng.mil/ia_backup/states/states/la_uzbek_belize.htm, (accessed August 29, 2017); Jahon News, “Надежность и высокое качество (Reliability and high quality),” March 4, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20120202053607/http://www.jahonnews.uz/rus/rubriki/politika/nadejnost_i_visokoe_kachestvo.mgr, (accessed August 29, 2017).

³⁷ Embassy of the United States, Tashkent, Uzbekistan, “News and Events, Embassy News, First Action Officer Working Group meeting for FY 13 held in Tashkent,”

<https://web.archive.org/web/20151004114401/http://uzbekistan.usembassy.gov/031512en.html>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

³⁸ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “The Partnership for Peace programme,” <http://www.nato.int/pfp/pfp.htm>, (accessed August 30, 2017); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Partnership tools,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_80925.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Individual Partnership Action Plans,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_49290.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017).

³⁹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Office of the NATO Liaison Officer (NLO) in Central Asia,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_107902.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017); “NATO Liaison Office in Tashkent to close, but alliance to continue cooperation in region,” *Fergana News*, November 17, 2016, <http://enews.fergananews.com/articles/2977>, (accessed August 30, 2017); Kamila Aliyeva, “NATO office closed in Tashkent,” *Azernews*, April 7, 2017, <https://www.azernews.az/region/111143.html>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁰ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO A-Z, NATO’s relations with Kazakhstan,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49598.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017); “Учебный центр “Партнёрство во имя мира” Военного института Сухопутных войск (The “Partnership for Peace” training center of the Ground Forces Military Institute),” <https://web.archive.org/web/20130805055106/http://kazcent.kz/>, (accessed August 30, 2017); Donna Miles, “Guard Program Builds Partner Capacity, Relationships in Centcom,” *American Forces Press Service*, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150414204610/http://www.defense.gov/news/newsarticle.aspx?id=121042>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴¹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO A-Z, NATO’s relations with the Kyrgyz Republic,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_49607.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴² North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO A-Z, NATO’s relations with Tajikistan,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50312.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴³ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO A-Z, NATO’s relations with Turkmenistan,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_50317.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁴ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO A-Z, NATO’s relations with Uzbekistan,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natolive/topics_22839.htm, (accessed August 30, 2017); Roger McDermott, “U.S. Access to Uzbekistan Sparks Rumor and Mistrust,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 5, no. 45 (March 2008), <https://jamestown.org/program/u-s-access-to-uzbekistan-sparks-rumor-and-mistrust/>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁵ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “History,” <http://www.osce.org/who/87> (accessed August 30, 2017), “What we do,” <http://www.osce.org/what> (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁶ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Centre in Ashgabat,” <http://www.osce.org/ashgabat>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁷ For the full list of partners, see: Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “Action against Terrorism Unit, International partners,” <https://web.archive.org/web/20140218182754/http://www.osce.org/atu/43233>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁸ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Centre in Astana,” <http://www.osce.org/astana>, (accessed August 30, 2017); “Action against Terrorism Unit,” <http://www.osce.org/atu>, (accessed August 30, 2017); “Strategic Police Matters Unit,” <http://www.osce.org/spmu>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁴⁹ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Centre in Bishkek,” <http://www.osce.org/bishkek>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁵⁰ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Office in Tajikistan,” <http://www.osce.org/tajikistan>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁵¹ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “Border Security and Management Concept,” <http://www.osce.org/mc/17452>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁵² Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “18th OSCE Economic and Environmental Forum – Part 2, Prague, 24-26 May 2010, OSCE Office in Tajikistan,” <http://www.osce.org/eea/68159>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁵³ Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe, “OSCE Project Co-ordinator in Uzbekistan,” <http://www.osce.org/uzbekistan>, (accessed August 30, 2017).

⁵⁴ Shirin Akiner, “The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation: A Networking Organisation for a Networking World,” *Global Strategy Forum*, June 14, 2010, <http://www.globalstrategyforum.org/upload/upload95.pdf>, (accessed August 31, 2017); The Shanghai Cooperation Organization, “About SCO,” http://eng.sectsc.org/about_sco/, (accessed August 31, 2017); Devirupa Mitra, “India, Pakistan Formally Inducted as Members of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation,” *The Wire*, June 9, 2017, <https://thewire.in/145784/sco-india-pak-membership/>, (accessed August 31, 2017); Dosym Satpayev, “В нежных объятиях дракона (In the tender embrace of the dragon),” *Exclusive*, May 6, 2008, <http://exclusive.kz/post1210054223.html>, (accessed August 31, 2017); The Regional Anti-Terrorist Structure of Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (RATS SCO), <http://ecrats.org/en/>, (accessed August 31, 2017).

⁵⁵ See: UN Security Council Press Release, <http://www.un.org/News/Press/docs/1999/19991022.sc6743.doc.html>, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁵⁶ See: UN Information Service, <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2000/sg2511.html>, (accessed September 7, 2017); and <http://www.unis.unvienna.org/unis/pressrels/2000/sg2666.html>, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁵⁷ *Jahon*, Information Agency of the MFA of Uzbekistan, “Address by President of the Republic of Uzbekistan H.E. Mr. Islam Karimov at the NATO/EPAC Summit, Bucharest, April 3, 2008,” https://web.archive.org/web/20110318222444/http://www.jahonnews.uz/eng/president/addresses_speeches/address_by_president_of_the_republic_of_uzbekistan_islam_karimov.mgr, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁵⁸ “«Верхушка талибов не может быть прощена» (“The leadership of the Taliban can never be forgiven”),” *Vremya Novostei*, November 17, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160624102949/http://www.vremya.ru/2008/212/5/217155.html>, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁵⁹ “Russian Foreign Minister Calls for Turning Afghanistan Into Rich State,” *ITAR-TASS*, December 22, 2009.

⁶⁰ “PM returns home,” *Pakistan Today*, March 27, 2011, <http://www.pakistantoday.com.pk/2011/03/27/news/national/pm-returns-home/?printType=article>, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁶¹ United Nations Department of Peacekeeping Operations, “Completed Peacekeeping Operations, United Nations Mission of Observers in Tajikistan,” <http://www.un.org/Depts/DPKO/Missions/unmot/Unmot.htm>, (accessed September 7, 2017).

⁶² United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), “UNODC in Central Asia,” <http://www.unodc.org/centralasia/en/unodc-in-central-asia.html>, (accessed September 8, 2017); UNODC, “The Paris Pact Initiative, Evaluating the achievements: From Partnership to Policy, to Action,” January 2011, <https://www.paris-pact.net/upload/c9029ec38931b0cd6ce8f3604b345b45.pdf>, (accessed September 8, 2017); UNODC, “Drug Trafficking, Paris Pact Initiative,” <https://www.unodc.org/unodc/en/drug-trafficking/paris-pact-initiative.html>, (accessed September 13, 2017).

⁶³ United Nations Regional Centre for Preventative Diplomacy for Central Asia, <http://unrcca.unmissions.org/>, (accessed September 13, 2017).

⁶⁴ Conciliation Resources, Elena Riggaci Hay, “Methodology of the Inter-Tajik Negotiation Process,” March 2001, <http://www.c-r.org/our-work/accord/tajikistan/methodology.php>, (accessed September 13, 2017); Reliefweb, “International Forum on Assistance to Afghanistan,” January 1997, <http://reliefweb.int/node/28766>, (accessed September 13, 2017).

⁶⁵ United Nations Repertoire of the Practice of the Security Council, “Subsidiary Organs, Peacebuilding Offices, Asia,” http://www.un.org/en/sc/repertoire/subsidiary_organs/peace_offices.shtml, (accessed September 13, 2017); United Nations Security Council, “S/2000/518,” http://www.un.org/en/ga/search/view_doc.asp?symbol=S/2000/518, (accessed September 13, 2017).

⁶⁶ Anna Timofeenko, ““Спецслужбы Кыргызстана и России отбили школьников у террористов (The security services of Kyrgyzstan and Russia have rescued the students from the terrorists),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, September 26, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/245126_specsljby_kyrgyzstana_i_rossii_otbili_shkolnikov_y_terroristov.html, (accessed September 14, 2017); “В Кыргызстане проходит II этап совместного учения стран СНГ «Ала-Тоо-Антитеррор-2013» (The second stage of the joint CIS exercise «Ala-Too-Antiterror-2013» is taking place in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, September 26, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/63566>, (accessed September 14, 2017); “Узбекская делегация проигнорировала совместные антитеррористические учения «Ала-Тоо-Антитеррор-2013» (The Uzbek delegation ignored the joint antiterrorism exercise «Ala-Too-Antiterror-2013»),” *K News*, September 25, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37283_uzbekskaya_delegatsiya_proignorirovala_sovmestnyie_antiterroristicheskie_ucheniya_ala-too-antiterror-2013/, (accessed September 14, 2017); Aleksandr Tikhonov, “Антитеррористический сбор в Бишкеке (The Antiterrorism assembly in Bishkek),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 25, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/kyrgyzstanarmy/item/11717-antiterroristicheskij-sbor-v-bishkeke>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Yuriй Kopytin and Talant Satybaldiyev, “В Кыргызстане завершилась активная часть антитеррористических учений «Ала-Тоо-Антитеррор-2013» (The active part of the antiterrorism exercise «Ala-Too-Antiterror-2013» has finished in Kyrgyzstan),” *K News*, September 27, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37482_v_kyrgyzstane_zavershilas_aktivnaya_chast_antiterroristicheskikh_ucheniya_ala-too-antiterror-2013/, (accessed September 14, 2017); Roman Gaïnanov, “Ала-Тоо Антитеррор-2013 (Ala-Too

Antiterror-2013),” *Photo.kg*, September 27, 2013, <http://www.photo.kg/galereya/osnovnye/fotoreportazh/3649-ala-too-antiterror-2013.html>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁶⁷ Alan Baytenov, “Не стреляйте в “белых лебедей” (Do not shoot the “white swans”),” *Novoe Pokolenie*, October 10, 2008, <http://www.np.kz/index.php?newsid=1854>, (accessed August 2, 2012); “В Казахстане состоялась активная фаза казахстанско-российских военных учений «Алдаспан-2008» (The active phase of the Kazakh-Russian military exercise «Aldaspan-2008» has been held in Kazakhstan),” *Lenta.kz*, October 3, 2008, <http://www.lenta.kz/news/?article=238031>, (accessed August 2, 2012).

⁶⁸ Vladimir Severniy, “Войскам необходима передышка (The soldiers need a respite),” *Megapolis*, July 16, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20121124083744/http://megapolis.kz/art/Voyskam_neobhodima_peredishka, (accessed September 14, 2017); Aleksandr Gerasimov, “Обоюдоострый меч (A double-edged sword),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 9, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/kazakhstanarmy/item/3332-oboyudoostriy-mech>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁶⁹ “В Казахстане проходит тактико-специальное учение “Аныракай” (The tactical-special exercise “Anyrakai” is taking place in Kazakhstan),” *КТ*, August 25, 2018, https://www.kt.kz/rus/society/v_kazahstane_prohodit_taktikospecialjnoe_uchenie_anirakaj_1153661632.html, (accessed May 28, 2019); “Военнослужащие Кыргызстана и Казахстана провели совместные учения (Soldiers of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan carried out a joint exercise),” *Kabar*, September 1, 2018, <http://kabar.kg/news/voennosluzhashchie-kyrgyzstana-i-kazahstana-proveli-sovmestnye-ucheniia/>, (accessed May 28, 2019).

⁷⁰ Yekaterina Tyshchenko, “Завершилось совместное тактико-специальное учение «Иссык-Куль - Аныракай-2019» (The joint tactical-special exercise “Issyk-Kul – Anyrakai-2019” has finished),” *Liter*, September 6, 2019, <https://liter.kz/relevant/srelevant/7653-zavershilos-sovmestnoe-taktiko-spetsialnoe-uchenie-issyk-kul---anyrakaj-2019/>, (accessed November 19, 2019); “Как прошли совместные учения спецназа Кыргызстана и Казахстана (How the joint special forces exercise of Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan took place),” *Kaktus*, September 7, 2019, https://kaktus.media/doc/397467_kak_proshli_sovmestnye_ucheniia_specnaza_kyrgyzstana_i_kazahstana._fotorportaj.html, (accessed November 19, 2019).

⁷¹ “В Армении начался второй этап совместных антитеррористических учений государств СНГ «Арарат-Антитеррор-2019» (The second phase of the joint antiterrorism exercise of the CIS states “Ararat-Antiterror-2019” has started in Armenia),” *Tert.am*, September 25, 2019, <https://www.tert.am/ru/news/2019/09/25/Sns/3101787>, (accessed October 29, 2019); “В Ереване обсуждают алгоритм борьбы с террористической угрозой в СНГ (An algorithm for combating the threat of terrorism in the CIS is being discussed in Yerevan),” *EA Daily*, September 25, 2019, <https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2019/09/25/v-erevane-obsuzhdayut-algoritm-borby-s-terroristicheskoy-ugrozoj-v-sng>, (accessed October 29, 2019); “В Антитеррористическом центре СНГ фиксируют повышенный интерес террористов к объектам ТЭК (The CIS Antiterrorism Center is noticing the increased interest of terrorists in fuel and energy complexes),” *K News*, September 25, 2019, <https://knews.kg/2019/09/25/v-antiterroristicheskom-tsentre-sng-fiksiryut-povyshennyj-interes-terroristov-k-obektam-tek/>, (accessed October 29, 2019).

⁷² Igor Plugatarev, “Керченский пролив захватили террористы (Terrorists hijacked the Kerch Strait),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, June 9, 2003, http://www.ng.ru/courier/2003-06-09/9_azov.html, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁷³ Jennifer D.P. Moroney, *Security Dynamics in the Former Soviet Bloc*, ed. Graeme P. Hurd and Jennifer D.P. Moroney (New York: Routledge Curzon, 2003), 175, http://books.google.com/books/about/Security_Dynamics_in_the_Former_Soviet_B.html?id=kBQako-559EC, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁷⁴ Vladimir Severniy, "Соло для десанта с оркестром (A solo for a descent with an orchestra)," *Ekspress-K*, August 4, 2002, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1028410020>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, September 14, 2017); "Барса-баланс. Американскому спецназу очень понравилось тренироваться в Казахстане (Bars-balance. American special forces really liked training in Kazakhstan)," *Khabar*, August 7, 2002, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1028664240>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, September 14, 2017).

⁷⁵ McCarthy, "The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia," "U.S.-Kazakh Military Exercise Underway," *Monitor, Jamestown Foundation* 4, no. 109 (June 8, 1998), <https://jamestown.org/program/u-s-kazakh-military-exercise-underway/>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁷⁶ Olga Oliker and David A. Shlapak, "U.S. Interests in Central Asia, Policy Priorities and Military Roles," *RAND, Project Air Force*, 2005.

⁷⁷ Roger McDermott, "Countering Global Terrorism: Developing the Antiterrorist Capabilities of the Central Asian Militaries," *Strategic Studies Institute*, February 1, 2004, <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pdf/ssi/PUB370.pdf>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁷⁸ McCarthy, "The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia,"

⁷⁹ Ibid.

⁸⁰ "U.S., Uzbekistan hold joint military training," *United Press International*, June 22, 2001."

⁸¹ Pavel Bruntal'skiy, "Байконур стартов не отменяет (The Baikonur launches are not changing)," *Voennopromyshlennyy Kur'er*, October 31, 2007, <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/1904>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Aleksandr Tikhonov, "Спецназ освобождает КАЗ (Spetsnaz release KAZ)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 3, 2007, http://old.redstar.ru/2007/10/03_10/2_01.html, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸² "В Актау начались командно-штабные учения «Каспий-Антитеррор-2005» (The command-staff exercise «Caspian-Antiterror-2005» has started in Aktau)," *Gazeta.kz*, August 17, 2005, <https://www.caravan.kz/news/v-aktau-nachalis-komandnoshtabnye-ucheniya-kaspijantiterror2005-210400/>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Aleksandr Tikhonov, "Каспий. Антитеррор-2005 (Caspian. Antiterror-2005)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 16, 2005, http://old.redstar.ru/2005/08/16_08/1_01.html, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸³ Oleg Glukhikh, "Международные учения "Каспий-2011" прошли успешно (The international exercise "Caspian-2011" took place successfully)," *Vesti*, October 1, 2011, <http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=586857>, (accessed September 14, 2017); "Международные учения "Каспий - 2011" пройдут в Астраханской области (The international exercise "Caspian-2011" will take place in the Astrakhan oblast)," *Regnum*, September 27, 2011, <http://www.regnum.ru/news/1449703.html>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁴ "АТЦ ГКНБ: Проведено совместное учение компетентных органов стран ШОС «ЦентрАзия-Антитеррор-2015» (The Antiterrorism Center of the GKNB: the SCO joint exercise "Central Asia Antiterror-2015" has been carried out)," *Kabar*, September 16, 2015, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/law-and-order/full/96545>, (accessed

September 14, 2017); “Силовики стран ШОС отработали взаимодействие по борьбе с терроризмом (The security services of the member states of the SCO worked out coordination on the fight against terrorism),” *KyrTAG*, September 16, 2015, <http://kyrtag.kg/politics/siloviki-stran-shos-otrabotali-vzaimodeystvie-po-borbe-s-terrorizmom>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Региональная Антитеррористическая Структура Шанхайской Организации Сотрудничества (The Regional Antiterrorism Structure of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization), “Новости (News), О проведенном совместном антитеррористическом учении компетентных органов государств-членов Шанхайской организации сотрудничества «ЦентрАзия-Антитеррор-2015» (The security services of member states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization on the joint exercise “Central Asia-Antiterror-2015”),” September 16, 2015, <http://ecrats.org/ru/news/5111>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁵ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,” “Central Asia hosts Centrazbat-97 maneuvers, Turkey, Russia and US participate,” *Hurriyet*, September 15, 1997, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160720003002/http://www.hurriyetaidailynews.com/central-asia-hosts-centrazbat-97-maneuvers-turkey-russia-and-us-participate.aspx?pageID=438&n=central-asia-hosts-centrazbat-97-maneuvers-turkey-russia-and-us-participate-1997-09-15>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Yuri Chernogayev, “Учения в Средней Азии (An exercise in Central Asia),” *Kommersant*, September 19, 1997, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/184270>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁶ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,” SSgt. John Valceanu, “CENTRAZBAT ‘98,” *Soldiers*, February 1999, <http://web.archive.org/web/20020807202045/http://www.dtic.mil/soldiers/feb1999/features/index.html>, (accessed September 14, 2017); U.S. Department of Defense, “Photos/Videos, News Photos, Other Subjects, Archives, Exercises, CENTRAZBAT ‘98,” <http://archive.defense.gov/photos/photolist.aspx?id=50>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Yuri Chernogayev and Boris Volkhonskiy, “НАТО оплачивает защиту СНГ (NATO is paying for the protection of the CIS),” *Kommersant*, September 23, 1998, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/205621?isSearch=True>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁷ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,” Yuri Chernogayev, “Азиатскому сепаратизму дан бой (Asian separatism will be given a battle),” *Kommersant*, September 13, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/157735?isSearch=True>, (accessed September 14, 2017); Vladimir Mukhin, “Миротворчество под флагом НАТО (Peacekeeping under the NATO flag),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 5, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-10-05/5_flag.html, (accessed September 14, 2017); E. Isakova, “С учений — в бой (From training – to battle),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 18, 2000, <http://members.vb.kg/2000/09/18/17.htm>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁸ Антитеррористический центр государств-участников Содружества Независимых Государств (The Antiterrorist Center of member-states of the Commonwealth of Independent States), “Координационная деятельность (Coordinating activity), Совместные командно-штабные тренировки (Joint command-staff training),” <http://www.cisatc.org/133/162>, (accessed September 14, 2017); “В Оше стартовали совместные командно-штабные учения «Юг-Антитеррор – 2011» с участием стран СНГ (The joint command-staff exercise «South-Antiterror – 2011 with the participation of CIS states started in Osh),” *AKI Press Fergana*, May 3, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110504212254/http://fergana.akipress.org/news:125531>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁸⁹ Активная фаза учений “Чистое небо-2012” начнется 10 октября (The active phase of the exercise “Clear Skies-2012 will start on October 10),” *RIA Novosti*, October 10, 2012,

http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20121010/770463495.html, (accessed September 14, 2017); Aleksandr Pinchuk, “Чтобы небо было чистым (So that the sky was clean),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 5, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/2011-07-25-15-57-07/item/5075-chtobyi-nebo-byilo-chistyim>, (accessed September 14, 2017); “На совместных учениях «Чистое небо-2012» кыргызские военные обозначают силу противника (Kyrgyz soldiers emphasized the strength of the enemy at the joint exercise «Clear Skies-2012»),” *KirTAG*, October 8, 2012, http://kyrtag.kg/news/na_sovmestnykh_uchenyakh_chistoe_nebo_2012_kyrgyzskie_voennye_oboznachayut_sily_protivnika/, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁹⁰ Содружество Независимых Государств (The Commonwealth of Independent States), “Новости (News), Безопасность (Security), В Казахстане пройдут учения объединенной системы противовоздушной обороны государств Содружества «Чистое небо-2018» (The exercise “Clear Sky 2018” of the joint air defense system of the CIS member states will take place in Kazakhstan),” September 25, 2018, <http://cis.minsk.by/news.php?id=9871>, (accessed August 21, 2019); “Страны СНГ провели совместные учения в Алма-Ате (The countries of the CIS carried out a joint exercise in Alma-Ata),” *EurAsia Daily*, September 27, 2018, <https://easaily.com/ru/news/2018/09/27/strany-sng-proveli-sovmestnye-ucheniya-v-alma-ate>, (accessed August 21, 2019).

⁹¹ Liang Yongli and Du Xianzhou, “Coalition-2003: a successful joint anti-terrorism maneuver,” *PLA Daily*, August 14, 2003, <http://english.chinamil.com.cn/special/5army/txt/61.htm>, (accessed September 9, 2011); Human Rights in China (HRIC), “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights: The Impact of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, A Human Rights in China Whitepaper, March 2011, Appendix E.1: Military and Law Enforcement Cooperation between Member States of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization,” <http://www.hrichina.org/en/publications/hric-report/counter-terrorism-and-human-rights-impact-shanghai-cooperation-organization>, (accessed September 14, 2017).

⁹² “Russia, Uzbekistan stage anti-terror exercise in southern Russia,” *RIA Novosti*, September 19, 2006, <http://en.rian.ru/russia/20060919/54032143.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Oleg Gorupai, Aleksandr Khrolenko, Vladimir Evdomashkin, “«Боевое братство» Москвы и Ташкента («Combat brotherhood» Moscow and Tashkent),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 22, 2006, http://old.redstar.ru/2006/09/22_09/1_02.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

⁹³ “Генсек ОДКБ оценил прошедшие в Таджикистане учения КСОП ОДКБ на отлично (The CSTO General Secretary rated the completed CSTO CORF exercise in Tajikistan as excellent),” *Asia-Plus*, November 17, 2017, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20171117/gensek-odkb-otsenil-proshedshie-v-tadzhikistane-ucheniya-ksor-odkb-na-otlichno>, (accessed January 30, 2018); “Учения ОДКБ: завораживающий масштаб завершающего этапа (CSTO exercise: the impressive scale of the final phase),” *Asia-Plus*, November 18, 2017, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20171118/vooruzhennii-sili-sposobni-dat-nadlezhatshii-otpor-imeyutshimsya-vizovam-i-ugrozam-glava-minoboroni-rt-sherali-mirzo>, (accessed January 30, 2018); “Вооруженные Силы Казахстана провели переброску воинского контингента в Таджикистан для участия в учении «Боевое братство-2017» (The Armed Forces of Kazakhstan deployed a contingent to Tajikistan for the participation in the exercise “Combat Brotherhood-2017),” *Sarbaz*, November 14, 2017, <https://sarbaz.kz/ru/world/voorugennye-sily-kazahstana-proveli-perebrosku-voinskogo-kontingenta-v-tadgikistan-dlya-uchastiya-v-uchanii-boevoe-bratstvo-2017-173171542/>, (accessed January 30, 2018); Viktor Khudoleev, “Школа взаимодействия (The school of cooperation),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, November 9, 2017, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/tadzhikistan/item/35027-shkola-vzaimodejstviya>,

(accessed January 30, 2018); Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), “Сотрудничество (Cooperation), Учения Коллективных сил ОДКБ (Exercises of the CSTO collective forces), Совместное оперативно-стратегическое учение ОДКБ «Боевое братство-2017» пройдет на территории России, Армении, Казахстана и Таджикистана с 3 октября по 20 ноября 2017 года (The joint operational-strategic CSTO exercise “Combat Brotherhood-2017” will take place on the territories of Russia, Armenia, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan from 3 October until 20 November 2017),” September 27, 2017, http://www.odkb-csto.org/training/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=10345&SECTION_ID=206, (accessed January 30, 2018).

⁹⁴ Irina Dronina, “Центральную Азию готовят к войне (Central Asia is preparing for war),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 10, 2018, http://www.ng.ru/armies/2018-10-10/2_7329_war.html, (accessed May 13, 2019); Avaz Yuldashev, “Страны ОДКБ проведут очередные тактические учения на таджикско-афганской границе (CSTO member states will carry out regular tactical exercises on the Tajik-Afghan border),” *Asia-Plus*, August 9, 2018, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180809/strani-odkb-provedut-ocherednie-takticheskie-ucheniya-na-tadzhiksko-afganskoi-granitse>, (accessed May 15, 2019); Dmitry Stefanovich, “Учения ОДКБ «Боевое братство-2018»: 11 главных фактов (The CSTO exercise “Combat Brotherhood-2018”: 11 main facts),” *EვრAsia Expert*, November 26, 2018, <http://eurasia.expert/ucheniya-odkb-boevoye-bratstvo-2018-11-glavnykh-faktov/>, (accessed May 15, 2019).

⁹⁵ “«Ситуация в регионе обязывает к постоянной боеготовности» — министр обороны (“The situation in the region demands a constant combat readiness” – defense minister),” *Gazeta.uz*, September 26, 2018, <https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2018/09/26/defense/>, (accessed July 23, 2019); Avaz Yuldashev, “Для обнаружения «террористов» таджикские и узбекские военные использовали беспилотники и вертолеты (Tajik and Uzbek soldiers utilized unmanned aerial vehicles and helicopters for detecting “terrorists”),” *Asia-Plus*, September 20, 2018, <https://www.asiaplus.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180920/dlya-obnaruzheniya-terroristov-tadzhikskie-i-uzbekskie-voennye-ispolzovali-bespilotniki-i-vertoleti>, (accessed July 23, 2019); Negmatullo Mirsaidov, “Минобороны РТ и РУ: наши войска и техника готовы отразить атаку противника (The Defense Ministries of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Uzbekistan: our forces and equipment and ready to repulse an attack of the enemy),” *Asia-Plus*, September 22, 2018, <https://www.asiaplus.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180922/minoboroni-rt-i-ru-nashi-voiska-i-tehnika-gotovi-otrazit-ataku-protivnika>, (accessed July 23, 2019).

⁹⁶ “Узбекистан и Беларусь проведут военные учения на полигоне «Гурумсарай» (Uzbekistan and Belarus will carry out an exercise at the “Gurumsaray” range),” *Anhor*, May 16, 2019, <https://anhor.uz/news/uzbekistani-belarusy-provedut-voennye-ucheniya-na-poligone-gurumsaray>, (accessed July 22, 2019); “В Узбекистане проходят совместные с Беларусью учения военных (A joint military exercise with Belarus is taking place in Uzbekistan),” *Belta*, May 20, 2019, <https://www.belta.by/society/view/v-uzbekistane-prohodjat-sovmestnye-s-belarusju-ucheniya-voennyh-347966-2019/>, (accessed July 22, 2019).

⁹⁷ “На полигонах Казахстана и России начались совместные с Кыргызстаном учения “Боевое содружество-2019” (The joint exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2019” has started at the bases of Kazakhstan and Russia),” *Kabar*, August 28, 2019, <http://kabar.kg/news/na-poligonakh-kazakhstana-i-rossii-nachalis-sovmestnye-ucheniya-boevoye-sodruzhestvo-2019/>, (accessed November 26, 2019); “Авиационные ракеты запустили в Карагандинской области во время военных учений (Missiles were launched during the military exercise in the Karaganda Oblast),” *Inform Buro*, September 12, 2019, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/aviacionnye-rakety-zapustili-v-karagandinskoy-oblasti-vo-vremya-voennyh-ucheny-95472.html>, (accessed November 26, 2019); Evgeniy

Denisenko, "Военные КР включились в проведение учения "Боевое Содружество-2019" (Soldiers of the Kyrgyz Republic have taken part in carrying out the exercise "Combat Commonwealth-2019")," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 3, 2019, https://www.vb.kg/doc/381286_voennye_kr_vkluchilis_v_provedenie_ycheniia_boevoe_sodryjestvo_2019.html, (accessed November 26, 2019).

⁹⁸ "Учения "Боевое содружество - 2001" пройдут сразу на пяти полигонах стран СНГ (The exercise "Combat Commonwealth – 2001" will immediately take place on five training ranges of CIS states)," *News.ru*, August 25, 2001, <http://txt.newsru.com/russia/25aug2001/postreliaem.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

⁹⁹ Vladimir Mukhin, "Боевое содружество-2000" (Combat Commonwealth-2000)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 22, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-22/5_arms2000.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁰ "Weird Scenario for "Combat Commonwealth" Exercise," *Jamestown Foundation, The Monitor* 7, 158, (August 30, 2001), [https://web.archive.org/web/20151208035626/http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews\[tt_news\]=23434&tx_ttnews\[backPid\]=215#.WbwWDkduyEg](https://web.archive.org/web/20151208035626/http://www.jamestown.org/single/?no_cache=1&tx_ttnews[tt_news]=23434&tx_ttnews[backPid]=215#.WbwWDkduyEg), (accessed September 15, 2017); "CIS members plan joint exercise," *Flight International*, May 6, 2001, <https://www.flightglobal.com/news/articles/cis-members-plan-joint-exercise-130877/>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰¹ "Представители Туркменистана будут наблюдать за ходом учений «Боевое содружество-2003» (Representatives of Turkmenistan will observe the exercise «Combat Commonwealth-2003»)," *Turkmenistan.ru*, September 2, 2003, <http://www.turkmenistan.ru/ru/node/15153>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Mikhail Khodarenok, ""Планка" ашулука (The "plank" of Ashuluk)," *Vozdushno-Kosmicheskaya Oborona* 12, 5 (2003), <http://www.vko.ru/vuzy-i-poligony/planka-ashuluk>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Sergei Popov and Sergei Ryzhkin, "В Астраханской области началась война Запада и Севера (The West and North war started in Astrakhan oblast)," *Kommersant*, September 5, 2003, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/409090?isSearch=True>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Roman Streshnev and Valeriy Kovalev, "Ашулук проверяет «Боевое содружество» (Ashuluk verifies «Combat Commonwealth»)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 2, 2003, http://old.redstar.ru/2003/09/02_09/n.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰² Более 80 летательных аппаратов и более 100 частей и подразделений ВВС и ПВО стран СНГ примут участие в учениях (More than 80 aircraft and 100 pieces of equipment of the air forces and air defense forces of the CIS state will take part in the exercise)," *RIA Novosti*, April 7, 2004, <http://ria.ru/society/20040407/562891.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Roman Streshnev, "По всем направлениям (In all directions)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 8, 2004, http://old.redstar.ru/2004/04/08_04/1_01.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Ilya Kedrov, "Регион коллективной безопасности (The Region of collective security)," *Voенно Promyshlennyy Kur'er*, December 8, 2004, <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/1214>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰³ ""Боевое содружество-2005" пройдет в сокращенном составе ("Combat Commonwealth-2005 will take place in a reduced form)," *Kommersant*, August 24, 2005, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/603384>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Aleksey Matveev, ""Боевое содружество-2005": коалиция или клуб по интересам? ("Combat Commonwealth-2005": a coalition or an interest group?)," *Voенно Promyshlennyy Kur'er*, August 31, 2005, <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/55>, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Железные аргументы «Боевого

содружества» (The Iron arguments of «Combat Commonwealth»),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 20, 2005, http://old.redstar.ru/2005/08/20_08/2_01.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁴ “Стрельбы "Боевое содружество-2007" в Ашулуке. Теперь страны СНГ вышли на военные учения (The shots of “Combat Commonwealth-2007” in Ashuluk. The CIS states have now gone on military exercises),” *Rossiyskaya Gazeta*, August 22, 2007, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1187764740>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, September 15, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, “Жаркое небо Ашулула (The hot sky of Ashuluk),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 29, 2007, http://old.redstar.ru/2007/08/29_08/2_02.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Сердюков: участники активной фазы учений ПВО СНГ “сбили все мишени” (Serdyukov: participants of the active phase of the CIS Air Defense exercise have “shot down all aircraft”),” *RIA Novosti*, August 22, 2007, <http://ria.ru/society/20070822/73377178.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁵ “Завершилось учение стран СНГ «Боевое содружество-2009» (The exercise «Combat Commonwealth-2009» of CIS states has finished),” *STV*, September 17, 2009, <http://www.ctv.by/news/~news=26578>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Совместные учения СНГ «Боевое содружество-2009» пройдут летом текущего года (The joint CIS exercise «Combat Commonwealth-2009» will take place in the summer of this year),” *Avesta*, March 4, 2009, <http://avesta.tj/2009/03/04/sovместnye-ucheniya-sng-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-2009-projdut-letom-tekushhego-goda/>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “В Астраханской области прошло учение "Боевое содружество - 2009" (The exercise “Combat Commonwealth – 2009” took place in the Astrakhan oblast),” *Gazeta.kz*, September 17, 2009, <https://www.caravan.kz/news/v-astrakhanskojj-oblasti-proshlo-uchenie-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-2009-263020/?nocecutient=1>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁶ “С-400 впервые применили в ходе учений "Боевое содружество-2011" (The S-400 was used for the first time during the exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2011”),” *RIA Novosti*, September 12, 2011, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20110912/435783247.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Учения "Боевое содружество-2011" на полигоне Ашулук (The exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2011” at the Ashuluk training range),” *Belta*, September 13, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20120111090546/http://www.belta.by/ru/photostory/s_1402.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, “Жаркие дни Ашулука (The hot days of Ashuluk),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 14, 2011, http://old.redstar.ru/2011/09/14_09/3_05.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, “Воздушные бои на Ашулуке (Air battles at Ashuluk),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 8, 2011, http://old.redstar.ru/2011/09/08_09/3_02.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁷ Aleksandr Aleksandrov, “«Боевое содружество» в пути («Combat Commonwealth» is underway),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 21, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/vesti/item/11006-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-v-puti>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Vladimir Severniy, “Огненный вал Сарышагана (The fire wall of Saryshagan),” *Megapolis*, September 9, 2013, http://www.megapolis.kz/art/Ognenniy_val_Sarishagana, (accessed October 23, 2013); Aleksandr Tikhonov, “Горизонты «Боевого Содружества» (The Horizons of «Combat Commonwealth»),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 9, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/component/k2/item/11367-gorizonty-boevogo-sodruzhestva>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Кыргызстанские военнослужащие примут участие в учениях с боевой стрельбой «Боевое содружество-2013» в Казахстане (Kyrgyzstan’s soldiers will take part in the live-fire exercise «Combat Commonwealth-2013» in Kazakhstan),” *Kabar*, August 22, 2013, <http://old.kabar.kg/society/full/61369>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁸ Anna Potekhina and Aleksandr Tikhonov, “Содружество в действии (The Commonwealth in action),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 10, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/vesti/v-voennykh-okrugah/iz-zapadnogo-voennogo-okruga/item/25676-sodruzhestvo-v-dejstvii>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Кыргызские военнослужащие на учениях «Боевое содружество-2015» осваивают новейший ЗРК «Печора-2М» (Kyrgyz soldiers master the latest “Pechora-2M” rocket launch system at the “Combat Commonwealth-2015” exercise),” *Kabar*, September 10, 2015, <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/society/full/96307>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Министр обороны РК посетил учения “Боевое содружество-2015” (The Minister of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan visited the exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2015”),” *Tengri News*, September 25, 2015, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/ministr-oboronyi-rk-posetil-ucheniya-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-2015-281410/, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁰⁹ Grigoriy Bedenko, “Учения “Боевое содружество-2017” (The exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2017”),” *Inform Buro*, September 15, 2017, <https://informburo.kz/stati/ucheniya-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-2017-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed January 18, 2018); “Военные Казахстана проводят масштабные учения с коллегами из пяти стран (Soldiers of Kazakhstan are carrying out a large-scale exercise with colleagues from five countries),” *Inform Buro*, September 9, 2017, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/voennye-kazahstana-provodyat-masshtabnye-ucheniya-s-kollegami-iz-pyati-stran.html>, (accessed January 18, 2018); “Прибалхашье сотрясали взрывы (Balkash shook with explosions),” *Zakon.kz*, September 15, 2017, <https://www.zakon.kz/4878271-pribalhashe-sotryasali-vzryvy.html>, (accessed January 18, 2018); “Военные Кыргызстана участвуют в учении с боевой стрельбой «Боевое содружество-2017» в России (Soldiers of Kyrgyzstan are participating in the live-fire exercise “Combat Commonwealth-2017” in Russia),” *Kabar*, September 6, 2017, <http://kabar.kg/news/voinskii-kontingent-vs-kr-uchastvuet-v-uchanii-s-boevoi-strel-boi-boevoe-sodruzhestvo-2017-v-rossii/>, (accessed January 18, 2018).

¹¹⁰ Kent Waller, “Combined Endeavor ’00,” IA Newsletter, Volume 4, Number 1, https://web.archive.org/web/20111208220727/http://iac.dtic.mil/iatac/download/Vol4_No1.pdf, (accessed September 15, 2017); William Triplett, “Combined Endeavor 2001, Interoperability for Future Operations,” *Echo, 5th Signal Command*, Summer/Fall 2001, https://web.archive.org/web/20130224093937/http://www.5sigcmd.army.mil/Publications/ECHO/ECHO_2001_FALL.pdf, (accessed September 15, 2017); William Triplett, “Combined Endeavor 2002,” *Echo, 5th Signal Command*, Summer 2002, https://web.archive.org/web/20150702054024/http://www.5sigcmd.army.mil/Publications/ECHO/ECHO_2002_SUMMER.pdf, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Combined Endeavor – 03 In Full Swing,” United States European Command, May 12, 2003, <http://www.eucom.mil/english/FullStory.asp?article=COMBINED-ENDEAVOR-03-IN-FULL-SWING>, (accessed October 29, 2013); “Combined Endeavor 2004 Underway in Germany and Bulgaria,” United States European Command, May 6, 2004, <http://www.eucom.mil/media-library/article/21813/Combined-Endeavor-2004-Underway-Germany-Bulgaria>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Interoperability exercise Combined Endeavor 2009 has started,” Partnership for Peace Information Management System (PIMS), September 4, 2009, <http://web.archive.org/web/20090923031606/http://www.pims.org/news/2009/09/04/interoperability-exercise-combined-endeavor-2009-has-started>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Denver Makle, “Combined Endeavor brings forces from 40 nations together to streamline communications,” U.S. Army, News Archives, Article, September 9, 2010, http://www.army.mil/article/44910/Combined_Endeavor_brings_forces_from_40_nations_together_to_streamline_communications/, (accessed September 15, 2017); U.S. Army Europe Images, “Combined Endeavor 2011,” http://www.flickr.com/photos/usarmyeurope_images/sets/72157627507474811/with/6135561513/, (accessed

September 15, 2017); Staff Sgt. Angelique N. Smythe, "World's Largest Communication Exercise Kicks Off," United States European Command, September 6, 2012, <http://www.eucom.mil/media-library/article/24114/worlds-largest-communication-exercise-kicks-off>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Tech. Sgt. Kenya Shiloh, "40 Nations kick off Exercise Combined Endeavor 2013," United States European Command, September 13, 2013, <http://www.eucom.mil/media-library/article/25353/40-nations-kick-off-exercise-combined-endeavor-2013>, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Nearly 40 nations taking part in Combined Endeavor exercise," *Stars and Stripes*, September 19, 2013, <http://www.stripes.com/news/nearly-40-nations-taking-part-in-combined-endeavor-exercise-1.242162>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹¹ "Турция, Пакистан и Узбекистан начали первые совместные военные учения (Turkey, Pakistan and Uzbekistan started the first joint military exercise)," *Fergana News*, April 23, 2019, <https://fergana.agency/news/106836/>, (accessed May 28, 2019); "Учения военных Узбекистана, Пакистана и Турции завершились (The military exercise of Uzbekistan, Pakistan and Turkey has ended)," *Gazeta.uz*, April 27, 2019, <https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2019/04/27/training/>, (accessed May 28, 2019).

¹¹² Vladimir Georgiev, "Коротко, Маневры на юге СНГ (In brief, Maneuvers in the south of the CIS)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, November 5, 1999, https://web.archive.org/web/20070707122258/http://nvo.ng.ru/wars/1999-11-05/1_korotko.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Vladimir Mukhin, "Ради процветания Отечества (For the prosperity of the fatherland)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, December 17, 1999, http://nvo.ng.ru/notes/1999-12-17/8_contacts.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹³ Vladimir Georgiev, "Войска тренируются (The soldiers are training)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, April 4, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-04-04/5_arm.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Yuriy Mashin, "Превентивный удар по ваххабитам, В Средней Азии начались военные учения (A preventative strike against the Wahhabis, a military exercise has started in Central Asia)," *Kommersant*, March 30, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/144009>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹⁴ Roman Streshnev, "Чувство локтя (Elbow to elbow)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 11, 2001, http://old.redstar.ru/2001/04/11_04/r_w31.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Vladimir Georgiev, "Виртуальные маневры в Москве (Virtual maneuvers in Moscow)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, April 4, 2001, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2001-04-04/5_virtual.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹⁵ Roman Streshnev, "Щит Содружества держит удар (The shield of the commonwealth continues hitting)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, June 18, 2002, http://old.redstar.ru/2002/06/18_06/1_01.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); Vadim Makhin, "Радуга над полигоном (A rainbow over the training range)," *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, June 18, 2002, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1024378200>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, September 15, 2017).

¹¹⁶ "Казахстан: Президенты Узбекистана и Беларуси проигнорировали военные учения ОДКБ (Kazakhstan: the presidents of Uzbekistan and Belarus ignored the CSTO military exercises)," *Fergana.ru*, October 16, 2009, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=13221>, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Фото недели: "Взаимодействие-2009": первый блин комом (Photo of the week: "Interaction-2009": practice makes perfect)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 19, 2009, http://www.ng.ru/week/2009-10-19/8_photo.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Leaders of ex-Soviet states inspect Central Asian military drills," *RIA Novosti*, October 16, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20091019045100/http://en.rian.ru/exsoviet/20091016/156490733.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹⁷ Evgeniya Loginova and Andrey Anisimov, "На Южном Урале начались учения "Взаимодействие-2010" (The exercise "Interaction-2010" has started in the southern Urals)," *Vesti*, October 18, 2010, <http://www.vesti.ru/doc.html?id=400723>, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Учения "Взаимодействие-2010" на полигоне "Чебаркуль" (The exercise "Interaction-2010" at the "Cherbakul" training range)," *RIA Novosti*, October 29, 2010, <http://ria.ru/photolents/20101029/290515330.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017); "Учение КСОР ОДКБ "Взаимодействие-2010" проходит в Челябинской области (The CSTO CORF exercise "Interaction-2010" is taking place in the Chelyabinsk oblast)," *Belta*, October 26, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20101206084703/http://www.belta.by/ru/all_news/society/Uchenie-KSOR-ODKB-Vzaimodejstvie-2010-proxodit-v-Cheljabinskoy-oblasti_i_529048.html, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹¹⁸ "Начался заключительный этап учений КСОР ОДКБ на полигоне в Армении (The final stage of the CSTO CORF exercise has started at the training range in Armenia)," *RIA Novosti*, September 19, 2012, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20120919/753915252.html, (accessed September 18, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "Генеральная репетиция боя (Dress rehearsal for battle)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 18, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/4735-generalnaya-repetitsiya-boya>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹¹⁹ Oleg Gorupa, "Последнее слово за десантом (The last word for the descent)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 25, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/11725-poslednee-slovo-za-desantom>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Viktor Khudoleev and Oleg Gorupa, "Плечом к плечу (Shoulder to shoulder)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 26, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/11751-plechom-k-plechu>, (accessed September 18, 2017); "Кыргызстан принимает участие в учениях КСОР ОДКБ «Взаимодействие-2013» в Беларуси (Kyrgyzstan is taking part in the CSTO CORF exercise «Interaction-2013» in Belarus)," *Kabar*, September 19, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/law-and-order/full/63109>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), Информация, Все новости (Information, All news), "Коллективные силы оперативного реагирования ОДКБ завершили активную фазу учения «Взаимодействие-2013» в Беларуси разгромом незаконных вооруженных формирований с применением воздушного десанта, авиации и артиллерии (The collective operational reaction forces of the CSTO completed the active phase of the exercise "Interaction-2013" in Belarus with a defeat of an armed group through an air drop, aviation and artillery)," http://www.odkb-csto.org/news/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=2718, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²⁰ "An air-assault company of the Republic of Tajikistan's Ministry of Defense will take part in the CSTO CORF exercise "Interaction-2014")," *Asia-Plus*, August 12, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/desantno-shturmovaya-rotaminoborony-rt-primet-uchastie-v-uchenii-ksor-odkb-vzaimodeistvie-2014>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "«Взаимодействие» на максимуме («Interaction» to the maximum)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 22, 2014, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/18123-vzaimodejstvie-na-maksimume>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "Затишье перед боем (The calm before the battle)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 20, 2014, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/18067-zatishe-pered-boem>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Vladimir Severniy, "Психологическая война бойцов КСОР (The psychological war of the CORF warriors)," *Megapolis*, August 25, 2014, http://www.megapolis.kz/art/Psihologicheskaya_voyna_boytsov_KSOR, (accessed October 1, 2014); "Кыргызстан принял участие в учениях КСОР ОДКБ «Взаимодействие- 2014» в Казахстане (Kyrgyzstan took part in the CSTO CORF exercise «Interaction-2014» in Kazakhstan)," *Kabar*, August 25, 2014, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/society/full/81536>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²¹ «Взаимодействие-2015»: принято решение о совместной операции по локализации конфликта в стране ОДКБ (“Interaction-2015”: an acceptable joint operation solution for a local conflict in a CSTO member state),” *Asia-Plus*, August 27, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/vzaimodeistvie-2015-prinyato-reshenie-o-sovmestnoi-operatsii-po-lokalizatsii-konflikta-v-strane>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Vitaliy Lugovskoy, “Казахстанские военные показали в России защиту от отравления (Kazakhstan’s soldiers demonstrated chemical protection in Russia),” *Inform Buro*, August 25, 2015, <http://informburo.kz/novosti/kazahstanskie-voennye-pokazali-v-rossii-zashchitu-ot-otravleniya-10896.html>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Vladimir Mukhin, “ОДКБ готовится погасить конфликт в Донбассе (The CSTO is preparing to extinguish the conflict in Donbas),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 24, 2015, http://www.ng.ru/armies/2015-08-24/1_odkb.html, (accessed September 18, 2017); “Около 50 военнослужащих КР примут участие в учениях в России (Around 50 soldiers of Kyrgyzstan will take part in the exercises in Russia),” *K News*, August 22, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/society/68085_okolo_50_voennoslujaschih_kr_primut_uchastie_v_ucheniyah_v_rossii/, (accessed September 18, 2017); “В Псковской области началось учение КСОР ОДКБ «Взаимодействие-2015» (The CSTO CORF exercise “Interaction-2015” has started in the Pskov Oblast),” *Kabar*, August 24, 2015, <http://kabar.kg/rus/world-news/full/95666>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²² Igor Zotov, “Единым ударом (A united strike),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 18, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/30106-edinyum-udarom>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Evgeniy Denisenko, “Большие маневры (Large maneuvers),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, August 23, 2016, <http://members.vb.kg/2016/08/23/panorama/5.html>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), Все новости (All news), Учения Коллективных сил ОДКБ (The exercises of the Collective Forces of the CSTO), “В ходе завершающего этапа активной фазы учения Коллективных сил оперативного реагирования “Взаимодействие-2016” в Псковской области был высажен десант, отражено вторжение условного противника и войска союзников перешли в контрнаступление (Allied forces launched a counterattack and conducted a parachute drop during the final active phase of the “Interaction-2016” exercise of the Collective Operational Reaction Force in the Pskov Oblast),” August 19, 2016, http://www.odkb-csto.org/training/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=6928&SECTION_ID=93, (accessed September 18, 2017), Фотогалерея (Photo gallery), Совместное командно-штабное учение с Коллективными силами оперативного реагирования ОДКБ “Взаимодействие - 2016”, Российская Федерация, Псковская область, 16-19.08.2016 (The joint command-staff exercise “Interaction – 2016” of the Collective Operational Reaction Force of the CSTO, Russian Federation, Pskov Oblast, 16-19.08.2016),” August 19, 2016, http://odkb-csto.org/photogallery/?PAGE_NAME=section&SECTION_ID=253, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²³ Mukhin, “ОДКБ готовится к миротворческим миссиям (The CSTO is preparing for peacekeeping missions),”; “Силы ОДКБ проведут учения “Взаимодействие-2017” на полигонах в России и Армении (Forces of the CSTO will carry out the exercise “Cooperation-2017” at bases in Russia and Armenia),” *TASS*, October 7, 2017, <http://tass.ru/armiya-i-opk/4626567>, (accessed January 25, 2018); Vladimir Bogdanov, “Началась заключительная фаза учений ОДКБ “Взаимодействие - 2017” (The final phase of the CSTO exercise “Cooperation – 2017” has started),” *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, October 10, 2017, <https://rg.ru/2017/10/10/nachalas-zakliuchitelnaia-faza-uchenij-odkb-vzaimodejstvie-2017.html>, (accessed January 25, 2018); “Танки, истребители, десант: В Армении завершились учения КСОР ОДКБ «Взаимодействие 2017» (Tanks, fighters, deploying forces: the CSTO CORF exercise “Cooperation 2017” has finished in Armenia),” *News.am*, October 13, 2017, <https://news.am/rus/news/415166.html>, (accessed January 25, 2018).

¹²⁴ “На полигоне «Эдельвейс» стартовало совместное учение «Взаимодействие-2018» (The joint exercise “Cooperation-2018” has started at the Edelweiss training range),” *Kabar*, October 10, 2018,

<http://kabar.kg/news/na-poligone-edel-veis-startovalo-sovmestnoe-uchenie-vzaimodeistvie-2018/>, (accessed April 22, 2019); “«Взаимодействие-2018»: на учении ОДКБ российские вертолеты Ми-8 перебросили десант трех стран в район блокирования «боевиков» (“Cooperation-2018”: Russian Mi-8 helicopters deployed paratroopers from three countries in the area to block the “militants” at the CSTO exercise),” *Panorama.am*, October 13, 2018, <https://www.panorama.am/ru/news/2018/10/13/Взаимодействие-2018-учения-ОДКБ-Армения/2018128>, (accessed April 22, 2019); Eduard Pivovar, “Учение КСОР ОДКБ “Взаимодействие-2018” началось в Кыргызстане (The CORF CSTO exercise “Cooperation-2018” exercise has started in Kyrgyzstan),” *Belta*, October 10, 2018, <https://www.belta.by/society/view/uchenie-ksor-odkb-vzaimodejstvie-2018-nachalos-v-kyrgyzstane-321056-2018/>, (accessed April 22, 2019).

¹²⁵ “Фото: Учения Нацгвардии и Народной милиции Китая (Photo: The exercise of the National Guard and the People’s Police of China),” *Gazeta.uz*, May 7, 2019, <https://www.gazeta.uz/ru/2019/05/07/gvardiya/>, (accessed July 22, 2019); “Как это было. Узбекские и китайские военные провели совместные учения. (How it happened. Uzbek and Chinese soldiers carried out a joint exercise),” *Podrobno*, May 17, 2019, <https://podrobno.uz/cat/uzbekistan-i-kitay-klyuchi-ot-budushchego/kak-eto-bylo-uzbekskie-i-kitayskie-voennye-proveli/>, (accessed July 22, 2019).

¹²⁶ “Учения ОДКБ “Взаимодействие-2019” начались на полигоне Мулино (The CSTO exercise “Cooperation-2019” has started at the Mulino training base),” *TASS*, October 16, 2019, <https://tass.ru/armiya-i-opk/7006055>, (accessed December 19, 2019); “В России спецназ КР успешно уничтожил террористов – учения сил ОДКБ «Взаимодействие-2019» (In Russia special forces of the Kyrgyz Republic successfully eliminated terrorists at the exercise of CSTO forces “Cooperation-2019”),” *Kabar*, October 21, 2019, <http://kabar.kg/news/v-rossii-spetcnaz-kr-uspeshno-unichtozhil-terroristov-ucheniia-sil-odkb-vzaimodeistvie-2019/>, (accessed December 19, 2019).

¹²⁷ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”; U.S. Department of Defense, “Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense, Public Affairs, News Release, Cooperative Nugget 95,” August 10, 1995, <http://archive.defense.gov/Releases/Release.aspx?ReleaseID=583>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Defense Link, “Memorandum for Correspondents,” May 29, 1997, https://web.archive.org/web/20101205062801/https://www.defense.gov/news/May1997/m052997_m088-97.html, (accessed September 18, 2017); US Army Europe News Release, “NATO exercise fosters junior officer teamwork,” March 28, 2000, http://web.archive.org/web/20080131110629/http://www.hqusareur.army.mil/htmlinks/Press_Releases/2K/March/20000328-2.htm, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²⁸ Master Sgt. Stephen Barrett, “Training Helps Cooperative Osprey Troops for Main Exercise,” *Armed Forces Press Service*, August 28, 1996, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141211201511/http://www.defense.gov/News/NewsArticle.aspx?ID=40725>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Defense Link, “Memorandum for Correspondents,” May 22, 1998, https://web.archive.org/web/20101205024623/http://www.defense.gov/news/May1998/m05221998_m083-98.html, (accessed September 18, 2017); North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “International Military Staff, IMS Press Release,” February 27, 2001, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150919191400/http://www.nato.int/ims/2001/i010227e.htm>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹²⁹ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Newsroom, News: Exercise Cooperative Safeguard 2002,” June 24, 2002, http://www.nato.int/cps/en/SID-0C096E4A-76B20995/natolive/news_19341.htm, (accessed September 18, 2017);

¹³⁰ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”; North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “NATO Update, Exercise Cooperative Zenith 2002,” September 11, 2002, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2002/09-september/e0905b.htm>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹³¹ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”

¹³² “Второй этап учения СНГ “Кибер-Антитеррор-2016” начался в Новолукомле (The second phase of the CIS exercise “Cyber-Antiterror-2016” has started in Novolukomle),” *Belta*, June 1, 2016, <http://www.belta.by/tech/view/vtoroj-etap-ucheniya-sng-kiber-antiterror-2016-nachalsja-v-novolukomle-195667-2016/>, (accessed September 18, 2017); ““Кибер-Антитеррор-2016”: масштабные учения СНГ прошли в Новолукомле (“Cyber-Antiterror-2016”: the large-scale CIS exercise took place in Novolukomle),” *Belteleradiokompaniya*, June 1, 2016, <http://www.tvr.by/zona-x/kiber-antiterror-2016-masshtabnye-ucheniya-sng-proshli-v-novolukomle/>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Kseniya Voronina, “Хакеров и террористов обезвредили в ходе учений “Кибер-Антитеррор-2016” (Hackers and terrorists have been neutralized during the “Cyber-Antiterror-2016” exercise),” *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, June 2, 2016, <http://www.kazpravda.kz/news/tehnologii/hakerov-i-terroristov-obezvredili-v-hode-ucheni-kiber-antiterror-2016/>, (accessed September 18, 2017); СпецНаз (SpetsNaz), “Учения “Кибер-Антитеррор-2016” спецслужб СНГ (The exercise “Cyber-Antiterror-2016” of the CIS security services),” in *Vkontakte*, https://vk.com/album-22469243_233957984, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹³³ “Завершились международные антитеррористические учения Dostarym-2017 (The international antiterrorism exercise Dostarym-2017 has finished),” *Tengri News*, November 24, 2017, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/zavershilis-mejdunarodnyie-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya-331822/, (accessed September 23, 2019); “Совместные учения «DOSTARYM-2017» Казахстана и Пакистана прошли в Пабби (The Kazakhstan and Pakistan joint exercise “Dostarym-2017” took place in Pabbi),” *Liter*, November 23, 2017, https://old.liter.kz/mobile/ru/news/show/39766-sovmestnye_ucheniya_dostarym-2017_kazahstana_i_pakistana_proshli_v_pabbi, (accessed September 23, 2019).

¹³⁴ “В Казахстане впервые проходят совместные учения со спецподразделениями Пакистана (A joint exercise with the special forces of Pakistan will take place for the first time in Kazakhstan),” *KazTag*, August 21, 2019, <https://kaztag.kz/ru/news/v-kazahstane-vpervye-prokhodyat-sovmestnye-ucheniya-so-spetspodrazdeleniyami-pakistana>, (accessed November 18, 2019); “2nd Pakistan-Kazakhstan Joint Counter Terrorism Exercise “Dostarym-2019” continues in Oskemen,” *Dispatch News Desk*, August 23, 2019, <https://dnd.com.pk/2nd-pakistan-kazakhstan-joint-counter-terrorism-exercise-dostarym-2019-continues-in-oskemen/170719>, (accessed November 18, 2019).

¹³⁵ “Под Ташкентом начались первые совместные учения военных Индии и Узбекистана (The first joint exercise of forces of India and Uzbekistan has started near Tashkent),” *Fergana Agency*, November 3, 2019, <https://fergana.site/news/112183/>, (accessed December 17, 2020); Huma Siddiqui, “Dustlik: India’s first-ever military drill with Uzbek Army the strongest in the region,” *Financial Express*, November 4, 2019, <https://www.financialexpress.com/defence/dustlik-indias-first-ever-military-drill-with-uzbek-army-the-strongest-in-the-region/1754016/>, (accessed December 17, 2020).

¹³⁶ “Фоторепортаж: В Баткенской области прошли военные учения «Достук-2013» (Photo report: the military exercise «Dostyk-2013» took place in the Batken oblast),” *AKI Turmush*, June 7, 2013, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:42961>, (accessed September 18, 2017); “В Баткенской области проходят кыргызско-российские совместные батальонные тактические учения (A joint Kyrgyz-Russian battalion tactical exercise is taking place in the Batken oblast),” *AKI Turmush*, June 7, 2013, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:42949>, (accessed September 18, 2017); Aleksandr Tuzov, “Как освободили «заложников» в Баткене (How they freed the “hostages” in Batken),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, June 11, 2013, <http://members.vb.kg/2013/06/11/panorama/1.html>, (accessed September 18, 2017); “В ОДКБ операция по уничтожению боевиков была проведена за полчаса (The operation in the CSTO to destroy militants was carried out in half an hour),” *KG Inform*, June 10, 2013, <http://www.kginform.com/ru/news/20130610/17146.html>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

¹³⁷ “В странах СНГ подвели промежуточные итоги учений «Антитеррор-2017» (The summarized results of the exercise “Antiterror-2017” in the countries of the CIS),” *News.am*, May 31, 2017, <https://news.am/rus/news/392915.html>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Vladimir Mukhin, “Содружество создает воздушно-космический зонтик (The Commonwealth is creating an aerospace umbrella),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, May 26, 2017, http://www.ng.ru/politics/2017-05-26/2_6996_zontic.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, ““Спецназ Таджикистана и России освободит от террористов захваченный телецентр в Душанбе (Special forces of Tajikistan and Russia will free the captured television station from the terrorists in Dushanbe),” *Asia-Plus*, May 30, 2017, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20170530/spetsnaz-tadzhikistana-i-rossii-osvobodit-ot-terroristov-zahvachennii-teletsentr-v-dushanbe>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

¹³⁸ “Казахстан участвует в военных учениях в рамках ОДКБ в России (Kazakhstan is participating in the military exercises in Russia within the framework of the CSTO),” *EA Daily*, October 9, 2019, <https://eadaaily.com/ru/news/2019/10/09/kazakhstan-uchastvuet-v-voennyh-ucheniayah-v-ramkah-odkb-v-rossii>, (accessed December 18, 2019); Anastasiya Yeremina, “На военном полигоне в Нижегородской области начались специальные учения «Эшелон-2019» (The special exercise “Echelon-2019” started at a military base in the Nizhny Novgorod Oblast),” *Kommersant*, October 8, 2019, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/4118556>, (accessed December 18, 2019); Timofey Borisov, “Начались крупнейшие учения стран ОДКБ “Эшелон-2019” (“Echelon-2019,” the large-scale exercises of CSTO members have started),” *VPK*, October 9, 2019, https://vpk.name/news/333509_nachalis_krupneishie_ucheniya_stran_odkb_eshelon2019.html, (accessed December 18, 2019).

¹³⁹ Evgeniy Denisenko, “В России начинаются учения ОДКБ “Эшелон-2020” (The CSTO exercise “Echelon-2020” has started in Russia),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, August 17, 2020, https://www.vb.kg/doc/391099_v_rossii_nachinautsia_ucheniia_odkb_eshelon_2020.html, (accessed January 20, 2021); Evgeniy Denisenko, “В России завершилось учение ОДКБ “Эшелон-2020” (The CSTO exercise “Echelon-2020” has finished in Russia),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, August 22, 2020, https://www.vb.kg/doc/391281_v_rossii_zavershilos_uchenie_odkb_eshelon_2020.html, (accessed January 20, 2021).

¹⁴⁰ “Казахстан и Узбекистан провели первый этап совместного тактико-специального учения “Ерик дала” (Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan carried out the first phase of the joint tactical-special exercise “Erik dala”),” *Tengri News*, July 16, 2018, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/kazakhstan-uzbekistan-proveli-pervyyiy-etap-sovmestnogo-349312/, (accessed August 28, 2019); “Военные Узбекистана и Казахстана провели совместные учения (Soldiers of Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan carried out a joint exercise),” *Anhor*, July 18, 2018,

<https://anhor.uz/news/voennie-uzbekistana-i-kazahstana-proveli-sovmestnie-ucheniya>, (accessed August 28, 2019); “На полигоне Фориш прошел завершающий этап узбекско-казахских военных учений (The final phase of the Uzbek-Kazakh military exercise has finished at the Forish training facility),” *Anhor*, July 24, 2018, <https://anhor.uz/news/na-poligone-forish-proshel-zavershayushiy-etap-uzbeksko-kazahskih-voennih-ucheniya>, (accessed August 28, 2019); “Подразделения Сил специальных операций Казахстана и Узбекистана провели второй этап тактико-специального учения «Ерик дала» (Special forces units of Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan carried out the second phase of the tactical-special exercise “Erik dala”),” *Sarbaz*, July 23, 2018, <https://sarbaz.kz/ru/army/podrazdeleniya-sil-spetsialnyh-operatsiy-kazahstana-i-uzbekistana-proveli-vtoroy-etap-taktiko-spetsialnogo-ucheniya-er%D1%96k-dala--182030937/>, (accessed August 28, 2019).

¹⁴¹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre,” http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/topics_117757.htm, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴² North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre, EADRCC Exercises,” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/exercises-e.htm>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴³ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), EADRCC Exercises, Exercise “Dacia 2003,”” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2003/dacia/index.htm>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Nuclear Threat Initiative, “Treaties and Regimes, Regimes, Regional Organization, North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO),” <http://www.nti.org/treaties-and-regimes/north-atlantic-treaty-organization-nato/>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴⁴ Yury Chernogaev, “Учебная катастрофа (A training catastrophe),” *Kommersant*, April 29, 2003, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/379777>, (accessed September 19, 2017); North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), Exercise Ferghana 2003,” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2003/ferghana/index.htm>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴⁵ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), Zhetysu 2009,” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2009/09-zhetysu/090306.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Yelena Ilinskaia, “Международные учения «Жетысу-2009» - основа сотрудничества Казахстана с военными силами НАТО и EADRCC (The international exercise “Zhetisu-2009” – the main area of cooperation of Kazakhstan with the forces of NATO and EADRCC),” *Kazinform*, July 16, 2009, http://www.inform.kz/ru/mezhdunarodnye-ucheniya-zhetysu-2009-osnova-sotrudnichestva-kazahstana-s-voennymi-silami-nato-i-eadrcc_a2186274, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴⁶ North Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), Exercise CODRII 2011,” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2011/08-CODRII-moldova/index.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017); “Belarus partakes in CODRII 2011 exercise in Moldova,” *BELTA*, August 29, 2011, <http://news.belta.by/en/news/society?id=652524>, (accessed February 21, 2013).

¹⁴⁷ Atlantic Treaty Organization, “Euro-Atlantic Disaster Response Coordination Centre (EADRCC), Georgia to host NATO/EAPC disaster response exercise,” <http://www.nato.int/eadrcc/2012/09-georgia/index.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017); “Georgia holds NATO-led consequence management exercise,” *ITAR-TASS*, September 23, 2012, <http://www.itar-tass.com/en/c154/527352.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁴⁸ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”

¹⁴⁹ Aleksandr Tikhonov, "Гром над наркотропой (Thunder over the narcotics routes)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 20, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/4776-grom-nad-narkotropoy>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, "Наркополицейские Таджикистана примут участие в учении «ГРОМ-2012» (The Narcotics police of Tajikistan will take part in the exercise «Grom-2012»)," *Asia-Plus*, September 14, 2012, <http://news.tj/ru/news/narkopolitseiskie-tadzhikistana-primut-uchastie-v-uchenii-grom-2012>, (accessed September 19, 2017); "ОДКБ провела первые совместные учения "Гром-2012" (The CSTO carries out the first joint exercise "Grom-2012")," *Ridus*, September 14, 2012, <http://www.ridus.ru/news/45555/>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁵⁰ Roman Gaynanov, "В Бишкеке подвели итоги I этапа антинаркотических учений «ГРОМ-2013 Алайская гроза» (The first phase of the counternarcotic exercise «Grom-2013, the Alai storm» finished up in Bishkek)," *Kabar*, September 20, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/63150>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Viktoriya Kureneva, "Антинаркотические учения "Гром-2013" получили высокую оценку (Counternarcotic exercise "Grom-2013" received high marks)," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 20, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/244319_antinarkoticheskie_ucheniia_grom_2013_polychili_vysokuyu_ocenku.html, (accessed September 19, 2017); "На авиабазе «Кант» летчики нанесли бомбовые удары по условным вооруженным формированиям (Pilots carried out a bombing mission against a contingent of armed groups at the «Kant» airbase)," *K News*, September 23, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/politics/37151_na_aviabaze_kant_letchiki_nanesli_bombovyye_udary_po_uslovnym_voornuzhennym_formirovaniyam/, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁵¹ Avaz Yuldashev, "В Таджикистане стартуют антинаркотические учения стран ОДКБ «Гром-2015» (The counternarcotic exercise "Grom-2015" of CSTO member states is starting in Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, August 26, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tadzhikistane-startuyut-antinarkoticheskie-ucheniya-stran-odkb-grom-2015>, (accessed September 19, 2017); "Сотрудники ГСКН КР примут участие в антинаркотических учениях «Гром-2015» в Таджикистане (Members of Kyrgyzstan's Federal Drug Control Agency will take part in the counternarcotic exercise "Grom-2015" in Tajikistan)," *Kabar*, August 27, 2015, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/95820>, (accessed September 19, 2017); "В Таджикистане началась активная фаза антинаркотических учений «Гром-2015» (The active phase of the counternarcotic exercise "Grom-2015" has started in Tajikistan)," *Lenta.ru*, August 27, 2015, <http://lenta.ru/news/2015/08/27/fskn/>, (accessed September 19, 2017); "В Таджикистане завершилось антинаркотическое учение «Гром-2015» (The counternarcotic exercise "Grom-2015" has finished in Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, September 5, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tadzhikistane-zavershilos-antinarkoticheskoe-uchenie-grom-2015>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

¹⁵² "Меры по пресечению деятельности транснациональных наркогруппировок отработали страны ОДКБ на учениях в Подмосковье (Member states of the CSTO worked out measures to eliminate the activities of transnational drug traffickers in an exercise outside Moscow)," *KazTag*, September 15, 2017, <https://kaztag.kz/ru/news/mery-po-presecheniyu-deyatelnosti-transnatsionalnykh-narkogruppirovok-otrabotali-strany-odkb-na-uchenyakh-v-podmoskove>, (accessed October 28, 2019); "В Подмосковье прошло международное антинаркотическое учение ОДКБ – «Гром-2017» (An international counternarcotic exercise – "Grom 2017" took place outside Moscow)," *Avesta*, September 15, 2017, <http://avesta.tj/2017/09/15/v-podmoskove-proshlo-mezhdunarodnoe-antinarkoticheskoe-uchenie-odkb-grom-2017>, (accessed October 28, 2019).

¹⁵³ “В Кыргызстане состоялись учения ОДКБ «Гром-2019» (The CSTO exercise “Grom-2019” took place in Kyrgyzstan),” *KyrTag*, August 8, 2019, <https://kyrtag.kg/ru/interview/v-kyrgyzstane-sostoyalis-ucheniya-odkb-grom-2019->, (accessed December 16, 2020).

¹⁵⁴ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”

¹⁵⁵ Asian Disaster Reduction Center (ADRC), “DRR Information of Member Countries, Kazakhstan, Country Report 1999 (English Version), http://www.adrc.asia/countryreport/KAZ/KAZeng99/Kazakhstan99.htm#_Toc494266064, (accessed September 20, 2017); Ministry for emergency situations of the Republic of Kazakhstan, “Information, International Cooperation, International Cooperation, https://web.archive.org/web/20120514102954/http://eng.emer.kz/?option=com_content&view=category&layout=blog&id=2, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁵⁶ United States Coast Guard Auxiliary, “Newsletter, Watercraft and Vessel Safety (WAVES), 2000, Issue 6, <http://bdept.cgaux.org/waves/wave200006.pdf>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁵⁷ “Arizona National Guard State Partnership Program with the Republic of Kazakhstan, http://www.ng.mil/ia_backup/States/states/az_kazakhstan.htm, (accessed February 15, 2013).

¹⁵⁸ “NATO holds seminar at Bishkek,” *Gazeta.kz*, May 28, 2002, <http://engnews.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=298780>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

¹⁵⁹ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”; Partnership for Peace Information Management System, “Uzbekistan PfP Events, International Workshop for Emergency Response 2003 (February, Tashkent), <http://uzpims.sarkor.uz/PfP/Events/lwer2003en/sld012.htm>, (accessed August 1, 2012).

¹⁶⁰ B.F. Griffard, “Enhancing Regional Stability and Security in Central Asia,” *Center for Strategic Leadership, U.S. Army War College*, Volume 10, no. 4 (November 2004), <http://www.hsdl.org/?view&did=452520>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁶¹ Oleg Sidirov, ““Иссык-Куль - Антитеррор 2007” - уравнение с тремя неизвестными (“Issyk-Kul – Antiterror 2007” – an equation with three unknowns),” *Gazeta.kz*, June 5, 2007, <http://articles.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=92028> (part 1), June 8, 2007 <http://articles.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=92200> (part 2), (accessed September 20, 2017); Roger McDermott, “Kyrgyzstan Hosts SCO Anti-terrorist Exercises,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 4, no. 109 (June 5, 2007), <https://jamestown.org/program/kyrgyzstan-hosts-sco-anti-terrorist-exercises/>, (accessed September 20, 2017); “В Киргизии пройдет активная фаза антитеррористических учений ШОС (The active phase of the antiterrorism exercise of the SCO will take place in Kyrgyzstan),” *RIA Novosti*, May 30, 2007, <http://ria.ru/politics/20070530/66302224.html>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁶² Roman Gaynanov, “Посадка захваченного самолета, освобождение заложников – учения «Иссык-Куль-Антитеррор-2018» (The landing of a capture airplace, and the freeing of hostages – the exercise “Issyk-Kul-Antiterror-2018”),” *Kabar*, September 25, 2018, <http://kabar.kg/news/posadka-zakhvachennogo-samoleta-osvobozhdenie-zalozhnikov-ucheniia-issyk-kul-antiterror-2018/>, (accessed October 30, 2018); “Russia's Iskander-M missile systems deployed in Kyrgyzstan for drills,” *Kabar*, September 24, 2018, <http://kabar.kg/eng/news/russias-iskander-m-missile-systems-deployed-in-kyrgyzstan-for-drills/>, (accessed October 30, 2018).

¹⁶³ Avaz Yuldashev, “Таджикские и узбекские пограничники «отразили прорыв бандформирований на границе» (Tajik and Uzbek border guards “repulsed the border incursion of the armed group”),” *Asia-Plus*, August

17, 2018, <https://www.news.tj/ru/node/257990>, (accessed May 29, 2019); “Пограничники Таджикистана и Узбекистана провели первые совместные военные учения (The border guards of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan carried out the first joint military exercise),” *Fergana News*, August 17, 2018, <https://www.fergananews.com/news/32081>, (accessed May 29, 2019).

¹⁶⁴ “На кыргызско-китайской границе прошли учения в рамках ШОС (An exercise within the framework of the SCO took place on the Kyrgyz-Chinese border),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, August 12, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/239277_na_kyrgyzsko_kitayskoj_granice_proshli_ucheniia_v_ramkah_shos.html, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Пограничники Кыргызстана и Китая провели совместные антитеррористические Учения (The border guards of Kyrgyzstan and China carry out a joint antiterrorism exercise),” *Asia-Plus*, August 12, 2013, <http://news.tj/ru/news/pogranichniki-kyrgyzstana-i-kitaya-proveli-sovmestnye-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁶⁵ “Министр обороны РК прибыл с рабочим визитом в Узбекистан (The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan arrived in Uzbekistan for a working visit),” *Zona.kz*, September 13, 2019, <https://www.zakon.kz/4985769-ministr-oborony-rk-pribyl-s-rabochim.html>, (accessed November 19, 2019).

¹⁶⁶ “Кыргызстанские военные в Индии учатся противостоять террористам (Kyrgyzstan’s soldiers in India learn how to counter terrorists),” *K News*, December 2, 2011, http://www.knews.kg/society/7089_kyrgyzstanskije_voennye_v_indii_uchatsya_protivostoyat_terroristam/, (accessed September 20, 2017); Kanatbek Abdyrakhman uulu, “Повышение квалификации кыргызского спецназа (Increasing the qualifications of Kyrgyz special forces),” *Kabar*, December 8, 2011, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/law-and-order/full/23469>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁶⁷ Madina Sheraliyeva, “Бойцы специального назначения Кыргызстана и Индии начинают совместные военные учения (Special forces soldiers of Kyrgyzstan and India have started a joint military exercise),” *K News*, March 11, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/society/61340_bojtsy_spetsialnogo_naznacheniya_kyrgyzstana_i_indii_nachinayut_sovmestnye_voennye_ucheniya/, (accessed September 20, 2017); Aida Jumasheva, “Кыргызстанский спецназ поделился опытом с индийскими коллегами (Kyrgyzstan’s special forces shared experiences with Indian colleagues),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, March 18, 2015, http://www.vb.kg/doc/306760_kyrgyzstanskiy_specnaz_podelilsia_opytom_s_indiyskimi_kollegami.html, (accessed September 20, 2017); “В ущелье «Шамси» в ходе учений кыргызский и индийский спецназы обезвредили «террористов» и освободили «заложников» (Kyrgyz and Indian special forces neutralized “terrorists” and freed “hostages” during the exercise in the Shamsi Gorge),” *AKI Press*, March 24, 2015, <http://kg.akipress.org/news:612631/>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁶⁸ “Indian Army showcases strength in numbers in war games with Kazakhstan and Mongolia,” *DNA India*, September 12, 2018, <https://www.dnaindia.com/india/photo-gallery-indian-army-showcases-strength-in-numbers-in-war-games-with-kazakhstan-and-mongolia-2662285>, (accessed July 25, 2019); “Kazakhstan to host KAZIND 2018 joint tactical exercise,” *KZ Inform*, September 6, 2018, https://www.inform.kz/en/kazakhstan-to-host-kazind-2018-joint-tactical-exercise_a3381641, (accessed July 25, 2019); Col. Aman Anand, “Closing ceremony: Indo-kazakhstan Joint exercise kazind 2018,” *Press Information Bureau* (Government of India, Ministry of Defence), September 22, 2018, <http://pib.nic.in/newsite/PrintRelease.aspx?relid=183630>, (accessed July 25, 2019).

¹⁶⁹ Nadezhda Plyaskina, “В горах и в джунглях (In the mountains and in the jungles),” *Vremya*, October 15, 2019, <https://time.kz/articles/reporter/2019/10/15/v-gorah-i-v-dzhunglyah>, (accessed December 17, 2020); “12-day India-Kazakhstan joint military exercise begins,” *Economic Times*, October 3, 2019, <https://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/12-day-india-kazakhstan-joint-military-exercise-begins/articleshow/71425640.cms?from=mdr>, (accessed December 17, 2020).

¹⁷⁰ B. Khuder, ““Khaan Quest” int’l military exercises to widen,” *Montsame*, April 22, 2014, <http://www.montsame.gov.mn/en/index.php/politics/item/5897-khaan-quest-int-l-military-exercises-to-widen>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Sgt. Balinda O’Neal, “Exercise Khaan Quest 2014 begins in Mongolia,” *U.S. Army.mil*, June 24, 2014, https://www.army.mil/article/128766/Exercise_Khaan_Quest_2014_begins_in_Mongolia/, (accessed September 20, 2017); Khaan Quest 2014, *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Khaan_Quest_2014, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Khaan Quest 2014 Field Training Exercise,” *National Guard Alaska, You Tube*, Uploaded on July 11, 2014, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kqe0dpO9ic8>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁷¹ ЗЭВСЭГТ ХҮЧНИЙ СОЁМБО СОНИН (The Armed Forces of Soyombo Newsletter), “The Peace Messenger, Final discussion about the up-coming Khan Quest,” March 25, 2015, http://www.soyombo.mod.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=2184:final-discussion-about-the-up-coming-khan-quest&catid=35:the-peace-messenger&Itemid=54, (accessed September 20, 2017); “China participates in Mongolian peacekeeping military exercise,” *Xinhua*, June 20, 2015, http://news.xinhuanet.com/english/2015-06/20/c_134343515.htm, (accessed September 20, 2017); Defense Video and Imagery Distribution System, “Exercise Khaan Quest,” <https://www.dvidshub.net/feature/KhaanQuest#.V1GCfuTlhlQ>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁷² Khaliun Chimeddorj, “Khaan Quest military exercise commences,” *UB Post*, May 23, 2016, <http://theubpost.mn/2016/05/23/khaan-quest-military-exercise-commences/>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Cpl. Janessa Pon, “Multinational Peacekeeping Exercise Khaan Quest 2016 commences with opening ceremony,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, May 22, 2016, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/198719/multinational-peacekeeping-exercise-khaan-quest-2016-commences-with-opening-ceremony>, (accessed September 20, 2017); B. Khuder, “President addresses opening of “Khaan Quest 2016” int’l exercises,” *Montsame*, May 23, 2016, <https://web.archive.org/web/20161126212827/http://en.montsame.mn/politics/president-addresses-opening-%E2%80%9Ckhaan-quest-2016%E2%80%9D-int%E2%80%99l-exercises>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Khaan Quest 2016, *Wikimedia Commons*, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/Category:Khaan_Quest_2016, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Mongolian Armed Forces given UAV training by U.S. military,” *Alert 5 (blog)*, entry posted May 28, 2016, <http://alert5.com/2016/05/28/mongolian-armed-forces-given-uav-training-by-u-s-military/>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁷³ “CSTO exercise Cobalt 2010 begins in Rostov Oblast,” *Belarusian Telegraph Agency*, June 7, 2010, <http://news.belta.by/en/news/politics?id=541754>, (accessed September 14, 2011).

¹⁷⁴ Evgeniy Denisenko, “Представители МВД Кыргызстана участвуют в учении ОДКБ "Кобальт-2013" (Members of the MVD of Kyrgyzstan are taking part in the CSTO exercise “Cobalt-2013”),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, July 5, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/234963_predstaviteli_mvd_kyrgyzstana_uchastvyut_v_uchenii_odkb_kobalt_2013.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Более 500 спецназовцев стран ОДКБ приняли участие в активной стадии

учений в Ростовской области (More than 500 special forces soldiers of the CSTO member states took part in the active stage of the exercise in the Rostov Oblast),” *Interfax.by*, July 11, 2013, <http://www.interfax.by/news/belarus/1133529>, (accessed September 15, 2017); Askat Turusbekov, “Органы внутренних дел стран ОДКБ проведут тактико-специальное учение «Кобальт-2013» в России (Interior Ministry agencies of the CSTO member states will carry out a special-tactical exercise “Cobalt-2013” in Russia),” *B News*, July 1, 2013, http://bnews.kz/ru/news/politika/vneshnyaya_politika/organi_vnutrennih_del_stran_odkb_provedut_taktikospet_sialnoe_uchenie_kobalt2013_v_rossii-2013_07_01-1042043, (accessed September 15, 2017); Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), “Фотогалерея (Photogallery), Тактико-специальное учение “Кобальт - 2013” Формирований сил специального назначения КСОП ОДКБ, Российская Федерация, Ростовская область, 4 - 12 июля 2013 г. (The special-tactical exercise “Cobalt – 2013” of special forces units of the CSTO’s CORF, Russian Federation, Rostov Oblast, 4 – 12 July 2013),” July 11, 2013, http://odkb-csto.org/photogallery/?PAGE_NAME=section&SECTION_ID=179, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁷⁵ “В Армении завершилась активная фаза учения ОДКБ “Кобальт-2016” (The active phase of the CSTO exercise “Cobalt-2016” has finished in Armenia),” *Kazakhstan Today*, May 26, 2016, https://www.kt.kz/rus/politics/v_armenii_zavershilasj_aktivnaja_faza_ucheniya_odkb_kobaljt2016_1153621685.html, (accessed September 15, 2017); “В Армении проходят учения ОДКБ «Кобальт-2016» (The CSTO exercise “Cobalt-2016” is taking place in Armenia),” *News.am*, May 24, 2016, <https://news.am/rus/news/328729.html>, (accessed September 15, 2017); “Учения ОДКБ “Кобальт-2016” (The CSTO exercise “Cobalt-2016”),” *Lilit Madunts*, Uploaded on May 30, 2016, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=F1k1g_gr8Jo, (accessed September 15, 2017); Armenian Military Portal, “Учения формирования сил спецназначения КСОП ОДКБ «Кобальт-2016» (The special forces units of the CSTO’s CORF at the exercise “Cobalt-2016”),” in *VKontakte*, https://vk.com/album-35803598_232172041, (accessed September 15, 2017).

¹⁷⁶ “В Казахстане прошла активная фаза учения коллективных сил ОДКБ (The active phase of the CSTO collective force exercise took place in Kazakhstan),” *Kazinform*, May 23, 2018, http://lenta.inform.kz/kz/v-kazahstane-proshla-aktivnaya-faza-ucheniya-kollektivnyh-sil-odkb_a3261328, (accessed September 18, 2019); Grigoriy Bedenko, “Как проходили учения ОДКБ “Кобальт-2018” в Алматинской области. (How the CSTO exercise “Kobalt-2018” took place in Almaty),” *Inform Buro*, May 23, 2018, <https://informburo.kz/stati/kak-prohodili-ucheniya-odkb-kobalt-2018-v-almatinskoj-oblasti-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed September 18, 2019).

¹⁷⁷ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”

¹⁷⁸ Nadezhda Plyaskina, “Охота на лис: берегись, террорист! (Fox hunt: watch out, terrorist!),” *Vremya*, November 9, 2015, <http://www.time.kz/articles/territory/2015/11/09/ohota-na-lis-beregis-terrorist>, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Военные РК и КНР проводят “Охоту на лис-2015” (Soldiers of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the People’s Republic of China are carrying out “Fox hunt-2015”),” *Tengri News*, November 5, 2015, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/voennyye-rk-i-kr-provodyat-ohotu-na-lis-2015-283614/, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Военнослужащие Казахстана и Китая выполнили совместную спецоперацию (Soldiers of Kazakhstan and China carried out a joint special operation),” *Kapital*, November 9, 2015, <https://kapital.kz/gosudarstvo/45295/voennosluzhacshie-kazahstana-i-kitaya-vypolnili-sovmestnuyu-specoperaciyu.html>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁷⁹ “Спецназ армий Казахстана и Китая проводят совместные учения “Охота на лис-2019” (The army special forces of Kazakhstan and China will carry out the joint exercise “Fox hunt – 2019”),” *Ekspress K*, October 14, 2019, https://express-k.kz/news/sotsium_lenta/spetsnaz_armiy_kazahstana_i_kitaya_provodyat_sovmestnye_ucheniya_okhota_na_lis_2019-148743, (accessed November 20, 2019); “Казахстан и Китай начали «Охоту на лис» (Kazakhstan and China started “Fox hunt”),” *EA Daily*, October 15, 2019, <https://eadaily.com/ru/news/2019/10/15/kazahstan-i-kitay-nachali-ohotu-na-lis>, (accessed November 20, 2019).

¹⁸⁰ Tom Parfitt, “Russia and China rattle sabres with joint war games,” *The Guardian*, August 19, 2005, <http://www.guardian.co.uk/world/2005/aug/19/russia.china>, (accessed September 20, 2017); HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”; “Russia’s Strategic Bombers to Carry Non-Nuclear Cruise Missiles in Joint Exercise with China,” *RIA Novosti*, August 23, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20060531160434/http://en.rian.ru/russia/20050823/41212931.html>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁸¹ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”; Yan Wei, “Partnership in Security,” *Beijing Review*, August 9, 2007.

¹⁸² “Russia, China Hold Peace Mission 2009 Joint Exercise,” *RIA Novosti*, July 24, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20121108164246/http://en.rian.ru/photolents/20090724/155604547.html>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Li Xiaokun and Peng Kuang, “Mission for Peace Targets Terrorists,” *China Daily*, July 23, 2009, http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2009-07/23/content_8461128.htm, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Some 3,000 troops deployed for Russian-Chinese anti-terror drills,” *RIA Novosti*, July 14, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20090723100309/http://en.rian.ru/world/20090714/155524827.html>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁸³ Ding Ying, “Practicing for Peace,” *Beijing Review*, September 23, 2010; “Peace Mission 2010 concludes, opens new page for SCO cooperation,” *Xinhua*, September 25, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20170503135038/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/world/2010-09/25/c_13529321.htm, (accessed September 20, 2017); “SCO to begin large-scale anti-terror drills in Kazakhstan,” *Kazinform*, September 9, 2010, <http://www.inform.kz/eng/article/2301848>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁸⁴ ““Мирная миссия” укрепила взаимодействие стран ШОС, считает Минобороны (The Ministry of Defense believes that “Peace Mission” strengthened cooperation of SCO states),” *RIA Novosti*, June 14, 2012, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20120614/672977763.html, (accessed September 20, 2017); Aleksandr Tikhonov, “Их подружил Чорух-Дайрон (Chorukh-Dayron has befriended them),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, June 14, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/2800-ih-podruzhil-choruh-dayron>, (accessed September 20, 2017); “Булгаков: «Мирная миссия-2012» укрепила взаимодействие ШОС в борьбе с терроризмом (Bulgakov: «Peace Mission-2012» strengthened SCO cooperation in the fight with terrorism),” *Asia-Plus*, June 14, 2012, <http://news.tj/ru/news/bulgakov-mirnaya-missiya-2012-ukrepila-vzaimodeistvie-shos-v-borbe-s-terrorizmom>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁸⁵ Avaz Yuldashev, “Свыше 250 солдат и офицеров таджикской армии отбыли в Китай на «Мирную миссию-2014» (More than 250 officers and soldiers of the Tajik Army have departed to China for «Peace Mission-2014»),” *Asia-Plus*, August 11, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/svyshe-250-soldat-i-ofitserov-tadzhikskoi-armii-otbyli-v-kitai-na-mirnuyu-missiyu-2014>, (accessed September 20, 2017); “С “Мирной миссией” в Китай (With the “Peace

mission" in China)," *Tengri News*, August 12, 2014, <http://tengrinews.kz/fotoarchive/623/>, (accessed September 20, 2017); "В Китае завершились учения стран ШОС «Мирная миссия-2014» (The exercise «Peace Mission-2014» of SCO states has finished in China)," *Fergana News*, September 2, 2014, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/22591>, (accessed September 20, 2017); "Кыргызстан примет участие в военных учениях ШОС – «Мирная миссия-2014» (Kyrgyzstan will take part in the SCO military exercise - «Peace Mission-2014»)," *KTRK*, August 7, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140808171427/http://ktrk.kg/ru/content/kyrgyzstan-primet-uchastie-v-voennyh-ucheniayah-shos-mirnaya-missiya-2014>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Aleksandr Pasmurtsev, "Успех «Мирной миссии» (The success of «Peace Mission»)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 29, 2014, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/18278-uspekh-mirnoj-missii>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

¹⁸⁶ "Казахстанские военные прибыли в Кыргызстан на учения ШОС "Мирная миссия-2016" (Kazakhstan's soldiers arrived in Kyrgyzstan for the SCO exercise "Peace Mission-2016")," *Sarbaz*, September 14, 2016, <https://sarbaz.kz/ru/army/kazahstanskie-voennye-pribyli-v-kyrgyzstan-na-ucheniya-shos-mirnaya-missiya-2016-162571531/>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "Таджикские военные примут участие в антитеррористической операции ШОС «Мирная миссия-2016» (Tajik soldiers will take part in the SCO counterterrorism exercise "Peace Mission-2016")," *Asia-Plus*, September 14, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20160914/230843>, (accessed September 21, 2017); Aida Zhumasheva, "В Кыргызстане завершились учения "Мирная миссия" (The exercise "Peace Mission" has finished in Kyrgyzstan)," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 21, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/347419_v_kyrgyzstane_zavershilis_ucheniia_mirnaia_missiia.html, (accessed September 21, 2017); Viktor Khudoleev, "Дебют «Эдельвейса» (The debut of "Edelweiss")," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 20, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/kyrgyzstanarmy/item/30494-debyut-edelvejsa>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "Международные учения "Мирная миссия-2016" в Киргизии (The international exercise "Peace Mission-2016" in Kyrgyzstan)," *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, September 20, 2016, <https://rg.ru/2016/09/20/ucheniya-video.html>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "Для участия в учениях ШОС в Кыргызстан прибыла китайская бронетехника (Chinese armored vehicles arrived in Kyrgyzstan to participate in the SCO exercise)," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 13, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/346847_dlia_uchastiia_v_ucheniiah_shos_v_kyrgyzstan_pribyla_kitayskaia_bronetehnika.html, (accessed September 21, 2017); Viktor Murzov, "На учениях "Мирная миссия-2016" летчики отработали маршруты полетов (Pilots worked out flight routes at the "Peace Mission-2016" exercise)," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 16, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/347096_na_ucheniiah_mirnaia_missiia_2016_letchiki_otrabotali_marshryty_poletov.html, (accessed September 21, 2017).

¹⁸⁷ Avaz Yuldashev, "В «Мирной миссии-2018» Таджикистан будет использовать бронетехнику России (Tajikistan will use Russian equipment in "Peace Mission-2018")," *Asia-Plus*, August 23, 2018, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180823/v-mirnoi-missii-2018-tadzhikistan-budet-ispolzovat-bronetehniku-rossii>, (accessed August 20, 2019); Olzhas Ramazanov, "Борьбу с "джихад-мобилями" продемонстрировали на учениях ШОС (The fight with "jihad mobiles" was demonstrated at the SCO exercise)," *Inform-Buro*, August 30, 2018, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/borbu-s-dzhihad-mobilyami-prodemonstirovali-na-ucheniayah-shos.html>, (accessed August 20, 2019); "На Урале начинаются международные учения стран ШОС "Мирная миссия – 2018" (The international exercise of SCO members "Peace Mission – 2018" is starting in the Urals)," *VPK*, August 22, 2018, https://vpk.name/news/225375_na_urale_nachinayutsya_mezhdunarodnyie_ucheniya_stran_shos_mirnaya_missiya__2018.html, (accessed August 20, 2019); Dinakar Peri, "Joint military exercise ends in Russia," *The Hindu*,

August 29, 2018, <https://www.thehindu.com/news/international/joint-military-exercise-ends-in-russia/article24812928.ece>, (accessed August 20, 2019).

¹⁸⁸ “Командующий войсками ЦВО прибыл в Таджикистан (The Commander of the forces of the Central Military District arrived in Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, April 20, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/komanduyushchii-voiskami-tsvo-pribyl-v-tadzhikistan>, (accessed September 26, 2017); Mariya Tomilenko, “Начался «Поиск-2016» (“Search-2016” has begun),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 19, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/syria/item/28592-nachalsya-poisk-2016>, (accessed September 26, 2017); Igor Demenkov, “И нет задач невыполнимых (There no impossible tasks),” *Vo Slavu Rodiny*, April 27, 2016, <http://vsr.mil.by/2016/04/27/i-net-zadach-nevypolnimyx/>, (accessed September 26, 2017); “В Таджикистане завершились совместные учения разведподразделений Вооруженных Сил стран-участниц ОДКБ «Поиск-2016» (The joint reconnaissance exercise of the Armed Forces of member states of the CSTO, “Search-2016,” has finished in Tajikistan),” *Sarbaz*, April 25, 2016, <https://sarbaz.kz/ru/army/v-tadzhikistane-zavershilis-sovmestnye-ucheniya-razvedyvatelnykh-podrazdeleniy-voorugennykh-sil-stran-uchastnits-odkb-poisk-2016-foto-161152031/>, (accessed September 26, 2017); Mariya Tomilenko, ““В горных хребтах Ромита (In the mountain ridges of Romit),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 24, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/28654-v-gornyx-khrebtakh-romita>, (accessed September 26, 2017).

¹⁸⁹ “В Армении начался второй этап учения разведывательных подразделений ВС стран ОДКБ “Поиск-2017” (The second phase of the exercise of reconnaissance units of the armed forces of CSTO member states has started in Armenia),” *Novosti-Armenia*, October 6, 2017, <http://newsarmenia.am/news/politics/v-armenii-nachalsya-vtoroy-etap-ucheniya-razvedyvatelnykh-podrazdeleniy-vs-stran-odkb-poisk-2017/>, (accessed January 24, 2018); “На учения ОДКБ «Поиск-2017» из Таджикистана прибыли 20 военнослужащих (20 service members of Tajikistan have arrived at the CSTO exercise “Search-2017”),” *Avesta*, October 3, 2017, <http://avesta.tj/2017/10/03/na-ucheniya-odkb-poisk-2017-iz-tadzhikistana-pribyli-20-voennosluzhashhih/>, (accessed January 24, 2018); Vladimir Mukhin, “ОДКБ готовится к миротворческим миссиям (The CSTO is preparing for peacekeeping missions),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 3, 2017, http://www.ng.ru/politics/2017-10-03/2_7087_odkb.html, (accessed January 24, 2018).

¹⁹⁰ Grigoriy Bedenko, “Учения “Поиск-2018”: как работают боевые пловцы. Фоторепортаж (The exercise “Poisk-2018”: How combat swimmers worked out. Photo report),” *Inform Buro*, October 9, 2018, <https://inforburo.kz/stati/ucheniya-poisk-2018-kak-rabotayut-boevye-plovtsy-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed April 18, 2019); Galina Skripnik, “Учения «Поиск-2018» в рамках ОДКБ проходят в Жамбылской области (The exercise “Poisk-2018” is taking place in the Zhambyl Oblast in the framework of the CSTO),” *Kazinform*, October 3, 2018, https://www.inform.kz/ru/ucheniya-poisk-2018-v-ramkah-odkb-prohodyat-v-zhambylskoj-oblasti_a3409347, (accessed April 18, 2019); Tahmina Okhonvaliyeva, “В Казахстане разведывательные службы ОДКБ проводят учения «Поиск-2018» (The intelligence services of the CSTO are carrying out the exercise “Poisk-2018” in Kazakhstan),” *Asia-Plus*, October 2, 2018, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20181002/v-kazahstane-razvedivatelnie-sluzhbi-odkb-provodyat-ucheniya-poisk-2018>, (accessed April 18, 2019).

¹⁹¹ “Военные Кыргызстана приняли участие в учениях ОДКБ «Поиск-2019» в Беларуси (Soldiers of Kyrgyzstan took part in the CSTO exercise “Poisk-2019” in Belarus),” *Kabar*, October 19, 2019, <http://kabar.kg/news/voennye-kyrgyzstana-priniali-uchastie-v-ucheniakh-odkb-poisk-2019-v-belarusi/>, (accessed December 19, 2019); “В Белоруссии стартовали учения разведчиков стран ОДКБ “Поиск-2019” (The CSTO exercise of reconnaissance units, “Poisk-2019,” has started in Belarus),” *RIA Novosit*, October 14, 2019, <https://ria.ru/20191014/1559764300.html>, (accessed December 19, 2019).

¹⁹² Shweta Sehgal, "India Kazakhstan holds Joint Military Exercise Prabal Dostyk – 16," *India Strategic*, September 14, 2016, http://www.indiastrategic.in/India_Kazakhstan_holds_Joint_Military_Exercise_Prabal_Dostyk_16.htm, (accessed July 25, 2019).

¹⁹³ "India, Kazakhstan armies' joint exercise from Nov 2 in HP," *The Times of India*, October 31, 2017, <https://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/india-kazakhstan-armies-joint-exercise-from-nov-2-in-hp/articleshow/61359679.cms>, (accessed July 25, 2019); "Indian, Kazakhstan armies end joint military exercise Prabal Dostyk in Himachal Pradesh," *Financial Express*, November 14, 2017, <https://www.financialexpress.com/india-news/indian-kazakhstan-armies-end-joint-military-exercise-prabal-dostyk-in-himachal-pradesh/932849/>, (accessed July 25, 2019).

¹⁹⁴ McCarthy, "*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,"

¹⁹⁵ Ibid.

¹⁹⁶ Ibid.

¹⁹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁹⁸ "Central Asian anti-terror military exercise involving United States ends," *India Defense*, July 26, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20080306063828/http://www.india-defence.com/reports-2256>, (accessed September 21, 2017); Ancient and Honorable Artillery Company of Massachusetts, "News/Events, News Archives, 2005-2006, Regional Cooperation 2006 – Task Force Patriot," <https://web.archive.org/web/20151218091948/http://www.ahac.us.com/newsarchives/MinutemanWinter07Pg13-15.pdf>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "В Кыргызстане начались десятидневные учения «Региональное сотрудничество-2006» (The nine day exercise «Regional Cooperation-2006» has started in Kyrgyzstan)," *Asia-Plus*, July 18, 2006, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-kyrgyzstane-nachalis-desyatidnevnye-ucheniya-regionalnoe-sotrudnichestvo-2006>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "Учения «Региональное сотрудничество-2006» начались в Кыргызстане (The exercise "Regional Cooperation-2006" has started in Kyrgyzstan)," <https://24.kg/archive/ru/community/4298-2006/07/17/4602.html/>, (accessed September 21, 2017).

¹⁹⁹ Norwich University, "News and Events, 2007 News Archive, A Central-Asian education in diplomacy," November 2, 2007, <http://www.norwich.edu/about/news/2007/110207-kazakhstan.html>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "Таджикистан принимает участие в международных учениях «Региональное сотрудничество-2007» в Астане (Tajikistan is taking part in the international exercise «Regional Cooperation-2007» in Astana)," *Asia-Plus*, June 7, 2007, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tadzhikistan-prinimaet-uchastie-v-mezhdunarodnykh-uchenyakh-regionalnoe-sotrudnichestvo-2007-v>, (accessed September 21, 2017).

²⁰⁰ "На территории Кыргызстана пройдет многонациональное командно-штабное учение «Региональное сотрудничество-2008» (The multinational command-staff exercise «Regional Cooperation-2008» will take place on the territory of Kyrgyzstan)," *PR.kg*, July 19, 2008, <http://www.pr.kg/news/kg/2008/07/19/6115/>, (accessed September 21, 2017); "«Региональное сотрудничество-2008» в Кыргызстане («Regional Cooperation-2008» in Kyrgyzstan)," *Top TJ*, July 19, 2008, http://www.toptj.com/News/2008/07/19/regional_noe_sotrudnichestvo_2008_v_kyrgyzstane, (accessed September 21, 2017); "На территории Кыргызстана пройдут учения "Региональное сотрудничество-2008" (The exercise "Regional Cooperation-2008" will take place on the territory of Kyrgyzstan)," *Trend*, July 19, 2008, <http://www.trend.az/regions/casia/kyrgyzstan/1251276.html>, (accessed September 21, 2017).

²⁰¹ “Многонациональные виртуальные учения «Региональное сотрудничество-2009» стартовали в Душанбе (The multinational virtual exercise «Regional Cooperation-2009» started in Dushanbe),” *Asia-Plus*, August 6, 2009, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mnogonatsionalnye-virtualnye-ucheniya-regionalnoe-sotrudnichestvo-2009-startovali-v-dushanbe>, (accessed September 21, 2017).

²⁰² Maj. Ghazanfar Iqbal, “U.S., allies train for disasters,” United States Central Command, News, August 24, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120926005100/http://www.centcom.mil/news/u-s-allies-train-for-disasters>, (accessed September 21, 2017).

²⁰³ Avaz Yuldashev, “В Военном институте Минобороны Таджикистана проходят учения «Региональное сотрудничество-2011» (The exercise «Regional Cooperation-2011» is taking place in the Ministry of Defense’s military institute of Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, September 23, 2011, <http://www.news.tj/ru/news/v-voennom-institute-minoborony-tadzhikistana-prokhodyat-ucheniya-regionalnoe-sotrudnichestvo-20>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁰⁴ “В Кыргызстане проходят учения «Региональное сотрудничество-2012» (The exercise «Regional Cooperation-2012» is taking place in Kyrgyzstan),” *Top TJ*, June 26, 2012, http://www.toptj.com/News/2012/06/26/v_kyrgyzstane_prokhodyat_ucheniya_regional_noe_sotrudnichestvo_2012, (accessed September 22, 2017); “В Кыргызстане завершаются учения «Региональное сотрудничество – 2012» (The exercise «Regional Cooperation – 2012» is finishing up in Kyrgyzstan),” *Fergana News*, June 27, 2012, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=18948>, (accessed September 22, 2017); “В Кыргызстане проходят многонациональные учения «Региональное сотрудничество -2012» (The multinational exercise «Regional Cooperation - 2012» is taking place in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, June 22, 2012, <http://kabar.kg/society/full/35661>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁰⁵ Altynay Zhumzhumina, “В пяти совместных с США военных учениях поучаствовал за год Казахстан (Kazakhstan has participated in five joint military exercises with the USA in a year),” *Tengri News*, December 13, 2013, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/v-pyati-sovmestnyih-s-ssha-voennyih-uchenyah-pouchastvoval-za-god-kazakhstan-247234/#, (accessed September 22, 2017); “Fighting Terror with Information,” *Unipath*, <http://unipath-magazine.com/fighting-terror-with-information/>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁰⁶ “Exercise Regional Cooperation 2014,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, October 10, 2014, <https://www.dvidshub.net/image/1610861/exercise-regional-cooperation-2014#.VT5Q2pPQXbA>, (accessed September 22, 2017); “Regional Cooperation 2014: Media Visit at Camp Edwards: September 19, 2014,” *Massachusetts National Guard, Facebook page*, September 19, 2014, <https://m.facebook.com/notes/massachusetts-national-guard-the-nations-first/regional-cooperation-2014-media-visit-at-camp-edwards-september-19-2014/10152721329159375/>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁰⁷ Mehrangez Tursunzoda, “Американский генерал: Учения "Региональное сотрудничество" не имеют ничего общего со спецоперацией (American general: the exercise “Regional Cooperation” does not have any connection with the special operation),” *Asia-Plus*, September 22, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/amerikanskii-general-ucheniya-regionalnoe-sotrudnichestvo-ne-imeyut-nichego-obshchego-so-spetso>, (accessed September 22, 2017); Peacekeeping and Stability Operations Institute, “PKSOI Support to USCENTCOM Exercise Regional Cooperation 2015 (RC-15),” *Peace and Stability Journal*, Volume 6, Issue 1 (November 2015): 9. https://web.archive.org/web/20161228010424/http://pksoi.army.mil/default/assets/File/Peace_Stability_Journal_Volume6_Issue1_reduced.pdf, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²⁰⁸ “Regional Cooperation 2016,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System (DVIDS)*, <https://www.dvidshub.net/feature/RC16>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Justin Saunders, “Joint Base Cape Cod Hosting Regional Cooperation 2016,” *Capecod.com*, September 24, 2016, <https://www.capecod.com/newscenter/joint-base-cape-cod-hosting-regional-cooperation-2016/>, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁰⁹ Avaz Yuldashev, ““Без стрельб и бронетехники: США и пять стран Азии проведут учения в Таджикистане (Without shooting and armored vehicles: the USA and five Asian countries will carry out an exercise in Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, July 10, 2017, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20170710/pyat-stran-azii-i-ssha-sobralis-na-ucheniya-v-tadzhikistane>, (accessed September 28, 2017); “Exercise Regional Cooperation 2017,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System (DVIDS)*, <https://www.dvidshub.net/feature/ExerciseRegionalCooperation2017>, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²¹⁰ Avaz Yuldashev, “Таджикские десантники примут участие в военных учениях в США (Tajik paratroopers will participate in a military exercise in the USA),” *Asia-Plus*, September 11, 2018, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180911/tadzhikskie-desantniki-primut-uchastie-v-voennih-ucheniya-v-ssha>, (accessed October 29, 2018); “В США начались маневры с участием военных из Центральной Азии (The maneuvers with participants of soldiers from Central Asia have started in the US),” *Fergana News*, September 11, 2018, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/32619>, (accessed October 29, 2018).

²¹¹ Semen Yugra, “Турецкий гамбит (The Turkish Gambit),” *Megapolis*, October 27, 2014, https://web.archive.org/web/20141202161047/http://www.megapolis.kz/art/Turetskiy_gambit-2014_10_26, (accessed September 22, 2017); “Казахстанские офицеры миротворческой бригады «Казбриг» участвуют в учениях НАТО в Стамбуле (Kazakhstan’s officers from the peacekeeping brigade «Kazbrig» are participating in a NATO exercise in Instabul),” *Regnum*, October 21, 2014, <http://www.regnum.ru/news/polit/1858872.html>, (accessed September 22, 2017); “Kazbrig peacekeepers partake in NATO’s REGEX 14 exercise,” *Turkish Weekly*, October 21, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20141204063602/http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/173983/kazbrig-peacekeepers-partake-in-nato-s-regex-14-exercise.html>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²¹² Erin Zagursky, “USAFE Airmen kick off RESCUER/MEDCUER 2005,” 435th Air Base Wing Public Affairs, September 12, 2005, <http://www.usafe.af.mil/news/story.asp?id=123017452>, (accessed July 26, 2011); Erin Zagursky, “Services Airmen provide shelter, food to RESCUER/MEDCEUR participants,” 435th Air Base Wing Public Affairs, September 12, 2005, <http://www.usafe.af.mil/news/story.asp?id=123017453>, (accessed July 26, 2011).

²¹³ “CSTO Countries Launch Joint Exercise in Kirgызstan, Kazakhstan,” *RIA Novosti*, August 2, 2004, <http://en.rian.ru/onlinenews/20040802/39766428.html>, (accessed September 22, 2017); Erica Marat, “CSTO’s Antiterrorist Exercises “Rubezh-2004” Score High Rating Among Member-States,” *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst*, August 25, 2004, <http://www.cacianalyst.org/resources/pdf/issues/20040825Analyst.pdf>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²¹⁴ Roger McDermott, “Russia Plays Peace Advocate in Kyrgyz “Regime Change,” *Eurasia Daily Monitor* 2, no. 67 (April 5, 2005), <https://jamestown.org/program/russia-plays-peace-advocate-in-kyrgyz-regime-change/>, (accessed September 22, 2017); “Counter-Terrorist Exercise “Rubezh-2005” to End in Tajikistan Soon,” *RIA Novosti*, April 6, 2005, <http://en.rian.ru/onlinenews/20050406/39697501.html>, (accessed September 27, 2011).

²¹⁵ Roman Streshnev and Aleksandr Tikhonov, "Под солнцем горячим (Hot under the sun)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 24, 2006, http://old.redstar.ru/2011/08/17_08/1_04.html, (accessed September 22, 2017); Aleksandr Pinchuk, "К новому «Рубежу» (To a new «Frontier»)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 28, 2006, http://old.redstar.ru/2006/07/28_07/3_01.html, (accessed September 22, 2017); Richard Weitz, "The CSTO Deepens Military Ties," *CACI-Analyst*, October 18, 2006, <http://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/11149-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2006-10-18-art-11149.html>, (accessed September 22, 2017).

²¹⁶ "В Таджикистане начинается второй этап учений ОДКБ "Рубеж-2007" (The second phase of the CSTO exercise "Frontier-2007" is starting in Tajikistan)," *RIA Novosti*, April 3, 2007, <http://ria.ru/society/20070403/62980442.html>, (accessed September 26, 2017); Sergei Permyakov, "Контратака с "Рубежа-2007" (The counterattack from "Frontier-2007")," *Voенно-Промышленну Кур'ер*, April 4, 2007, <http://vpk-news.ru/articles/3525>, (accessed September 26, 2017).

²¹⁷ Oleg Gorupay, "Коллективная оборона в действии (Collective defense in action)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 22, 2008, http://old.redstar.ru/2008/07/22_07/1_01.html, (accessed September 26, 2017); "Активная фаза учений ОДКБ "Рубеж-2008" завершилась в Армении (The active phase of the CSTO exercise "Frontier-2008" has finished in Armenia)," *RIA Novosti*, August 22, 2008, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20080822/150586956.html, (accessed September 26, 2017).

²¹⁸ Mikhaylov, "Rubezh protiv terror,"; "Учения "Рубеж-2010" успешно завершены в Таджикистане - Минобороны РФ (The exercise "Frontier-2010" has successfully finished in Tajikistan – the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Tajikistan)," *RIA Novosti*, April 26, 2010, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20100426/226879961.html, (accessed September 26, 2017); Oleg Gorupay, "«Рубеж» задачу решил («The Frontier» problem is decided)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 27, 2010, http://old.redstar.ru/2010/04/27_04/1_02.html, (accessed September 26, 2017); Viktor Mikhaylov, ""Рубеж" против террора ("The Frontier" against terror)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, March 3, 2010, http://nvo.ng.ru/forces/2010-03-26/16_rubezh.html, (accessed September 26, 2017).

²¹⁹ "«Рубеж» коллективной обороны («The Frontier» of collective defense)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 6, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/3877-rubezh-kollektivnoy-oboronyi>, (accessed September 26, 2017); "Участники учений "Рубеж-2012" начинают антитеррористическую операцию (Participants of the exercise "Frontier-2012" are starting the antiterrorism operation)," *RIA Novosti*, August 9, 2012, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20120809/719657509.html, (accessed September 26, 2017); "Подразделения КСБР провели спецоперацию на учениях "Рубеж-2012" (Units of the CORF have carried out a special operation at the "Frontier-2012" exercise)," *RIA Novosti*, August 10, 2012, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20120810/720526986.html, (accessed September 26, 2017).

²²⁰ Vladimir Mukhin, "Россия на антиталибском "Рубеже" (Russia on the anti-Taliban "Frontier")," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, July 18, 2014, http://www.ng.ru/armies/2014-07-18/1_rubezh.html, (accessed September 26, 2017); "Кыргызстан принимает участие в учениях ОДКБ «Рубеж-2014» в России (Kyrgyzstan is taking part in the CSTO exercise «Frontier-2014» in Russia)," *Kabar*, July 15, 2014, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/79736>, (accessed September 26, 2017).

²²¹ Svetlana Lapteva, "Рубеж на «Эдельвейсе» (Rubezh at "Edelweiss")," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 7, 2016, <http://members.vb.kg/2016/10/07/panorama/4.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "Надёжность «Рубежа» (The reliability of "Rubezh")," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 9, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/30723-nadjozhnost-rubezha>, (accessed September 27, 2017);

Yana Bayburina, “Челябинские бомбардировщики Су-24 вылетели в Кыргызстан (Chelyabinsk Su-24 bombers flew out to Kyrgyzstan),” *K News*, October 3, 2016, <http://knews.kg/2016/10/chelyabinsk-bombardirovshhiki-su-24-vyleteli-v-kyrgyzstan/>, (accessed September 27, 2017); Guliza Chudubayeva, “В Балыкчи проходят совместные учения ОДКБ «Рубеж-2016» (The joint CSTO exercise “Rubezh-2016” is taking place in Balykchy),” *K News*, October 6, 2016, <http://knews.kg/2016/10/v-balykchi-prohodyat-sovmestnye-ucheniya-odkb-rubezh-2016/>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²²² Dronina, “Центральную Азию готовят к войне (Central Asia is preparing for war),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*; Yuldashev, “Страны ОДКБ проведут очередные тактические учения на таджикско-афганской границе (CSTO member states will carry out regular tactical exercises on the Tajik-Afghan border),” *Asia-Plus*; Stefanovich, “Учения ОДКБ «Боевое братство-2018»: 11 главных фактов (The CSTO exercise “Combat Brotherhood-2018”: 11 main facts),” *Evrazia Ekspert*.

²²³ “В Казахстане завершается совместное учение инженерных подразделений “Саперлер достығы-2017” (The joint exercise of engineering units “Saperler Dostighi-2017” has finished in Kazakhstan),” *Tengri News*, August 25, 2017, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/kazahstane-zavershaetsya-sovmestnoe-uchenie-injenernyih-325121/, (accessed September 18, 2017); “Саперы Казахстана и Кыргызстана разминируют местность в казахстанском Минбулаке (Sappers of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are demining the area of Minbulak in Kazakhstan),” *Kabar*, August 25, 2017, <http://kabar.kg/news/sapery-kazahstana-i-kyrgyzstana-razminiruiut-mestnost-v-kazahstanskom-minbulake/>, (accessed September 18, 2017).

²²⁴ Grigoriy Bedenko, “Фоторепортаж. Как проходили в Казахстане учения спасателей ОДКБ “Скала-2018” (Photo report. How the rescuers of the CSTO carried out the exercise “Skala-2018” in Kazakhstan),” *Inform Buro*, September 14, 2018, <https://inforburo.kz/stati/kak-prohodili-v-kazahstane-ucheniya-spasateley-odkb-skala-2018-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed October 30, 2018); “В Казахстане прошло совместное тактико-специальное учение «Скала-2018» (The joint tactical-special exercise “Skala-2018” took place in Kazakhstan),” *Asia-Plus*, September 11, 2018, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180911/v-kazahstane-proshlo-sovmestnoe-taktiko-spetsialnoe-uchenie-skala-2018>, (accessed October 30, 2018).

²²⁵ “Russian attack aircraft to join military drills in Kyrgyzstan,” *RIA Novosti*, April 25, 2009, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130118103100/http://en.rian.ru/world/20090425/121307914.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017); “В баткенском селе Бужум начались Совместные командно-штабные мобилизационные учения «Безопасность -2009» (In the Batken village of Buzhum a joint command-staff mobilization exercise «Security-2009» has started),” *AKI Press Fergana*, April 25, 2009, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:20790>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²²⁶ “NA to host peacekeeping exercise,” *Kathmandu Post*, March 18, 2013, <http://kathmandupost.ekantipur.com/news/2013-03-18/na-to-host-peacekeeping-exercise-368597.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Lt. Theresa Donnelly, “Shanti Prayas-2 highlights the importance of women in peacekeeping missions,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, March 30, 2013, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/104672/shanti-prayas-2-highlights-importance-women-peacekeeping-missions>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

²²⁷ “Multi-national military exercise concludes in Nepal,” *The Economic Times*, April 3, 2017, <http://economictimes.indiatimes.com/news/defence/multi-national-military-exercise-concludes-in-nepal/articleshow/57996150.cms>, (accessed September 20, 2017); Staff Sgt. Michael Behlin, “Shanti Prayas III

officially comes to a close,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, April 2, 2017, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/228937/shanti-prayas-iii-officially-comes-close>, (accessed September 20, 2017).

²²⁸ Semyon Yugra, “«Шығыс -2011» («East-2011»),” *Megapolis*, June 20, 2011, http://megapolis.kz/art/Shigis_2011, (accessed August 2, 2012); Nargiza Issayeva, “Летняя кампания (The summer campaign),” *Novoe Pokolenie*, June 30, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130509055721/http://www.np.kz/index.php?newsid=8637>, (accessed September 27, 2017); “Учения «Шығыс-2011» завершились (The exercise «East-2011» has finished),” *Kazinform*, June 29, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2390528>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²²⁹ “«Шығыс-2013» в ударе (“Shygys-2013” is on track),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 15, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/syria/item/12118-shygys-2013-v-udare>, (accessed September 27, 2017); “Учение «Шығыс-2013» стартовало на четырех полигонах в Казахстане (The exercise “Shygys-2013” started at four ranges in Kazakhstan),” *Novosti-Kazakhstan*, October 8, 2013, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150428061604/http://newskaz.ru/politics/20131008/5637207.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017); Andrey Shatskikh, “«Шығыс-2013»: в боевой обстановке (“Shygys-2013”: in a combat situation),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, November 5, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/siriya/item/12530-shygys-2013-v-boevoy-obstanovke>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁰ Grigoriy Bedenko, “Российские боевые самолёты в небе Казахстана: как проходили учения “Восток-2019”. Фоторепортаж (Russian combat aircraft in the sky of Kazakhstan: how the exercise “East-2019” took place. Photoreport),” *Inform Buro*, September 26, 2019, <https://informburo.kz/stati/rossiyskie-boevye-samolyoty-v-nebe-kazahstana-kak-prohodili-ucheniya-vostok-2019-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed December 21, 2020); “Первая неделя учения в Жамбылской области была посвящена подготовке (The first week of the exercise in the Zhambyl Oblast was focused on preparations),” *Zona.kz*, September 18, 2019, <https://www.zakon.kz/4986319-pervaya-nedelya-ucheniya-v-zhambylskoy.html>, (accessed December 21, 2020).

²³¹ “На учениях «Юг-антитеррор-2001» страны СНГ впервые смогли отработать взаимодействие антитеррористических формирований (CIS states worked out antiterrorism unit cooperation for the first time at the «South-antiterror-2001» exercise),” *Pravda*, April 28, 2001, <http://www.pravda.ru/politics/28-04-2001/818007-0/>, (accessed September 27, 2017); В.А. Мыл’ников, “Борьба с терроризмом в рамках СНГ (The fight with terrorism in the CIS framework),” *Pravo i Bezopastnost’* 2-3 (August 2002), http://dpr.ru/pravo/pravo_3_6.htm, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³² В.А. Мыл’ников, “Borba s terrorizmom v ramkakh SNG,”; Emel’yan Bryandin, ““Зарница” на просторах СНГ (“Heat lightning” across the CIS),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, April 23, 2002, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2002-04-23/6_zarnica.html, (accessed September 27, 2017); Olga Medvedeva and Timur Zhagiparov, “Игры для настоящих мужчин (Games for real men),” *Novoe Pokolenie*, April 19, 2002, <https://web.archive.org/web/20131109143022/http://www.np.kz/old/2002/16/main6.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³³ Steppe Eagle Exercise, *Facebook*, <https://www.facebook.com/steppe.eagle>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁴ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”;

²³⁵ “Қазақстанда “Дала қыраны-2006” оқу-жаттығулары өткізілуде (The “Steppe Eagle-2006” exercises are taking place in Kazakhstan),” *Kazakhstan Today*, September 12, 2006,

http://www.kt.kz/kaz/a19/kazakstanda_dala_kirani2006_okuzhattigulari_otkizilude_1153399646.html, (accessed September 27, 2017); “Kazakhstan Hosts Counterterrorism Exercise,” *RFE/RL*, Newsline, September 13, 2006, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1143715.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁶ “Kazakhstan Hosts Multinational Military Exercise,” *RFE/RL*, Newsline, September 24, 2007, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1143959.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁷ Roger McDermott, “Kazakhstan’s Defense Policy: An Assessment of the Trends,” *Strategic Studies Institute*, February 11, 2009, <https://ssi.armywarcollege.edu/pubs/display.cfm?pubID=904>, (accessed September 27, 2017); “Kazakhstan, NATO hold peacekeeping exercises,” *RIANovosti*, September 15, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20081019032455/http://en.rian.ru/world/20080915/116797691.html>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁸ “Халықаралық тактикалық-арнайы бітімгершілік оқу-жаттығуының жабылу салтанаты өтеді (The closing ceremony of the international tactical peacekeeping exercise are taking place),” *Kazinform*, September 23, 2009, <http://www.inform.kz/kaz/article/2199800>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²³⁹ Vladimir Severniy, “Ефрейторский зазор (The Yefreitor Gap),” *Megapolis*, August 30, 2010, https://web.archive.org/web/20131019111123/http://megapolis.kz/art/Efreytorskiy_zazor, (accessed September 27, 2017); Nadezhda Plyaskina, ““Степной орёл” клювом не щёлкает (The “Steppe Eagle” beaks are not clicking),” *Vremya*, August 17, 2010, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=17380>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²⁴⁰ Vladimir Severniy, “Орлиная охота началась сегодня... (The eagle hunt started today...),” *Megapolis*, August 8, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20111019132747/http://megapolis.kz/art/Orlinaya_ohota_nachalas_segodnya, (accessed September 27, 2017); Nadezhda Plyaskina, “Степной орёл - на взлёте (Steppe Eagle – on the rise),” *Vremya*, August 10, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/08/10/stepnoy-oryol---na-vzlyote>, (accessed September 27, 2017).

²⁴¹ “Миротворческие учения «Степной Орел-2012» начались в Алматинской области (The peacekeeping exercise “Steppe Eagle-2012” has started in the Almaty oblast),” *Khabar*, September 6, 2012, http://www.khabar.kz/rus/politics/Mirotvorcheskie_ucheniya_Stepnoj_orel-2012_nachalisj_v_Almatinskoj_oblasti.html, (accessed February 8, 2013); “Взвод мобильных войск Минобороны РТ принимает участие в учениях “Степной орел” (A platoon of the mobile troops of the Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Tajikistan will take part in the exercise “Steppe Eagle”),” *Avesta*, September 5, 2012, <http://avesta.tj/2012/09/05/vzvod-mobilnyh-vojsk-minoborony-rt-prinimaet-uchastie-v-uchenyah-stepnoj-orel/>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Mira Mustafina, “Голос Мира (The voice of peace),” *Liter*, September 20, 2012, http://www.liter.kz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=11144, (accessed February 8, 2013).

²⁴² ““Казбат” и военные НАТО проводят миротворческие учения в Алматинской области (“Kazbat” and NATO soldiers are carrying out a peacekeeping exercise in the Almaty oblast),” *Tengri News*, August 10, 2013, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/kazbat-i-voennyie-nato-provodyat-mirotvorcheskie-ucheniya-v-almatinskoj-oblasti-239526/, (accessed September 28, 2017); “Миротворческие силы Казахстана (The peacekeeping forces of Kazakhstan),” *Tengri News*, August 22, 2013, <http://tengrinews.kz/fotoarchive/446/>, (accessed September 28, 2017); “Казахстан и НАТО проводят совместные миротворческие учения «Степной орел» (Kazakhstan and NATO are carrying out a joint peacekeeping exercise “Steppe Eagle”),” *Fergana News*,

August 14, 2013, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/21086>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Ryskul' Tagayeva, "«Степной орёл» набирает высоту («Steppe Eagle» is gaining height)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, September 10, 2013, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/kazakhstanarmy/item/11401-stepnoj-orjol-nabiraet-vysotu>, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁴³ "«Казбат» и военные НАТО проводят учения "Степной орел-2014" в Германии ("Kazbat" and NATO soldiers are carrying out the exercise "Steppe Eagle-2014")," *Tengri News*, October 7, 2014, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/kazbat-i-voennyye-nato-provodyat-ucheniya-stepnoj-orel-2014-v-germanii-263034/, (accessed September 28, 2017); Vladimir Severny, "«Степной орел» впервые взмыл над Европой («Steppe Eagle» soared over Europe for the first time)," *Megapolis*, October 13, 2014, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1413263520>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, September 28, 2017); "Кыргызские военнослужащие примут участие в учениях «Степной орел-2014» в Германии (Kyrgyz soldiers will take part in the exercise «Steppe Eagle-2014» in Germany)," *Kabar*, September 24, 2014, <http://www.kabar.kg/society/full/83181>, (accessed September 28, 2017); "Steppe Eagle 2014," *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, <http://www.dvidshub.net/feature/SteppeEagle2014#.VFG718nhnIT>, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁴⁴ Anton Serov, "Дан старт миротворческим учениям "Степной орел-2015" (The peacekeeping exercise "Steppe Eagle-2015 has started)," *Kazakhstanskaya Pravda*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.kazpravda.kz/news/politika/dan-start-mirotvorcheskim-ucheniya-stepnoj-orel-2015>, (accessed September 28, 2017); "Учения «Степной орел-2015» проходят в Алматинской области (The exercise "Steppe Eagle-2015" is taking place in the Almaty Oblast)," *Телеканал 24KZ, You Tube*, Uploaded on April 18, 2015, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=tn_k6JmWiGg, (accessed September 28, 2017); "U.S. Army Training Kazakhstani Soldiers practice riot control techniques ; Steppe Eagle 2015," *samuel ezerzer, You Tube*, Uploaded on April 9, 2015, <https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=4IM2p4BQ958>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Vitaliy Mantrov, "Учения «Степной орел-2015»: военные учатся понимать друг друга (The exercise "Steppe Eagle-2015": soldiers learn to understand each other)," *KTK*, June 25, 2015, <http://www.ktk.kz/ru/news/video/2015/06/25/61047>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Aiman Turebekova, "Second Stage Completed in Steppe Eagle 2015 Peacekeeping Exercise, New Nations Participate," *The Astana Times*, June 30, 2015, <http://astanatimes.com/2015/06/second-stage-completed-in-steppe-eagle-2015-peacekeeping-exercise-new-nations-participate/>, (accessed September 28, 2017); "Кыргызстанцы примут участие в международных миротворческих учениях «Степной орел-2015» (Kyrgyz soldiers will participate in the international peacekeeping exercise "Steppe Eagle-2015")," *K News*, June 16, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/society/65477_kyrgyzstantsyi_primut_uchastie_v_mejdunarodnyih_mirotvorcheskikh_ucheniya_stepnoj_orel-2015/, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁴⁵ "В Казахстане начались миротворческие учения "Степной орел-2016" (The peacekeeping exercise "Steppe Eagles-2016" has started in Kazakhstan)," *Express K*, April 11, 2016, http://www.express-k.kz/news/?ELEMENT_ID=71262, (accessed September 28, 2017); "Первый этап международного учения "Степной орел-2016" стартует в Казахстане 1 апреля (The first phase of the international exercise "Steppe Eagle-2016" will start in Kazakhstan on April 1)," *Sarbaz*, March 30, 2016, https://sarbaz.kz/ru/army/pervyy-etap-megdunarodnogo-ucheniya-stepnoj-orel-2016-startuet-v-kazhastane-1-aprelya-16890908/?sphrase_id=3262, (accessed September 28, 2017); Казахстанский военный сайт (Kazakhstan military site), "Степной орел – 2016 (Steppe Eagle – 2016)," in *Vkontakte*, https://vk.com/album-30185187_230270920, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁴⁶ “Steppe Eagle - 2016: First week ended,” *Kazinform*, July 25, 2016, http://www.inform.kz/en/steppe-eagle-2016-first-week-ended-photos_a2929104, (accessed September 28, 2017); William Howard, “5 nations partner for peacekeeping exercise in England,” *Stars and Stripes*, July 28, 2016, <http://www.stripes.com/news/5-nations-partner-for-peacekeeping-exercise-in-england-1.421345>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Karl Drage, “RAF Mildenhall – 13/07/2016 – Exercise Steppe Eagle 2016,” *Aviation Photography, A Day on the Fence*, entry posted August 31, 2016, <http://karladrage.co.uk/raf-mildenhall-13072016-exercise-steppe-eagle-2016/>, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁴⁷ Pavel Mikheev and Mira Mustafina, “Как проходят учения «Степной орел - Коктем-2017» (How the exercise “Steppe Eagle – Koktem-2017” took place),” *Liter*, April 7, 2017, https://liter.kz/ru/photo/show/31091-kak_proshli_ucheniya_stepnoi_orel_-_koktem-2017_, (accessed September 19, 2017); Capt. Desiree Dillehay, “Steppe Eagle 17 continues partnership for US, UK, Kazakhstan,” *Defense Video and Imagery Distribution System*, April 22, 2017, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/231219/steppe-eagle-17-continues-partnership-us-uk-kazakhstan>, (accessed September 19, 2017); “НАТО высоко оценило уровень подготовки казахстанских военных на учениях (NATO evaluated the high level of readiness of Kazakhstan’s soldiers in the exercise),” *Inform Buro*, August 7, 2017, <https://inforburo.kz/novosti/nato-vysoko-ocenilo-uroven-podgotovki-kazahstanskih-voennyh.html>, (accessed September 19, 2017); Capt. Desiree Dillehay, “Multinational exercise reaffirms peacekeeping partnerships,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, August 16, 2017, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/245010/multinational-exercise-reaffirms-peacekeeping-partnerships>, (accessed September 19, 2017).

²⁴⁸ “Tajikistan participates in international peacekeeping exercise in the United States,” *Asia-Plus*, August 8, 2018, <https://www.news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/security/20180808/tajikistan-participates-in-international-peacekeeping-exercise-in-the-united-states>, (accessed August 27, 2019); Cpl. Nicholas Moyte, “Steppe Eagle 2018: Interoperability with Partner Countries in Action,” *Defense Imagery and Video Distribution System*, August 23, 2018, <https://www.dvidshub.net/news/290073/steppe-eagle-2018-interoperability-with-partner-countries-action>, (accessed August 27, 2019); “Exercise STEPPE EAGLE 18 – 1 RIFLES In South Carolina,” *Joint Forces*, August 25, 2018, <https://www.joint-forces.com/exercise-news/17148-exercise-steppe-eagle-18-1-rifles-in-south-carolina>, (accessed August 27, 2019).

²⁴⁹ “Platoon of Tajik Defense Ministry participates in multinational peacekeeping exercise in Kazakhstan,” *Asia-Plus*, July 2, 2019, <https://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/security/20190702/platoon-of-tajik-defense-ministry-participates-in-multinational-peacekeeping-exercise-in-kazakhstan>, (accessed August 28, 2019); “Международное миротворческое учение “Степной орел” завершилось в Казахстане (The international peacekeeping exercise “Steppe Eagle” has finished in Kazakhstan),” *Express K*, July 1, 2019, https://express-k.kz/news/sotsium_lenta/mezhdunarodnoe_mirotvorcheskoe_uchenie_stepnoi_orel_zavershilos_v_kazahstane-143493?sphrase_id=4134504, (accessed August 28, 2019); J.P. Lawrence, “Kazakh and Tajik troops take on snipers, bombs in US-led exercise,” *Stars and Stripes*, June 25, 2019, <https://www.stripes.com/news/kazakh-and-tajik-troops-take-on-snipers-bombs-in-us-led-exercise-1.587494>, (accessed August 28, 2019).

²⁵⁰ “Международные учения «Стихия-2013» будут проведены в 3 этапа (The international exercise «Stikhiya-2013» will be carried out in 3 phases),” *Kabar*, September 6, 2013, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/society/full/62234>, (accessed September 28, 2017); Svetlana Moiseeva, “В Кыргызстане начались учения ШОС “Стихия-2013” (The SCO exercise “Stikhiya-2013” has started in Kyrgyzstan),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, September 9, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/242471_v_kyrgyzstane_nachalis_ucheniia_shos_stihia_2013.html, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁵¹ North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO), "International Military Staff, NATO IMS Exercise Announcements, Exercise Strong Resolve 2002," March 2, 2002, <http://www.nato.int/ims/2002/p020302e.htm>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Valery Gromak, "By NATO Logic, Subversives Are Best Peacekeepers," *Parlamentskaya Gazeta* 9, no. 52 (2002), <https://web.archive.org/web/20090906201106/http://www.cdi.org/russia/198-9.cfm>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵² HRIC, "Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,"

²⁵³ "China, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan complete anti-terror drills," *RIA Novosti*, May 7, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110511191721/http://en.rian.ru/world/20110507/163915369.html>, (accessed September 29, 2017); "SCO joint anti-terror drill conducted in China's Xinjiang," *Xinhua*, May 7, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20111116134117/http://news.xinhuanet.com/english2010/photo/2011-05/07/c_13862967.htm, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵⁴ "На кыргызско-китайской границе прошли антитеррористические учения «Тянь-Шань-3» (The antiterrorism exercise "Tianshan-3" took place on the Kyrgyz-Chinese border)," *K News*, July 3, 2017, <http://knews.kg/2017/07/na-kyrgyzsko-kitajskoj-granitse-proshli-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya-tyan-shan-3/>, (accessed September 28, 2017); "Китай и Кыргызстан провели совместные антитеррористические учения [Age0+] "Тяньшань-3" (China and Kyrgyzstan carried the joint antiterrorism exercise "Tianshan-3")," "Китай и Кыргызстан провели совместные антитеррористические учения [Age0+] "Тяньшань-3" (China and Kyrgyzstan carried the joint antiterrorism exercise "Tianshan-3")," *CGTN на русском (CGTN in Russian)*, *You Tube*, Uploaded on June 28, 2017, https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=V6Ikl7dH_lo, (accessed September 28, 2017).

²⁵⁵ Vladimir Mukhin, "Кавказский опыт для войск Урала (The Caucasian experience for the soldiers of the Urals)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 2, 2008, http://www.ng.ru/regions/2008-09-02/7_ural.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); "Тренировка военных РФ и Казахстана пройдет на "Чебаркуле" (The military training of the Russian Federation and Kazakhstan will take place at "Cherbakul")," *RIA Novosti*, September 2, 2008, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20080902/150868634.html, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵⁶ "В Казахстане начались международные воинские учения «Центр-2011» (The international military exercise "Tsentr-2011" started in Kazakhstan)," *Today.kz*, September 20, 2011, <http://today.kz/news/kazakhstan/2011-09-20/154883-news/>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Vladimir Severnyu, "Каспийская армада (The Caspian armada)," *Megapolis*, September 19, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20111018170313/http://megapolis.kz/art/Kaspiyskaya_armada, (accessed September 29, 2017); "Кыргызстан: Под Бишкеком силы КСОР уничтожат группу боевиков (Kyrgyzstan: the forces of the CORF destroy a group of militants near Bishkek)," *Fergana.ru*, September 19, 2011, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=17310>, (accessed September 29, 2017); "Учения с боевой стрельбой "Центр-2011" завершились в Таджикистане (The live-fire exercise "Center-2011" has finished in Tajikistan)," *RIA Novosti*, September 22, 2011, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20110922/441783339.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); "На учениях "Центр-2011" коалиция отражает ракетный удар "противника" (The coalition repels the rocket attack of the "militants" at the "Center-2011" exercise)," *RIA Novosti*, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20110922/441611442.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); Aleksandr Kharmchikhin, ""Центр" приблизился к окраинам ("Center" approached the edge)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 7, 2011, http://nvo.ng.ru/maneuvers/2011-10-07/1_center.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); "Мотострелки ЦВО прибыли в Казахстан для участия в учениях "Центр-2011" (Motorized rifle infantry of the

Central Military District arrived in Kazakhstan to participate in the exercise "Center-2011")," *RIA Novosti*, September 21, 2011, http://ria.ru/defense_safety/20110921/441024984.html, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵⁷ "Итоги учения «Центр-2015» (The results of the exercise "Tsentr-2015")," *Voенно-promyshlenniy kurer*, September 20, 2015, <http://vpk-news.ru/news/27135>, (accessed September 29, 2017); "В целях установления виновных в гибели военнослужащих в Актау проводятся судебные экспертизы (Forensic examinations will be carried out in order to establish the guilty parties in the deaths of the service members in Aktau)," *Inform Buro*, September 25, 2015, <http://informburo.kz/novosti/v-celyah-ustanovleniya-vinovnyh-v-gibeli-voennosluzhashchih-v-aktau-provodyatsya-sudebnye-ekspertizy-12763.html>, (accessed September 29, 2017); "Военные разведчики РК и РФ провели антитеррористическую операцию в рамках совместных учений (Reconnaissance units of Kazakhstan and Russia carried out an antiterrorism operation through the framework of a joint exercise)," *Tengri News*, September 19, 2015, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/voennye-razvedchiki-rk-rf-proveli-antiterroristicheskuyu-281113/, (accessed September 29, 2017); Oleg Vladykin, "Учение "Центр-2015" завершилось ударно (The exercise "Tsentr-2015" delivered its final blow)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 21, 2015, http://www.ng.ru/armies/2015-09-21/2_uchenie.html, (accessed September 29, 2017); Ivan Safronov, "Войска обучают хорошим маневрам (The force is being taught good maneuvers)," *Kommersant*, September 15, 2015, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/2810345>, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁵⁸ "Минобороны раскрыло сценарий учений "Центр-2019" (The Ministry of Defense revealed the scenario of the exercise "Tsentr-2019")," *TASS*, September 12, 2019, <https://tass.ru/armiya-i-opk/6877379>, (accessed November 4, 2019); "Военные РК и РФ запустили пять боевых ракет в ходе учений на полигоне "Сарышаган" (Soldiers of the Republic of Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation launched five rockets during the exercise at the base "Saryshagan")," *Inform Buro*, September 19, 2019, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/voennye-rk-i-rf-zapustili-ryat-boevyh-raket-v-hode-ucheny-na-poligone-saryshagan-.html>, (accessed November 4, 2019); "Военные стран Центральной Азии примут участие в многотысячных российских учениях (The militaries of the Central Asian states will take part in the large-scale Russian exercises)," *Fergana*, August 20, 2019, <https://fergana.agency/news/110009/>, (accessed November 4, 2019); "На Иссык-Куле завершилось совместное кыргызско-российское учение «Центр-2019» (The joint Kyrgyz-Russian exercise "Tsentr-2019" in Issyk-Kul has finished)," *Kabar*, September 21, 2019, <http://kabar.kg/news/na-issyk-kule-zavershilos-sovmestnoe-kyrgyzsko-rossiiskoe-uchenie-tcentr-2019/>, (accessed November 4, 2019); "Завершились совместное таджикско-узбекские военные учения (The joint Tajik-Uzbek military exercise has finished)," *Kabar*, September 23, 2019, <http://kabar.kg/news/zavershilis-sovmestnoe-tadzhiksko-uzbekskie-voennye-ucheniia/>, (accessed November 4, 2019).

²⁵⁹ Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "Проверка миротворческого братства (A check of the peacekeeping brotherhood)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 8, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/5083-proverka-mirotvorcheskogo-bratstva>, (accessed September 29, 2017); "В Казахстане завершилась активная фаза первого миротворческого учения ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство-2012» (The active phase of the first peacekeeping exercise of the CSTO «Unbreakable brotherhood-2012» has finished in Kazakhstan)," *Asia-Plus*, October 18, 2012, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-kazakhstane-zavershilas-aktivnaya-faza-pervogo-mirotvorcheskogo-ucheniya-odkb-nerushimoe-brat>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Aleksandr Aleksandrov, "Миротворческий прорыв (Peacekeeping breakthrough)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 18, 2012, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/5325-mirotvorcheskiy-proryiv>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Vladimir Severniy, "Нерушимое братство-2012 (Unbreakable brotherhood-2012)," *Megapolis*, October 22, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20131015132259/http://www.megapolis.kz/art/Nerushimoe_bratstvo2012, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁶⁰ “Миротворцы ОДКБ предотвратили доставку оружия условным сепаратистам (CSTO peacekeepers prevented a delivery of weapons to a contingent of separatists),” *Asia-Plus*, October 11, 2013, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mirotvortsy-odkb-predotvratili-dostavku-oruzhiya-uslovnym-separatistam>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Aleksandr Tikhonov, “Нерушимое братство (Unbreakable brotherhood),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 7, 2013, <http://redstar.ru/index.php/syria/item/11941-nerushimoe-bratstvo>, (accessed September 29, 2017); “Противодействовать массовым беспорядкам научатся казахстанские миротворцы (Kazakhstan’s peacekeepers learn to counter a large crowd of rioters),” *Tengri News*, October 3, 2013, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/protivodeystvovat-massovyim-besporjadkam-nauchatsya-kazahstanskie-mirotvortsyi-242850/, (accessed September 29, 2017); “Кыргызстан принял участие в миротворческом учении ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство-2013» в России (Kyrgyzstan took part in the CSTO peacekeeping exercise «Unbreakable brotherhood-2013» in Russia),” *Kabar*, October 12, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/64658>, (accessed September 29, 2017); Evgenii Denisenko, “Военные из Кыргызстана защитили Республику Урاليا на учениях ОДКБ (Soldiers from Kyrgyzstan protected the Republic of the Urals as the CSTO exercise),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 10, 2013, http://www.vb.kg/doc/246897_voennye_iz_kyrgyzstana_zashitili_respybliku_uraliia_na_ucheniiah_odkb.html, (accessed September 29, 2017).

²⁶¹ Roman Gaynanov, “В Кыргызстане стартовали широкомасштабные военные учения ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство 2014» (The large-scale military exercise of the CSTO «Unbreakable brotherhood 2014» has started in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, July 29, 2014, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/80444>, (accessed October 11, 2017); Roman Gaynanov, “В Кыргызстане прошел заключительный этап миротворческих учений ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство-2014» (The final stage of the CSTO peacekeeping exercise «Unbreakable brotherhood-2014» is underway in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, August 1, 2014, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/80598>, (accessed October 11, 2017); Aleksandr Gerasimov, “Миротворцы готовятся «к бою» (The peacekeepers are preparing “to fight”),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, July 30, 2014, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/17610-mirotvortsy-gotovyatsya-k-boyu>, (accessed October 11, 2017); Aida Dzhumasheva, “В Кыргызстане завершаются учения “Нерушимое братство” (The exercise “Unbreakable Brotherhood” is finishing up in Kyrgyzstan),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, August 1, 2014, http://www.vb.kg/doc/282159_v_kyrgyzstane_zavershauptsia_ucheniia_neryshimoe_bratstvo.html, (accessed October 11, 2017).

²⁶² Evgeniy Denisenko, “Миротворцы Кыргызстана отработали взаимодействие с коллегами по ОДКБ (Peacekeepers from Kyrgyzstan worked out interoperability with CSTO colleagues),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 4, 2015, http://www.vb.kg/doc/325874_mirotvorcy_kyrgyzstana_otrabotali_vzaimodeystvie_s_kollegami_po_odkb.html, (accessed October 12, 2017); Alexander Aleksandrov, “Уничтожить «лагерь боевиков» (Destroy the “training camp of militants”),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 1, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/25972-unichtozhit-lager-boevikov>, (accessed October 12, 2017); Desantura.ru, “Фоторепортажи (Photo reports), Учение КМС ОДКБ “Нерушимое братство-2015” (The exercise of the CSTO Collective Peacekeeping Force “Unbreakable Brotherhood-2015”),” October 4, 2015, <http://desantura.ru/photo/10100/>, (accessed October 12, 2017); Alexander Aleksandrov, “1500 километров не предел (1500 kilometers is not the limit),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 4, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/26002-1500-kilometrov-ne-predel>, (accessed October 12, 2017); Vladimir Bogdanov, “Учения миротворцев ОДКБ начались в Армении (The exercise of CSTO peacekeepers has started in Armenia),” *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, September 30, 2015, <http://rg.ru/2015/09/30/ucheniya-site.html>, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁶³ Vladimir Molchanov, "По мандату ООН (Under a UN mandate)," *Krasnaya Zvezda*, August 23, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/30160-po-mandatu-oon>, (accessed October 12, 2017); "Подведены итоги учения "Нерушимое братство-2016" с миротворческими силами ОДКБ (Summarizing the results of the exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood-2016" with the peacekeeping forces of the CSTO)," *Belta*, August 27, 2016, <http://www.belta.by/society/view/podvedeny-itogi-uchenij-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2016-s-mirotvorcheskimi-silami-odkb-207484-2016/>, (accessed October 12, 2017); "В Беларуси начались совместные учения ОДКБ "Нерушимое братство-2016" (The joint exercise of the CSTO "Unbreakable Brotherhood-2016" has started in Belarus)," *Ratel*, August 24, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/kaz/v_belarusi_nachalis_sovmestnye_uchenija_odkb_nerushimoe_bratstvo_2016, (accessed October 12, 2017); Организация Договора о коллективной безопасности (The Collective Security Treaty Organization), Все новости (All news), Учения Коллективных сил ОДКБ (The exercises of the Collective Forces of the CSTO), "Полицейские спецподразделения из состава Коллективных миротворческих сил ОДКБ в ходе учения «Нерушимое братство-2016» освободили заложников и задержали лидера "боевиков" (Special purpose police units from the Collective peacekeeping forces of the CSTO freed hostages and arrested the leader of the "militants" during the exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood-2016")," August 25, 2016, http://www.odkb-csto.org/training/detail.php?ELEMENT_ID=7263&SECTION_ID=250, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁶⁴ Mukhin, "ОДКБ готовится к миротворческим миссиям (The CSTO is preparing for peacekeeping missions),"; Grigoriy Bedenko, "Учения "Нерушимое братство-2017". Фоторепортаж (The exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood-2017". A photo report)," *Inform Buro*, October 23, 2017, <https://informburo.kz/stati/ucheniya-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2017-fotoreportazh.html>, (accessed January 26, 2018); "В Казахстане завершились учения ОДКБ "Нерушимое братство - 2017" (The CSTO exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood – 2017" has finished in Kazakhstan)," *TASS*, October 21, 2017, <http://tass.ru/mezhdunarodnaya-panorama/4665644>, (accessed January 26, 2018).

²⁶⁵ Avaz Yuldashev, "Солдаты и офицеры Таджикистана и Узбекистана начали «совместную операцию» против террористов (Soldiers and officers of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan have started a "joint operation" against terrorists)," *Asia-Plus*, September 18, 2018, <https://m.news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180918/soldati-i-ofitseri-tadzhikistana-i-uzbekistana-nachali-sovmestnuyu-operatsiyu-protiv-terroristov>, (accessed September 20, 2019); Avaz Yuldashev, "Для обнаружения «террористов» таджикские и узбекские военные использовали беспилотники и вертолеты (Tajik and Uzbek soldiers utilize unmanned aerial vehicles and helicopters to detect "terrorists")," *Asia-Plus*, September 20, 2018, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180920/dlya-obnaruzheniya-terroristov-tadzhikskie-i-uzbekskie-voennie-ispolzovali-bespilotniki-i-vertoleti>, (accessed September 20, 2019); "Министры обороны Таджикистана и Узбекистана встретились на полигоне Чорухдарон (The Ministries of Defense of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan meet at the Chorukhdayron facility)," *Avesta*, September 21, 2018, <http://avesta.tj/2018/09/21/ministry-oborony-tadzhikistana-i-uzbekistana-vstretilis-na-poligone-choruhdarron/>, (accessed September 20, 2019).

²⁶⁶ "Военнослужащие Казахстана принимают участие в учении «Нерушимое братство-2018» (Soldiers of Kazakhstan are taking part in the exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood-2018")," *Kazinform*, October 30, 2018, https://www.inform.kz/ru/voennosluzhaschie-kazahstana-prinimayut-uchastie-v-uchenii-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2018_a3440970, (accessed May 13, 2019); "Под Екатеринбургом началось международное учение «Нерушимое братство – 2018» (The international exercise "Unbreakable Brotherhood – 2018" has started near Yekaturinburg)," *Zvezda*, October 30, 2018, <https://tvzvezda.ru/news/forces/content/201810301803-mil-ru-blrcf.html>, (accessed May 13, 2019); "Миротворцы стран ОДКБ успешно завершили учения «Нерушимое братство – 2018» (Peacekeepers of CSTO members successfully finished the exercise "Unbreakable

Brotherhood – 2018”),” *Kabar*, November 2, 2018, <http://kabar.kg/news/mirotvortscy-stran-odkb-uspeshno-zavershili-ucheniia-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2018/>, (accessed May 13, 2019).

²⁶⁷ “В Таджикистане стартовали учения ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство-2019» (The CSTO exercise “Unbreakable Brotherhood-2019” started in Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, October 21, 2019, <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20191021/v-tadzhikistane-startovali-ucheniya-odkb-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2019>, (accessed December 17, 2019); “Истребители Су-30СМ ВС Казахстана нанесли авиаудар по условным террористам на учении в Таджикистане (Su-30SM fighters of the Air Force of Kazakhstan carried out an airstrike on conditional terrorist at an exercise in Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, October 25, 2019, <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20191025/istrebiteli-su-30sm-vs-kazahstana-nanesli-aviaudar-po-uslovnim-terroristam-na-uchanii-v-tadzhikistane>, (accessed December 17, 2019); “В учениях ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство — 2019» участвуют более 3,5 тыс. Военных (More than 3500 soldiers are taking part in the CSTO exercise “Unbreakable Brotherhood – 2019”),” *EA Daily*, October 22, 2019, <https://eadaaily.com/ru/news/2019/10/22/v-ucheniya-odkb-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2019-uchastvuyut-bolee-35-tys-voennyh>, (accessed December 17, 2019); “В Таджикистане стартовали учения ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство — 2019» (The CSTO exercise “Unbreakable Brotherhood – 2019” started in Tajikistan),” *Fergana*, October 21, 2019, <https://fergana.agency/news/111829/>, (accessed December 17, 2019).

²⁶⁸ “В Белоруссии начались учения миротворцев ОДКБ «Нерушимое братство — 2020» (The CSTO peacekeeping exercise “Unbreakable Brotherhood – 2020” has started in Belarus),” *Eurasia Daily*, October 12, 2020, <https://eadaaily.com/ru/news/2020/10/12/v-belorussii-nachalis-ucheniya-mirotvorcev-odkb-nerushimoe-bratstvo-2020>, (accessed December 24, 2020); “В Беларуси стартуют военные учения ОДКБ (The CSTO military exercise is starting in Belarus),” *Kursiv*, October 12, 2020, <https://kursiv.kz/news/v-mire/2020-10/v-belarusi-startuyut-voennye-ucheniya-odkb>, (accessed December 24, 2020); Evgeniy Denisenko, “Миротворческое учение ОДКБ началось без военных Армении и Кыргызстана (The CSTO peacekeeping exercise has started without the soldiers of Armenia and Kyrgyzstan),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 14, 2020, https://www.vb.kg/doc/393080_mirotvorcheskoe_uchenie_odkb_nachalos_bez_voennyh_armenii_i_kyrgyzstana.html, (accessed December 24, 2020).

²⁶⁹ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1.”; Russian FSB warns of terrorist threat in Russia, Abkhazia, and South Ossetia,” *Regnum*, September 5, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110521222840/http://www.regnum.ru/english/1050844.html?forprint>, (accessed October 12, 2017); “LUKOIL-Volgogradneftepererabotka hosted international anti-terrorism exercises,” *Oil & Gas Eurasia*, September 9, 2008, <http://www.oilandgaseurasia.com/news/p/0/news/2696>, (accessed October 12, 2017); Lukoil Oil Company, “Press Centre, Photo, Command and staff exercises, International anti-terrorism exercises at Volgograd Refinery,” https://web.archive.org/web/20161107061721/http://www.lukoil.com/back/gallery__image__list_6_5did_294_.html, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁷⁰ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1.”; Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, “CEF Weekly Newsletter, 1. Shanghai Cooperation Organization, RATS held anti-terrorism exercise in Uzbekistan,” No. 11, March 6-12, 2006, http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/CEF/Weekly/March_6-12_2006.pdf, (accessed September 14, 2011).

²⁷¹ “Первые в истории ОДКБ авиационные учения «Воздушный мост-2018» начались в России (The first aviation exercise in the history of the CTSO “Vozdushniy most-2018” has started in Russia),” *Zona.kz*, October 2,

2018, <https://zonakz.net/2018/10/02/pervye-v-istorii-odkb-aviacionnye-ucheniya-vozdushnyj-most-2018-nachalis-v-rossii/>, (accessed April 18, 2019); Yekaterina Prizova, "На Урале стартовало учение "Воздушный мост" (The exercise "Vozdushniy most started at Ural)," *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, October 1, 2018, <https://rg.ru/2018/10/01/reg-urfo/na-urale-startovalo-uchenie-vozdushnyj-most.html>, (accessed April 18, 2019).

²⁷² "Антитеррористическое учение стран ШОС «Сямынь-2015» проходят в Китае (The antiterrorism exercise of the SCO member states "Xiamen-2015" is taking place in China)," *Vremya*, October 14, 2015, <http://www.time.kz/news/politics/2015/10/14/antiterroristicheskoe-uchenie-stran-sos-sjamin-2015-prohodjat-v-kitae>, (accessed October 12, 2017); "В Китае проходит 1-ое совместное штабное учение компетентных органов государств-членов ШОС «Сямынь-2015» (The first joint staff exercise of security bodies of the member states of the SCO "Xiamen-2015" is taking place in China)," *Vesti KG*, October 14, 2015, http://www.vesti.kg/index.php?option=com_k2&view=item&id=37288&Itemid=80, (accessed October 12, 2017); Ministry of National Defense of the People's Republic of China, "SCO hosts first joint online counter-terrorism exercise in China," October 15, 2015, http://eng.mod.gov.cn/Database/MOOW/2015-10/15/content_4624404.htm, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁷³ "В Киргизии пройдут российско-киргизские антитеррористические учения (The Russian-Kyrgyz antiterrorism exercise will take place in Kyrgyzstan)," *RIA Novosti*, October 5, 2006, <http://ria.ru/society/20061005/54526614.html>, (accessed October 12, 2017); "Коротко, КИРГИЗИЯ (In brief, Kyrgyzstan)," *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, October 4, 2006, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2006-10-04/5_news.html, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁷⁴ Roman Gaynanov, "В Баткене завершились учения «Заслон-2015» с участием погранслужб Кыргызстана, Таджикистана и ФСБ России (The exercise "Barrier-2015," with the participation of the Border Guards of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and the FSB of Russia, has finished in Batken)," *Kabar*, July 27, 2015, <http://kabar.kg/regions/full/94933>, (accessed October 12, 2017); Svetlana Moiseeva, "Спецназ Погранслужбы получил новую экипировку от ОБСЕ (The Special Forces of the Border Guards received new equipment from the OSCE)," *Vecherniy Bishkek*, July 27, 2015, http://www.vb.kg/doc/321241_specnaz_pogranslyjby_polychil_novuyu_ekipirovku_ot_obse.html, (accessed October 12, 2017); "Таджикские пограничники примут участие в учениях "Заслон-2015" в Кыргызстане (Tajik border guards will participate in the exercise "Barrier-2015" in Kyrgyzstan)," *Avesta*, July 23, 2015, <http://avesta.tj/2015/07/23/tadzhikskie-pogranichniki-primut-uchastie-v-uchenyah-zaslon-2015-v-kyrgyzstane/>, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁷⁵ Natalya Glushayeva, "В Алматы прошел завершающий этап совместного антитеррористического учения компетентных органов СНГ «Жетысу-Антитеррор - 2014» (The final stage of the joint antiterrorism exercise «Zhetysu-Antiterror - 2014» of the competent authorities of the CIS took place in Almaty)," *Vecherniy Almaty*, September 11, 2014, <http://vecher.kz/node/31095>, (accessed December 18, 2014); "Антитеррористические учения стран ТС «Жетысу-Антитеррор-2014» стартуют в Казахстане (The antiterrorism exercise «Zhetisu-Antiterror-2014» of the TS states is starting in Kazakhstan)," *Novosti-Kazakhstan*, August 14, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140916193912/http://newskaz.ru/society/20140814/6833142.html>, (accessed October 12, 2017); "Совместные антитеррористические учения стран СНГ прошли под Алматы (The joint antiterrorism exercise of the CIS states took place outside Almaty)," *Nur KZ*, September 10, 2014, <http://news.nur.kz/330764.html>, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁷⁶ McCarthy, “*The Limits of Friendship: US Security Cooperation in Central Asia*,”; Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan, “History of the Armed Forces, 1999,” <http://mod.gov.kz/mod-en/index.php/2009-06-25-05-24-29/127-1999->, (accessed September 19, 2011), “History of the Armed Forces, 2002,” <http://www.mod.gov.kz/mod-en/index.php/2009-06-25-05-24-29/130-2002->, (accessed September 19, 2011); “Joint US-Kazakh military exercises under way in southern Kazakhstan,” *Interfax-Kazakhstan*, March 7, 2002; “Yo, sergeant,” *Gazeta.kz*, March 12, 2002, <http://engnews.gazeta.kz/art.asp?aid=303092>, (accessed September 19, 2011).

²⁷⁷ Sudha Ramachandran, “India revels in new diplomatic offensive,” *Asia Times*, November 22, 2003, http://www.atimes.com/atimes/South_Asia/EK22Df05.html, (accessed October 23, 2017); Henry Plater-Zyberk, “Tajikistan, Waiting For a Storm?,” *Conflict Studies Research Centre, Central Asian Series* 04/13 (May 2004), https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92523/04_Jun.pdf, (accessed October 24, 2017).

²⁷⁸ Roman Streshnev, “Нас объединяет небо (The sky unites us),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 21, 2004, http://old.redstar.ru/2004/10/21_10/1_02.html, (accessed October 16, 2017); “Узбекские армейские истребители впервые приняли участие в тренировке ПВО СНГ (Uzbek army fighters take part in the CIS air defense system training for the first time),” *Fergana News*, October 21, 2004, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=132>, (accessed October 16, 2017); “Началась командно-штабная тренировка войск ПВО СНГ (The command-staff training of the CIS air defense forces has started),” *RIA-Novosti*, October 19, 2004, <http://ria.ru/society/20041019/710571.html>, (accessed October 16, 2017).

²⁷⁹ “First Russian-Uzbek anti-terrorist exercise ends in Uzbekistan,” *RIA Novosti*, September 23, 2005, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070624233705/http://en.rian.ru/russia/20050923/41484583.html>, (accessed October 25, 2017); V. Paramonov and O. Ostolpovskii, “Двустороннее сотрудничество России и Узбекистана в военной сфере (Bilateral cooperation of Russia and Uzbekistan in the military sphere),” *Vremya Vostok*, December 29, 2008, <http://www.easttime.ru/analytic/3/1/550.html>, (accessed October 25, 2017).

²⁸⁰ “CIS states hold joint counter-terrorist exercises in Tajikistan,” *RIA Novosti*, April 22, 2006, <https://web.archive.org/web/20070804070143/http://en.rian.ru/russia/20060422/46797051.html>, (accessed October 16, 2017); “CIS anti-terror police drills held in Tajikistan,” *ITAR-TASS*, April 22, 2006.

²⁸¹ “ВВС РФ, Белоруссии и Казахстана проведут тренировку ПВО СНГ (The Air Forces of the Russian Federation, Belarus and Kazakhstan will take part in a CIS air defense training),” *RIA Novosti*, April 22, 2008, <http://ria.ru/society/20080422/105574246.html>, (accessed October 16, 2017).

²⁸² “В Фахрабаде прошла совместная таджикско-французская тренировка по прыжкам с парашютом (A joint Tajik-French training parachute jump took place in Fakhrobod),” *Avesta*, September 29, 2009, <http://avesta.tj/2009/09/29/v-fahrabade-proshla-sovmestnaya-tadzhiksko-frantsuzskaya-trenirovka-po-pryzhkam-s-parashyutom/>, (accessed October 23, 2017).

²⁸³ HRIC, “Counter-Terrorism and Human Rights, Appendix E.1,”; “Joint exercises of SCO countries,” *Voice of Russia*, August 16, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20101017214241/http://english.ruvr.ru:80/2010/08/16/15954518.html>, (accessed October 18, 2017).

²⁸⁴ “Таджикистан и Франция совершенствуют боеготовность (Tajikistan and France are improving combat readiness),” *Avesta*, May 26, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/05/26/tadzhikistan-i-frantsiya-sovershenstvuyut-boegotovnost/>, (accessed October 23, 2017).

²⁸⁵ Ulugbek Akishev, “Министерства обороны Кыргызстана и Таджикистана проводят тактические учения (The Ministries of Defense of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan will carry out a tactical exercise),” *Kloop*, June 17, 2011, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2011/06/17/ministerstva-oborony-kyrgyzstana-i-tadzhikistana-provodyat-takticheskie-ucheniya/>, (accessed October 17, 2017); “Kyrgyz, Tajiks Hold Joint Military Drills,” *Turkish Weekly*, June 21, 2011, <http://www.turkishweekly.net/news/116958/kyrgyz-tajiks-hold-joint-military-drills.html>, (accessed September 9, 2011).

²⁸⁶ Ali Bek, “Для чего турецкие инструкторы обучают кыргызских военнослужащих? (Why are Turkish instructors training Kyrgyz service members?),” *K News*, November 14, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/analitika/39780_dlya_chego_turetskie_instruktoryi_obuchayut_kyrgyzskih_voennoslujaschih/, (accessed October 18, 2017); Roman Gaynanov, “В ущелье «Татыр» прошли учения Минобороны КР по ликвидации террористов (The Ministry of Defense of the Kyrgyz Republic went on an exercise of eliminating terrorists in the Tatyrgorge),” *Kabar*, November 13, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/66345>, (accessed October 18, 2017).

²⁸⁷ “В Кыргызстане прошли совместные учения силовых ведомств страны и Нацгвардии американского штата Монтана (A joint exercise of the security services of the country and the National Guard of the American state of Montana took place in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, May 16, 2015, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/76515>, (accessed October 18, 2017); “Американцы поделятся опытом с кыргызскими силовиками в поисково-спасательных работах (The Americans will share their experiences with Kyrgyz security forces in search and rescue operations),” *K News*, May 13, 2014, http://www.knews.kg/action/49551_amerikantsyi_podelyatsya_opyitom_s_kyrgyzskimi_silovikami_v_poiskovo-spatatelnyih_rabotah/, (accessed October 18, 2017).

²⁸⁸ Avoz Yuldoshev, “Joint military exercise for Tajik and French servicemen conducted in Romit Gorge,” *Asia-Plus*, October 27, 2014, <http://news.tj/en/news/tajikistan/security/20141027/joint-military-exercise-tajik-and-french-servicemen-conducted-romit-gorge>, (accessed October 23, 2017).

²⁸⁹ Evgeniy Denisenko, “Военные КР приняли участие в тренировке системы ПВО СНГ (Service members of the Kyrgyz Republic took part in the training of the CIS Joint Air Defense system),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 22, 2014, http://www.vb.kg/doc/290648_voennye_kr_priniali_uchastie_v_trenirovke_sistemy_pvo_sng.html, (accessed October 16, 2017); “Страны СНГ приступили к тренировкам в рамках Объединенной системы ПВО (The state of the CIS have started the training in the framework of the Joint Air Defense system),” *Asia-Plus*, October 21, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/strany-sng-pristupili-k-trenirovкам-v-ramkakh-obedinennoi-sistemy-pvo>, (accessed October 16, 2017); Anna Potekhina, “Противник условный, боеготовность – реальная (The opposition is conditional, preparedness is real),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, October 23, 2014, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/19528-protivnik-uslovnyj-boegotovnost-realnaya>, (accessed October 16, 2017).

²⁹⁰ “В г.Артуш состоялись совместные кыргызско-китайские пограничные учения (A joint Kyrgyz-Chinese border forces exercise took place in the city of Artush),” *Kabar*, November 3, 2014, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/society/full/85466>, (accessed October 12, 2017); “В Китае пройдут совместные

кыргызско-китайские пограничные учения (A joint Kyrgyz-Chinese border forces exercise will take place in China),” *K News*, October 30, 2014, http://www.knews.kg/politics/56419_v_kitae_proydut_sovmestnyie_kyrgyzsko-kitayskie_pogranichnyie_ucheniya/, (accessed October 12, 2017).

²⁹¹ Oleg Groznyi, “Десантное братство на Северном полюсе (Airborne brotherhood at the North Pole),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, April 7, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/22945-desantnoe-bratstvo-na-severnom-polyuse>, (accessed October 16, 2017); “Таджикские десантники замерзли на Северном полюсе (Tajik paratroopers froze at the North Pole),” *Asia-Plus*, April 13, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tadzhikskie-desantniki-zamerzli-na-severnom-polyuse>, (accessed October 16, 2017).

²⁹² “В Токмоке будут проходить тренировки сил спецназначения вооруженных сил стран ШОС (Special forces of the SCO states will carry out a training in Tokmok),” *AKI Press*, April 21, 2015, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150915073637/http://kg.akipress.org/news:614046/>, (accessed October 18, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, “Спецназ Минобороны Таджикистана примет участие в учениях стран ШОС (The special forces of the Ministry of Defense of Tajikistan will take part in the SCO exercise),” *Asia-Plus*, April 21, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/spetsnaz-minoborony-tadzhikistana-primet-uchastie-v-uchenyakh-stran-shos>, (accessed October 18, 2017); “В Кыргызстане завершились учения сил специального назначения стран-участниц ШОС (The exercise of special forces units of SCO member states has ended in Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, April 24, 2015, <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/society/full/92318>, (accessed October 18, 2017).

²⁹³ Alexander Aleksandrov, “На Харбмайдон – по сигналу тревоги (At Kharbmaydon – the alarm sounds),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, May 14, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/23653-na-kharbmajdon-po-signalu-trevogi>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, “Завершается процесс переброски войск КСОП ОДКБ в Таджикистан (The process of deploying the CORF of the CSTO to Tajikistan is wrapping up),” *Asia-Plus*, May 14, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/zavershaetsya-protsess-perebroski-voisk-ksop-odkb-v-tadzhikistan>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Alexander Aleksandrov, “Проверка сил в Таджикистане (Checking the force in Tajikistan),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, May 18, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/tadzhikistan/item/23709-proverka-sil-v-tadzhikistane>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Avaz Yuldashev, “Воинские контингенты России и других стран ОДКБ покинут Таджикистан (The military contingents of Russia and the other CSTO states are leaving Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, May 19, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/voinskie-kontingenty-rossii-i-drugikh-stran-odkb-pokinut-tadzhikistan>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Alexander Aleksandrov, “Обстановку приблизили к боевой (They moved the situation closer to combat),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, May 20, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/newspaper/item/23794-obstanovku-priblizili-k-boevoj>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Viktor Murzov, “Штурмовики идут в пике (Attack aircraft go into a nosedive),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, May 26, 2015, <http://members.vb.kg/2015/05/26/panorama/2.html>, (accessed October 17, 2017).

²⁹⁴ “Россия протестировала свои беспилотники в горах Памира (Russia tested through its unmanned aerial vehicles in the Pamir mountains),” *Asia-Plus*, May 25, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20150525/rossiya-protestirovala-svoi-besplotniki-v-gorakh-pamira>, (accessed October 24, 2017); “Таджикистан и Россия провели совместное учение в Горном Бадахшане (Tajikistan and Russia carried out a joint exercise in Gorno Badakhshan),” *Avesta*, May 21, 2015, <http://avesta.tj/2015/05/21/tadzhikistan-i-rossiya-proveli-sovmestnoe-uchenie-v-gornom-badakhshane/>, (accessed October 24, 2017).

²⁹⁵ Svetlana Lapteva, “Десант из Иваново (Paratroopers from Ivanovo),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, May 26, 2015, <http://members.vb.kg/2015/05/26/panorama/1.html>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Aleksander Aleksandrov, “Братья по оружию (Brothers in arms),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, May 25, 2015, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/kyrgyzstanarmy/item/23884-bratya-po-oruzhiyu>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Yuri Gavrillov, “Бой на взлетной полосе (Fight at the airfield),” *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, June 3, 2015, <https://rg.ru/2015/06/04/kant.html>, (accessed October 17, 2017); Lyubov Borisenko, “Российские и киргизские военные уничтожили базу условного противника (Russian and Kyrgyz soldiers eliminated the base of conditional adversaries),” *Rossiskaya Gazeta*, May 29, 2015, <https://rg.ru/2015/05/29/uchenn-site-anons.html>, (accessed October 17, 2017).

²⁹⁶ Avaz Yuldashev, “Бойцы спецназа Таджикистана и Китая проведут совместные антитеррористические учения (Soldiers of special forces units of Tajikistan and China will carry out a joint antiterrorism exercise),” *Asia-Plus*, June 4, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/boitsy-spetsnaza-tadzhikistana-i-kitaya-provedut-sovmestnye-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya>, (accessed October 23, 2017).

²⁹⁷ Evgeniy Denisenko, “Военные Кыргызстана отправятся на оперативный сбор КСБР ОДКБ (Soldiers of Kyrgyzstan are leaving for the operational instruction of the CRDF of the CSTO),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 19, 2015, http://www.vb.kg/doc/326743_voennye_kyrgyzstana_otpraviatsia_na_operativnyy_sbor_ksbr_odkb.html, (accessed October 17, 2017); “На полигоне Чебаркуль пройдет оперативный сбор штаба КСБР Центрально-Азиатского региона (The operational command and staff exercise of the CRDF of the Central Asian region will take place at the Chebarkul base),” *Avesta*, October 16, 2015, <http://avesta.tj/2015/10/16/na-poligone-chebarkul-projdet-operativnyj-sbor-shtaba-ksbr-tsentralno-aziatskogo-regiona/>, (accessed October 17, 2017); “Военнослужащие РК участвовали в антитеррористической операции на учениях в России (Soldiers of Kazakhstan participated in the operational antiterrorism exercise in Russia),” *B News*, October 27, 2015, http://bnews.kz/ru/news/obshchestvo/voennosluzhashchie_rk_uchastvovali_v_antiterroristicheskoi_operatsii_na_ucheniayah_v_rossii-2015_10_27-1178001, (accessed October 17, 2017).

²⁹⁸ Abdurahmon Rahmonov, “Совместные военные учения Таджикистана и России (A joint military exercise of Tajikistan and Russia),” *Avesta*, March 21, 2016, <http://avesta.tj/2016/03/21/sovmestnye-voennye-ucheniya-tadzhikistana-i-rossii-foto/>, (accessed October 24, 2017); Aleksander Aleksandrov, “Русские «медведи» над Памиром (Russian “Bears” above the Pamirs),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, March 15, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/tadzhikistan/item/28074-russkie-medvedi-nad-pamirom>, (accessed October 24, 2017); “Российские летчики провели более 20 самолетовылетов в рамках совместных с Таджикистаном учений (Russian pilots carried out more than 20 mission in the course of the joint exercise with Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, March 16, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/rossiiskie-letchiki-proveli-bolee-20-samoletovyletov-v-ramkakh-sovmestnykh-s-tadzhikistanom-uch>, (accessed October 24, 2017); “Учения России и Таджикистана проходят по почти всему периметру границы с Афганистаном (The exercise of Russia and Tajikistan will take place along almost the entirety of the border with Afghanistan),” *Asia-Plus*, March 15, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/ucheniya-rossii-i-tadzhikistana-prokhodyat-po-pochti-vsemu-perimetru-granitsy-s-afganistanom>, (accessed June 20, 2016); Aleksander Aleksandrov, “Сила сдерживания (The strength of containment),” *Krasnaya Zvezda*, March 20, 2016, <http://www.redstar.ru/index.php/news-menu/v-armiyakh-sng/tadzhikistan/item/28135-sila-sderzhivaniya>, (accessed October 24, 2017).

²⁹⁹ Avaz Yuldashev, “Таджикистан проводил китайских военнослужащих цветами, подарками, хлебом и солью (Tajikistan carried the Chinese service members with flowers, gifts, bread and salt),” *Asia-Plus*, October 24, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20161024/tadzhikistan-provodil-kitaiskih-soldat-i-ofitserov->

tsvetami-podarkami-hlebom-i-solyu, (accessed October 25, 2017); “Китай и Таджикистан «вступили в схватку» с афганскими террористами (China and Tajikistan “entered into a fight” with Afghan terrorists),” *Asia-Plus*, October 21, 2016, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20161021/kitai-i-tadzhikistan-vstupili-v-shvatku-s-afganskimi-terroristami>, (accessed October 25, 2017); “Совместные таджикско-китайские военные учения: Террористы рвутся в Китай через Таджикистан (The joint Tajik-Chinese military exercise: Terrorists break into China through Tajikistan),” *Ozodagon*, October 20, 2016, <http://catoday.org/centrasia/29718-sovmestnye-tadzhiksko-kitayskie-voennye-ucheniya-terroristy-rvutsya-v-kitay-cherez-tadzhikistan.html>, (accessed October 25, 2017).

³⁰⁰ “Горные стрелки стран ШОС опробовали новый китайский полигон Корла на совместных учениях (Mountain infantry of the SCO states tested the new Chinese facility Korla in a joint exercise),” *Interfax*, December 5, 2016, <http://www.interfax.ru/world/539870>, (accessed October 18, 2017); “Воинский контингент КР вернулся из Китая после горно-стрелковой тренировки (The military contingent of Kyrgyzstan has returned from China after the mountain-warfare training),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, December 6, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/351586_voinskiy_kontingent_kr_vernylsia_iz_kitaia_posle_gorno_strelkovoy_trenirovki.html, (accessed October 18, 2017).

³⁰¹ “В Таджикистане проходят таджикско-российские антитеррористические учения (A Tajik-Russian antiterrorism exercise is taking place in Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, March 28, 2017, <http://avesta.tj/2017/03/28/v-tadzhikistane-prohodyat-tadzhiksko-rossijskie-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya/>, (accessed September 30, 2019); “Спецназ Таджикистана и России уничтожил лагерь условных террористов (Special forces of Tajikistan and Russian eliminated a camp of conditional terrorists),” *Avesta*, March 29, 2017, <http://avesta.tj/2017/03/29/spetsnaz-tadzhikistana-i-rossii-unichtozhil-lager-uslovnih-terroristov/>, (accessed September 30, 2019).

³⁰² “Силы безопасности США и Таджикистана проведут учения по реагированию на кризис (Security forces of the USA and Tajikistan will carry out crisis response exercises),” *Asia-Plus*, March 20, 2017, <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20170320/sili-bezopasnosti-ssha-i-tadzhikistana-provedut-ucheniya-po-reagirovaniyu-na-krizis>, (accessed September 30, 2019).

³⁰³ “В Узбекистан прибыли российские военные. Первые за 12 лет учения пройдут в Джизакской области (Russian soldiers have arrived in Uzbekistan. For the first time in 12 years they will conduct an exercise in Jizzakh Oblast),” *Fergana News*, October 3, 2017, <https://www.fergananews.com/news/26945>, (accessed October 2, 2019); “В Узбекистане начались совместные учения российских и узбекских военных (A joint exercise of Russian and Uzbek soldiers has started in Uzbekistan),” *Regnum*, October 4, 2017, <https://regnum.ru/news/2330116.html>, (accessed October 2, 2019).

³⁰⁴ Avaz Yuldashev, “Таджикистан и Россия проведут на Памире совместные войсковые учения (Tajikistan and Russia will carry out a joint military exercise in the Pamirs),” *Asia-Plus*, July 16, 2018, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20180716/tadzhikistan-i-rossiya-provedut-na-pamire-sovmestnie-voiskovie-ucheniya>, (accessed July 31, 2019); “В учениях в ГБАО принимают участие до 10 тыс. военных из Таджикистана и России (Up to 10 thousand soldiers from Tajikistan and Russia will participate in the exercise in the GBAO),” *Tajikskoe telegrafnoe agentsvo*, July 19, 2018, <https://tajikta.tj/ru/news/v-uchenyakh-v-gbao-prinimayut-uchastie-do-10-tys-voennykh-iz-tadzhikistana-i-rossii>, (accessed July 31, 2019).

³⁰⁵ Pavel Nastin, “Большой рейд: в ЦВО прошли учения спецназа России и Узбекистана (The great raid: special forces of Russia and Uzbekistan carried out an exercise in the Central Military District),” *Zvezda*, September 3,

2018, <https://tvzvezda.ru/news/forces/content/201809031115-eacx.htm>, (accessed July 26, 2019); “Спецназовцы РФ и Узбекистана провели совместные учения (Special forces of Russia and Uzbekistan conducted a joint exercise),” *Anhor*, August 27, 2018, <https://anhor.uz/news/specnazovci-rf-i-uzbekistana-proveli-sovmestnie-ucheniya>, (accessed July 26, 2019).

³⁰⁶ Avaz Yuldashev, “Военные разведчики Таджикистана и Узбекистана провели совместные учения (Military scouts of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan carried out a joint exercise),” *Asia-Plus*, April 29, 2019, <https://news.tj/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20190429/voennie-razvedchiki-tadzhikistana-i-uzbekistana-proveli-sovmestnie-ucheniya>, (accessed May 29, 2019); “Таджикские и узбекские разведчики отработали взаимодействие при ликвидации террористов (Tajik and Uzbek scouts worked out coordination in the elimination of terrorists),” *Fergana News*, April 29, 2019, <https://fergana.agency/news/106998/>, (accessed May 29, 2019).

³⁰⁷ “Казахстанские военнослужащие вернулись из Таджикистана, где проходили учения (Kazakh soldiers returned from Tajikistan, where they carried out an exercise),” *B News*, May 25, 2019, https://bnews.kz/news/kazakhstanskie_voennosluzhashchie_vernulis_iz_tadzhikistana_gde_prokhodili_ucheniya/, (accessed July 23, 2019); “На полигоне Фахрабад прошли таджикско-казахстанские антитеррористические учения (A Tajik-Kazakh counterterrorism exercise took place at the Fahrabad range),” *Avesta*, May 17, 2019, <http://avesta.tj/2019/05/17/na-poligone-fahrabad-proshli-tadzhiksko-kazahstanskie-antiterroristicheskie-ucheniya/>, (accessed July 23, 2019).

³⁰⁸ “В Ишкашиме стартуют таджикско-китайские антитеррористические учения (The Tajiki-Chinese antiterrorism exercise is starting in Ishkashim),” *Asia-Plus*, August 8, 2019, <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20190808/spetsialnaya-rotarmii-kitaya-pribila-v-ishkashim>, (accessed August 21, 2019); “Таджико-китайские военные учения стартовали в Бадахшане (The Tajik-Chinese military exercise started in Badakhshan),” *Centrasia*, August 13, 2019, <https://centrasia.org/newsA.php?st=1565697540>, (accessed August 21, 2019); Lu Peng and Wu Shike, “China, Tajikistan conclude joint counter-terrorism drill,” *China Military Online*, August 16, 2019, http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-08/16/content_9592237.htm, (accessed August 21, 2019); Lu Peng and Wu Shike, “China and Tajikistan kicks off joint counter-terrorism exercise,” *China Military Online*, August 12, 2019, http://eng.chinamil.com.cn/view/2019-08/12/content_9587478.htm, (accessed August 21, 2019).

³⁰⁹ “В Таджикистане завершились совместные российско-таджикские учения (The joint Russia-Tajik exercise has finished in Tajikistan),” *Asia Plus*, November 27, 2020, <https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/security/20201127/komanduyutshii-voiskami-tsvo-podvel-itogi-sovmestnogo-rossiiskogo-tadzhikskogo-ucheniya>, (accessed December 23, 2020); “В Таджикистане проходят совместные таджикско-российские военные учения (A joint Tajik-Russian military exercise is taking place in Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, November 25, 2020, <http://avesta.tj/2020/11/25/v-tadzhikistane-prohodyat-sovmestnye-tadzhiksko-rossijskie-voennye-ucheniya/>, (accessed December 23, 2020).

³¹⁰ “Kazakhstan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1 (February 10, 2015): 180-182; Sergey Golunov and Roger McDermott, “Border Security in Kazakhstan: Threats, Policies, and Future Challenges,” *Journal of Slavic Military Studies* 18, number 1 (2005): 31-58; “Head of State Security Service of Kazakhstan named,” *Kazinform*, April 21, 2014, <http://www.inform.kz/eng/article/2650946>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³¹¹ Министерство Обороны Республики Казахстан, “Документы, Военная доктрина,” (The Ministry of Defense of the Republic of Kazakhstan, “Documents, Military Doctrine,”),
https://www.mod.gov.kz/rus/dokumenty/voennaya_doktrina/, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³¹² Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Programs, Defense Trade and Arms Transfers, Excess Defense Articles,” <http://www.dsca.mil/programs/excess-defense-articles-eda>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Grigoriy Bedenko, “В полку прибыло (It arrived in the regiment),” *Vox Populi*, April 3, 2012, <http://www.voxpopuli.kz/main/627-v-polku-pribylo-.html>, (accessed December 15, 2017); “Kazakhstan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1: 182.

³¹³ “Kyrgyzstan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1 (February 10, 2015): 182-183.

³¹⁴ Президента Кыргызской Республики, “Новости, Указы, Утверждена Военная доктрина Кыргызской Республики,” (The President of the Kyrgyz Republic, “News, Decrees, The Ratified Military Doctrine of the Kyrgyz Republic,”)
http://www.president.kg/ru/news/ukazy/2444_utverjdena_voennaya_doktrina_kyrgyzskoy_respubliki/, (accessed December 15, 2017); Mirlan Alymbekov, “ИАЦ «Кабар»: На пути к готовности - военная доктрина Кыргызстана (The Information Analytical Center “Kabar”: On the path to readiness – the military doctrine of Kyrgyzstan),” *Kabar*, July 22, 2013, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/kabar/full/59670>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³¹⁵ “Tajikistan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1 (February 10, 2015): 198-199; Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – Russia and the CIS, “Tajikistan, Security and Foreign Forces,” March 22, 2011.

³¹⁶ Rule of Law in Armed Conflicts Project (RULAC), “ACCESS TO GLOBAL DATABASE BY STATE OR TERRITORY, Tajikistan, Legislation, Military Doctrine (RUS),”
https://web.archive.org/web/20150429175325/http://www.geneva-academy.ch/RULAC/pdf_state/Military-Doctrine-TJ.pdf, (accessed December 15, 2017); Adlia, Централизованный Банк Правовой Информации Республики Таджикистан, “Постановление Маджлиси Намояндагон Маджлиси Оли Республики Таджикистан,” (The Centralized Database of Legal Information of the Republic of Tajikistan, “The Decree of the Assembly of Representatives of the Supreme Assembly of the Republic of Tajikistan”),
http://www.adlia.tj/base/show_doc.fwx?Rgn=7218, (accessed April 29, 2015).

³¹⁷ “Turkmenistan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1 (February 10, 2015): 199-200; Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – Russia and the CIS, “Turkmenistan, Security and Foreign Forces,” November 11, 2009.

³¹⁸ “Утверждена новая военная доктрина независимого, постоянно нейтрального Туркменистана (The new ratified military doctrine of neutral, independent Turkmenistan),” *Turkmenistan.ru*, January 21, 2009,
<http://www.turkmenistan.ru/ru/node/26325>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³¹⁹ Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Excess Defense Articles”; United States Coast Guard, “About Us, History, Historian’s Office, Cutter Files, “Point” class 82 foot WPBs, Point Jackson (1970); WPB-82378,”
http://www.uscg.mil/history/webcutters/Point_Jackson.pdf, (accessed July 21, 2015).

³²⁰ “Uzbekistan, Chapter Five: Russia and Eurasia,” *The Military Balance* 115, number 1 (February 10, 2015): 203-204; Jane’s Sentinel Security Assessment – Russia and the CIS, “Uzbekistan, Security and Foreign Forces,” June 16, 2010.

³²¹ Roger McDermott, “The Changing Face of the Uzbek Armed Forces,” *CACI Analyst*, February 12, 2003, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/analytical-articles/item/7797-analytical-articles-caci-analyst-2003-2-12-art-7797.html>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Rustam Burnashev and Irina Chernykh, “Changes in Uzbekistan’s Military Policy after the Andijan Events,” *China and Eurasia Forum Quarterly*, February 2007, https://web.archive.org/web/20131023194915/http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/docs/CEF/Quarterly/February_2007/Burnashev_Chernykh.pdf, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³²² Defense Security Cooperation Agency, “Excess Defense Articles”; “Триста боевых машин от США: Дорогой подарок президенту Узбекистана, или «хлам», который некуда девать? (Three hundred combat vehicles from the USA: an expensive gift to the president of Uzbekistan or trash that nothing can be done with?),” *Ferghana News*, January 22, 2015, <http://www.ferghananews.com/articles/8380>, (accessed December 15, 2017); “Поставки американской бронетехники скоро завершатся (Deliveries of American armored vehicles will be finishing soon),” *Anhor*, June 15, 2015, <http://www.anhor.uz/news/postavki-amerikanskoj-bronetehniki-skoro-zavershatsya>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Director, Operational Test and Evaluation, “Publications, Annual Reports, 2010 Annual Report, DoD Programs, Mine Resistant Ambush Protected (MRAP) Family of Vehicles,” <http://www.dote.osd.mil/pub/reports/FY2010/pdf/dod/2010mrap.pdf>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Association of the United States Army, “Publications, ARMY Magazine, October 2012, Combat Support and Combat Service Support,” http://www.ausa.org/publications/armymagazine/archive/2012/10/Documents/Weapons5_1012.pdf, (accessed July 17, 2015); “Oshkosh introduces M-ATV family of vehicles,” *Shephard*, May 8, 2014, <http://www.shephardmedia.com/news/landwarfareintl/oshkosh-defense-introduces-m-atv-family-vehicles/>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Navistar Defense, “Vehicles, MaxxPro Recover Vehicle,” http://www.navistardefense.com/NavistarDefense/vehicles/maxxpromrap/maxxpro_recovery_vehicle, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³²³ Michael Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force, A Comparative Study of Central Asian Islamic Extremist Movements,” *Asian Cultures and Modernity* 12 (October 2006) 19-30; Bakhtiyar Babajanov, Kamil Malikov, and Aloviddin Nazarov, “Islam in the Ferghana Valley: Between National Identity and Islamic Alternative,” in *Ferghana Valley, The Heart of Central Asia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), 317-321; Footage of the occupation in Namangan can be seen at: “Karimov Namanganda (1991),” *turkistontv, You Tube*, Uploaded on August 20, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xwVS8CQg2s4>, (accessed November 9, 2017).

³²⁴ Babajanov, Malikov, and Nazarov, “Islam in the Ferghana Valley: Between National Identity and Islamic Alternative”

³²⁵ Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force,”; Gretchen Peters, *Seeds of Terror* (New York: St. Martin’s Press, 2009), 130-133.

³²⁶ Viktor Kurganov, “Террористы нанесли удар по центру Ташкента (Terrorists carry out a strike at the center of Tashkent),” *Kommersant*, February 17, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/213169?isSearch=True>, (accessed

November 9, 2017); Dmitry Alyaev, Viktor Kurganov, and Boris Mikhailov, “Ташкент продолжают взрывать (Tashkent continues to explode),” *Kommersant*, February 18, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/213278>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Bakytbek Beshimov, Pulat Shozimov, and Murat Bakhadyrov, “A New Phase in the History of the Fergana Valley, 1992-2008,” in *Fergana Valley, The Heart of Central Asia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), 221; Vitaly V. Naumkin, “Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan,” *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series* (2003).

³²⁷ Bakhrom Tursunov and Marina Pikulina, “Severe Lessons of Batken,” *Conflict Studies Research Centre* (November 1999), https://www.files.ethz.ch/isn/92898/99_Nov_2.pdf, (accessed November 9, 2017); Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force,”; Dmitry Alyaev and Boris Volkhonskiy, “Открыт второй ваххабитский фронт (The second Wahhabist front is open),” *Kommersant*, August 25, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/224241>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Yuri Stepanov, “Киргизия справится с боевиками сама (Kyrgyzstan will deal with the militants by itself),” *Kommersant*, August 31, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/224611>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Yuri Chernogaev, “На памирских бандитов потратили \$15 млн (They spent \$15 million on the Pamiri bandits),” *Kommersant*, October 20, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/228154>, (accessed November 9, 2017).

³²⁸ Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force,”; Yuri Chernogayev, “Узбекские исламисты пошли по чеченской дорожке (Uzbek Islamists go down the Chechen road),” *Kommersant*, August 8, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/154876?isSearch=True>, (accessed November 9, 2017); “На Узбекистан напали таджики (Tajiks attacked Uzbekistan),” *Kommersant*, August 9, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/154976?isSearch=True>, (accessed November 9, 2017); “Террористический интернационал (International terrorism),” *Kommersant*, August 15, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/155386?isSearch=True>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Ivan Sidorov, “Ташкент стал прифронтовым городом (Tashkent became a front-line city),” *Kommersant*, August 23, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/156033?isSearch=True>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Said Dzhangir and Vasilii Mikhailov, “Узбекские боевики рассеяны (The Uzbek militants have scattered),” *Kommersant*, August 25, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/156181?isSearch=True>, (accessed November 9, 2017).

³²⁹ Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force,”; Igor Rotar, Vladimir Mukhin, and Aleksandr Umnov, “Фундаменталисты активизируются, (The fundamentalists are becoming active),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 15, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-15/5_activity.html, (accessed November 9, 2017); Afanasiy Sborov, “ИДУ на вы (The IMU on you),” *Kommersant*, August 22, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/17471>, (accessed November 9, 2017); Sergey Danilov, “Исламские экстремисты разгромлены (The Islamic extremists have been smashed),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 23, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-23/5_islam.html, (accessed November 9, 2017); Nikolay Plotnikov, “Очаг напряженности в Средней Азии (The hotbed of tension in Central Asia),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 25, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-25/5_ochag.html, (accessed November 9, 2017); Armen Khanbabyan, ““Горячая осень” перейдет в “горячую весну”? (Will a “hot autumn” turn into a “hot spring”?),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 12, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-09-12/5_hot_autumn.html, (accessed November 9, 2017); Yuri Chernogaev, “Киргизская вода в обмен на узбекский газ (Kyrgyz water in exchange for Uzbek gas),” *Kommersant*, September 27, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/159076>, (accessed November 9, 2017).

³³⁰ I. Mirsaitov, A. Saipov, “Ex-gunmen of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan claim that their organization is no more,” *Fergana News*, April 16, 2006, <http://enews.fergana.com/article.php?id=1386>, (accessed November 9, 2017).

13, 2017); Ismail Khan and Alamgir Bittani, "42 Uzbeks among 58 dead: Fierce clashes in S. Waziristan," *Dawn*, March 21, 2007, <http://archives.dawn.com/2007/03/21/top1.htm>, (accessed November 13, 2017).

³³¹ Feruza Zhani, "Что такое «Союз исламского джихада»: Выдумка спецслужб или «дочка» «Аль-Каиды»? (What is the "Islamic Jihad Union": an invention of the security services or a "daughter" of "al-Qaeda"?)," *Fergana.ru*, September 28, 2009, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6311>, (accessed November 13, 2017).

³³² "В Узбекистане совершен новый теракт (A new terrorist attack was carried out in Uzbekistan)," *RIA Novosti*, March 30, 2004, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20040330/557065.html>, (accessed November 13, 2017); Olga Fazylova, "Перестрелка на северо-востоке Ташкента закончилась (The shootout in the north-east of Tashkent has ended)," *TRIBUNE-uz*, March 30, 2004, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1080651420>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, November 13, 2017); "В Ташкенте совершена серия терактов (A series of terrorist attacks have been carried out in Tashkent)," *RIA Novosti*, July 30, 2004, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20040730/644005.html>, (accessed November 13, 2017).

³³³ Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 1-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/287-oih-afgonistonda-1-qism.html>, (accessed October 25, 2012); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 3-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/289-oih-afgonistonda-3-qism.html>, (accessed October 25, 2012); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 4-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/290-oih-afgonistonda-4-qism.html>, (accessed October 25, 2012).

³³⁴ "Исламское движение Узбекистана: В связи с гибелью Тахира Юлдашева назначен новый «эмир» (The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan: with the death of Tahir Yuldashev, a new "emir" has been named)," *Fergana.ru*, August 16, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=15388&mode=snews>, (accessed November 13, 2017); Kamoliddin Rabbimov, "Идеология узбекоязычного джихадизма (The ideology of Uzbek language jihadism)," *Ekspertnaya Rabochaya Gruppya*, August 1, 2011, viewable at *Fergana.ru*, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=7038>, (accessed November 13, 2017); "Пакистан: Исламское движение Узбекистана сообщило о гибели своего лидера Усмана Одила и назвала имя преемника (Pakistan: the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan reported on the death of its leader Usman Odil and named a successor)," *Fergana.ru*, August 6, 2012, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/19215>, (accessed November 13, 2017); For the announcement of Usman Odil taking power in August 2010, see: <http://furqon.com/kutubxona/bayonotlar/67-usmon-odil-bayonoti.html>, (accessed October 18, 2012).

³³⁵ "Ўзбекистон ИсломиЙ Ҳаракатининг 1430 ҳижрий йилдаги шаҳидлари," (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Martyrs in the year 1430), <http://web.archive.org/web/20110226044650/http://www.furqon.com/Maqolalar/Shahidlar-1430.html>, (accessed November 17, 2017); "Ўзбекистон ИсломиЙ Ҳаракатининг 1431 ҳижрий йилдаги шаҳидлари (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Martyrs in the year 1431)," <http://web.archive.org/web/20110226033733/http://www.furqon.com/Maqolalar/shahidlar-1431.html>, (accessed November 17, 2017); "Ўзбекистон ИсломиЙ Ҳаракатининг 1432 ҳижрий йилдаги шаҳидлари (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan Martyrs in the year 1432)," <https://web.archive.org/web/20130131010947/http://furqon.com/2011-09-16-11-34-50.html>, (accessed November 17, 2017).

³³⁶ Praveen Swami, "Desperate bid to purchase elusive peace," *The Hindu*, November 5, 2011, <http://www.thehindu.com/opinion/lead/article2598711.ece>, (accessed November 17, 2017); Zulqifar Ali and Pazir Gul, "Differences crop up among Waziristan militant outfits," *Dawn*, September 16, 2011, <http://dawn.com/2011/09/16/differences-crop-up-among-waziristan-militant-outfits/>, (accessed November 17, 2017); "The expendables?," *Dawn*, October 21, 2012, <http://dawn.com/2012/10/21/the-expendables/>, (accessed November 17, 2017); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 5-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/291-oih-afgonistonda-5-qism.html>, (accessed October 29, 2012); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 6-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/292-oih-afgonistonda-6-qism.html>, (accessed October 29, 2012); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 7-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/293-oih-afgonistonda-7-qism.html>, (accessed October 29, 2012); Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Filmlar, «O'.I.H. Afg'onistonda» 8-qism," <http://furqon.com/filmlar/jundullah/493-oih-afgonistonda-8-qism.html>, (accessed October 29, 2012).

³³⁷ See МАҚСАДИМИЗ: Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, <http://web.archive.org/web/20110226031032/http://www.furqon.com/>, (accessed through the Way Back Machine, November 29, 2017).

³³⁸ Furqon, O'zbekiston Islomiy Harakati, "Bayonotlar, Bildirishi," <http://furqon.com/kutubxona/bayonotlar/460-oih-ning-bildirishi.html>, (accessed October 29, 2012); "Pakistan: the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan reported on the death of its leader Usman Odil and named a successor," *Fergana.ru*; "О новом лидере Исламского движения Узбекистана (ИДУ) Усмани Газии мало что известно (Little is known about the new leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Usman Gazi)," *12.uz*, August 15, 2012, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1345059780>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, November 28, 2017); "Террористы ИДУ заявили об объединении с «Исламским государством» (The terrorists of the IMU declared unity with the "Islamic State")," *Anhor*, October 6, 2014, <https://anhor.uz/news/terroristi-idu-zayavili-ob-obedinenii-s-islamskim-gosudarstvom>, (accessed November 28, 2017); "Афганистан: Талибы распространили фото в подтверждение гибели главы ИДУ Усмана Газии (Afghanistan: the Taliban distributed a photo to confirm the death of the head of the IMU Usman Gazi)," *Fergana.ru*, December 11, 2015, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/24246>, (accessed November 28, 2017).

³³⁹ Serik Sabekov, "Взрыв в здании областного ДКНБ в Актобе совершил путем самоподрыва Р. Макатов - Генеральная прокуратура РК (An explosion at the DKNB oblast building in Aktobe was a suicide bombing carried out by R. Makatov – General Prosecutor of the Republic of Kazakhstan)," *Kazinform*, May 17, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2380570>, (accessed December 15, 2017); "Теракт в Актобе у здания департамента КНБ (A terrorist attack in Aktobe near the building of the KNB department)," *Respublika*, May 17, 2011, <http://www.respublika-kz.info/news/society/14720/>, (accessed January 26, 2012); Vadim Kuramshin, "Теракт в Актобе у здания департамента КНБ (A terrorist attack in Aktobe near the building of the KNB department)," *Megapolis*, June 6, 2011, https://web.archive.org/web/20120819072746/http://megapolis.kz/art/Eto_ne_terakti_a_publichniy_suitsid_popitka_virazit_protest, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁰ Maxim Popov, "ВИДЕО и ФОТО: Взрыв прогремел примерно в 30 метрах от СИЗО КНБ в Астане (Video and Photo: The explosion rattled around 30 meters out from the KNB prison in Astana)," *Tengri News*, May 24, 2011, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/188653/, (accessed December 15, 2017); "Установлена личность второго погибшего при взрыве в Астане (The identity of the second victim in the explosion in Astana has been

established),” *Tengri News*, June 1, 2011, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/189432/, (accessed December 15, 2017); Yulia Nitchenko, “Спецслужбы РК проверяют «Солдат Халифата» (The security services of the Republic of Kazakhstan are verifying the “Soldiers of the Caliphate”),” *Komsomol’skaya Pravda Kazakhstan*, November 3, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20111106044018/http://www.kp.kz/node/10810>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴¹ Sergei Kozlov, “Опиум народа - не религия, а революция (The opium of the people – it is not religion, but revolution),” *Novoe Pokolenie*, September 2, 2011, <http://www.np.kz/index.php?newsid=9132>, (accessed December 1, 2011).

³⁴² Muratbek Makulbekov, “Казахстан направит четырех офицеров в состав Международных сил содействия безопасности в Афганистане (Kazakhstan will send four officers to the contingent of International Security Assistance Forces in Afghanistan),” *Kazinform*, May 18, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2380929>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴³ “Afghan talibs warn Kazakhstan,” *Tengri News*, May 23, 2011, http://en.tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/1942/, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁴ Muratbek Makulbekov, “Сенат отклонил законопроект о ратификации Соглашения о направлении казахстанских военных в Афганистан (The Senate rejected the bill on the ratification of the Agreement on sending Kazakh soldiers to Afghanistan),” *Kazinform*, June 9, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2386428>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁵ Madina Aimbetova, “Ветераны-афганцы: Парламент втягивает нас в войну! (Afghan veterans: parliament is drawing us into war!),” *Vremya*, May 26, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=21751>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁶ Maxim Popov, “Двоих полицейских расстреляли у опорного пункта в Актюбинской области (Two policemen have been shot at the checkpoint in the Aktobe oblast),” *Tengri News*, July 1, 2011, <http://tengrinews.kz/crime/191836/>, (accessed December 15, 2017); “Убийство полицейских в Актюбинской области: Фоторепортаж с места спецоперации (The murder of policemen in the Aktobe oblast: a photo report from the scene of the special operation),” *Tengri News*, July 7, 2011, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/192156/, (accessed December 15, 2017); “Уничтожены 9 подозреваемых в убийстве полицейских в Актюбинской области (The 9 suspects in the murders of the policemen have been eliminated in the Aktobe oblast),” *Tengri News*, July 9, 2011, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/192313/, (accessed December 15, 2017); Kuanysh Alimbetov, “На поимку убийц полицейских в Актюбинской области брошен спецназ (Special forces have been thrown in to capture the killers of the policemen in the Aktobe oblast),” *Tengri News*, July 3, 2011, <http://tengrinews.kz/crime/191942/>, (accessed December 15, 2017); “В Актюбинской области найдено оружие убитых полицейских (The weapons of the slain policemen have been found in the Aktobe oblast),” *Tengri News*, July 14, 2011, <http://tengrinews.kz/events/192606/>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁷ “По факту убийства полицейских в Актюбинской области установлены 6 подозреваемых - МВД РК (6 suspects have been established in the murder of the policemen in the Aktobe oblast – Ministry of Internal Affairs of the Republic of Kazakhstan),” *Kazinform*, July 3, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2391350>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Gennady Benditskiy, “Ад в камышовом раю (Hell in the paradise of reeds),” *Vremya*, July 7, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=22465>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁸ Gennady Benditskiy, “Голову в песок (Head in the sand),” *Vremya*, July 14, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=22632>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁴⁹ “Взрывы в Атырау: первые подробности (The explosion in Atyrau: the first details),” *Ak Zhayyk*, October 31, 2011, <http://www.azh.kz/news/view/7677>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Tamara Sukhomlinova and Murat Sultangaliev, “Прокуратура подтверждает: это был самоподрыв смертника (The general prosecutor confirms: this was a suicide bomber),” *Ak Zhayyk*, October 31, 2011, <http://www.azh.kz/news/view/7678>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Tamara Sukhomlinova, “После взрыва: рассказывают жильцы дома №30 (After the explosion: the residents of building No. 30 talk),” *Ak Zhayyk*, November 1, 2011, <http://www.azh.kz/news/view/7688>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁵⁰ “Экстремисты пригрозили Казахстану актами насилия из-за закона о религии (Extremists have threatened violent attacks in Kazakhstan because of the law on religion),” *Tengri News*, October 26, 2011, http://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/200106/, (accessed December 15, 2017); ““Солдаты халифата” взяли на себя ответственность за взрывы в Атырау (“The Soldiers of the Caliphate” have claimed responsibility for the explosions in Atyrau),” *Ak Zhayyk*, November 1, 2011, <http://www.azh.kz/news/view/7686>, (accessed December 15, 2017).

³⁵¹ “Islamist group threatens Kazakhstan over religion law,” *Reuters*, October 26, 2011, <http://af.reuters.com/article/egyptNews/idAFL5E7LQ06P20111026?pageNumber=1&virtualBrandChannel=0>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Zarina Akhmatova, “Атырау: первая кровь (Atyrau: First blood),” *Vremya*, November 1, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=24290>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Azamat Maytanov, “Справка «АЖ»: Кто такие Солдаты Халифата? (Ak Zhayyk inquiry: Who exactly are the Soldiers of the Caliphate?),” *Ak Zhayyk*, November 2, 2011, <http://www.azh.kz/news/view/7692>, (accessed December 15, 2017); Dilyarim Arkin, “Кто стоит за «Солдатами Халифата» (Who is behind the “Soldiers of the Caliphate?”),” *Guljan*, November 9, 2011, <http://www.guljan.org/news/komments/2011/November/845>, (accessed January 4, 2012).

³⁵² Oleg Gubaydulin, “В Алматы задержаны убийцы патрульных (The killers of the patrolmen have been arrested in Almaty),” *Karavan*, November 18, 2011, <https://www.caravan.kz/gazeta/v-almaty-zaderzhany-ubijcy-patrulnykh-60318/>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁵³ “Поминутная хронология трагических событий в Таразе (A minute-by-minute chronology of the tragic situation in Taraz),” *Tengri News*, November 18, 2011, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/pominutnaya-hronologiya-tragicheskikh-sobyitiy-v-taraze---201846/, (accessed December 18, 2017); Galina Vybornova, “Кровавый путь убийцы (The bloody path of the killer),” *Vremya*, November 15, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=24530>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁵⁴ “Террорист из Тараза был хорошим стрелком в армии (The terrorist from Taraz was a good shot in the army),” *Tengri News*, November 13, 2011, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/terrorist-iz-taraza-byil-horoshim-strelkom-v-armii--201415/, (accessed December 18, 2017); “Полиция: Смертник в Таразе действовал один (Police: The bomber in Taraz acted alone),” *Tengri News*, November 14, 2011, <https://tengrinews.kz/crime/politsiya-smertnik-v-taraze-deystvoval-odin-201497/>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁵⁵ Генеральная Прокуратура Республики Казахстан (The General Prosecutor of the Republic of Kazakhstan), “Текст Выступления официального представителя Генеральной прокуратуры Суюндикова Нурдаулета (Text

of the speech of the official spokesperson of the General Prosecutor Nurdaulet Suyundikov),” December 4, 2011, <http://prokuror.kz/rus/novosti2/?cid=0&rid=4172>, (accessed January 25, 2012).

³⁵⁶ Ruslan Bakhtigareev, “Боралдайская зачистка (The Boralday cleanup),” *Vremya*, December 3, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/index.php?module=news&newsid=24849>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “ФОТО: В Боралдае ликвидированы 5 террористов (Photo: 5 terrorists have been liquidated in Boralday),” *Tengri News*, December 4, 2011, <https://tengrinews.kz/crime/foto-v-boraldae-likvidirovani-5-terroristov-203031/>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “Перестрелка в Боралдае глазами очевидцев (The shooting in Boralday from the eyes of witnesses),” *Tengri News*, December 5, 2011, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/perestrelka-v-boraldae-glazami-ochevidtsev-203042/, (accessed December 18, 2017);

³⁵⁷ Andrey Skvoretsov, Madina Aimbetova, and Togzhan Gani, “Жанаозен: пожар на крайнем западе (Zhanaozen: a fire in the far west),” *Vremya*, December 21, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/12/21/zhanaozen-pozhar-na-kraynem-zapade>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “Zhanaozen. Nine Days Later...,” *Vox Populi*, December 29, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140709183635/http://www.voxpopuli.kz/en/post/view/id/546>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁵⁸ Madina Aimbetova, “КаражанБАСТА! (KarazhanSTRIKE!),” *Vremya*, May 18, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/05/18/karazhanbasta!>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “Айда бастовать! (Ayda on strike!),” *Vremya*, May 24, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/05/24/ayda-bastovat!>, (accessed December 18, 2017); KazMunayGaz National Company, “KazMunayGas Exploration Production,” https://web.archive.org/web/20120329114930/http://www.kmg.kz/en/group_companies/subsidiary/rd/, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁵⁹ “Хронология драматических событий в г. Жанаозен и станции Шетпе Мангыстауской области - Генпрокуратура РК (The chronology of the dramatic events in the city of Zhanaozen and the Shetpe state in Mangystau oblast – the General Prosecutor of the Republic of Kazakhstan),” *Kazinform*, December 18, 2011, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2427201>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “В Шетпе полицейские стреляли по ногам нападавших (In Shetpe the police shot at the legs of the attackers),” *Vremya*, December 18, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/12/18/v-shetpe-policeyskie-strelyali-po-nogam-napadavshih>, (accessed December 18, 2017); “Видео предоставленное Генпрокуратурой (Video provided by the General Prosecutor),” *Vremya*, December 18, 2011, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2011/12/18/video-predostavlennoe-genprokuraturoy>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁶⁰ “Беспорядки в Жанаозене (The riots in Zhanaozen),” *YouTube*, December 18, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=o9cSHFtE2lc&NR=1&feature=endscreen>, (accessed March 16, 2012); “Жанаозен. Как все начиналось (Zhanaozen. How it all started),” *YouTube*, January 2, 2012, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=kYKqTslbxA&feature=channel_video_title, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁶¹ “Без комментариев. Беспорядки Жанаозен 16.12.2011 (No comment. The Zhanaozen riots 16.12.2011),” *YouTube*, December 17, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=xOMD4aTSrxc&feature=related>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁶² “Жанаозен документальное видео беспорядков 16.12.2011 (The Zhanaozen documentary video of the riots 16.12.2011),” *YouTube*, December 22, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WzcdZH22sv8&feature=related>, (accessed March 16, 2012).

³⁶³ “Жанаозен Расстрел бастующих 16.12.2011 (The Zhanaozen shooting of strikers 16.12.2011),” *YouTube*, December 21, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=m2H4Z7K_fmI, (accessed March 16, 2012).

³⁶⁴ “Жанаозен. Видео расстрела безоружных людей (Zhanaozen. The video of the shooting of unarmed people),” *YouTube*, December 31, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=QjpCl5Xfmgo&feature=player_embedded, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁶⁵ “Вид на стрельбу в Жанаозене с крыши (The view of the shooting in Zhanaozen from the rooftops),” *YouTube*, January 23, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=S-J7CAROGd0>, (accessed December 18, 2017).

³⁶⁶ “На месте взрыва в Алматинской области найдены тела 8 человек (The bodies of 8 people have been found at the site of the explosion in the Almaty oblast),” *Tengri News*, July 13, 2012, <https://tengrinews.kz/events/meste-vzryiva-almatinskoj-oblasti-naydenyi-tela-8-217310/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Обнародован список найденного оружия на месте взрыва в Таусамале (A list of the weapons found at the explosion site in Tausamaly has been published),” *Tengri News*, July 13, 2012, <http://tengrinews.kz/events/obnarodovan-spisok-naydenного-oruziya-na-meste-vzryiva-v-tausamale-217312/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Natalya Sorokoumova, “«Взрыв в Таусамалы» (An explosion in Tausamaly),” *Inform Buro*, July 16, 2012, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/vzryiv-v-tausamaly-1302.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Natalya Sorokoumova, “Форменное безобразие (The uniform scandal),” *Megapolis*, July 23, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20130130081735/http://megapolis.kz/art/Formennoe_bezobrazie-2012_07_22, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁶⁷ “ФОТО: В Алматы ликвидированы подозреваемые в убийстве полицейского (Photo: the suspects in the police murder have been eliminated in Almaty),” *Tengri News*, July 30, 2012, <http://tengrinews.kz/crime/foto-v-almaty-likvidirovani-podozrevaemyie-v-ubiystve-politseyskogo-218092/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Уничтоженная в Алматы ОПГ не имела отношения к экстремистам (The destroyed criminal group in Almaty had no connection with extremists),” *Respublika*, July 31, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150426125431/http://www.respublika-kz.info/news/doslovno/24319/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Приказано уничтожить (Ordered to destroy),” *Inform Buro*, August 6, 2012, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/prikazano-unichtozhit-1293.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Aleksandr Miroglov, “Воевать научились (They learned to fight),” *Megapolis*, August 6, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20131014081926/http://megapolis.kz/art/Voevat_nauchilis, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁶⁸ Aleksandr Miroglov, “Генпрокуратура нарушила молчание (The General Prosecutor broke the silence),” *Megapolis*, August 29, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20131012231817/http://megapolis.kz/art/Genprokuratura_narushila_molchanie, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Кого зачистили на дачах под Алматы? (Who was cleaned out at the dachas outside Almaty?),” *Respublika*, August 17, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20160801032757/http://www.respublika-kz.info/news/politics/24714/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “По итогам спецоперации в Алматинской области обнаружены трупы 9 лиц - Генпрокуратура РК (The results of the special operation in the Almaty oblast discovered the bodies of 9 people – General Prosecutor of the Republic of Kazakhstan),” *Kazinform*, August 17, 2012, <http://www.inform.kz/rus/article/2487720>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “В Сети появилось новое видео антитеррористической операции в дачном массиве "Тан" (A new video has appeared on the internet of the antiterrorism operation in the suburban area "Tan"),” *Tengri News*, August 23, 2012,

<http://tengrinews.kz/crime/seti-poyavilos-novoe-video-antiterroristicheskoy-operatsii-dachnom-massive-tan-219198/>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁶⁹ Murat Sultangaliev, “Бомба сама выбрала жертву (The bomb chose the victims itself),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 5, 2012, <http://azh.kz/ru/news/view/11555>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁰ “В Кульсары убиты пять и ранен один подозреваемый в терроризме (Five have been killed and one has been wounded in suspected terrorism in Kulsary),” *Respublika*, September 12, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20150426114608/http://www.respublika-kz.info/news/doslovno/25260/>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Стрельба в Кульсары (A shooting in Kulsary),” *Inform Buro*, September 12, 2012, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/strelba-v-kulsary-1265.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Lyazzat Karazhanova, “В г.Кульсары Атырауской области идет перестрелка с террористами (A shootout with terrorists is taking place in the city of Kulsary in the Atyrau oblast),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 12, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11618>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Lyazzat Karazhanova, “Что расскажет оставшийся в живых? (What are the survivors saying?),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 13, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11663>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Lyazzat Karazhanova, “В Кульсары задержаны еще 2 подозреваемых в терроризме (Another 2 terrorism suspects have been arrested in Kulsary),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 12, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11620>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷¹ Azamat Maïtanov and Murat Sultangaliev, “Нападение на УВД г.Атырау: есть раненые (An assault on the police department in the city of Atyrau: there are casualties),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 15, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11682>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Murat Sultangaliev, “Нападение на полицию: 8 человек на 2 автомобилях (The attack on the police: 8 people in 2 vehicles),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 17, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11690>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Aleksey Nadymov, “Ночная атака (Night attack),” *Megapolis*, September 15, 2012, https://web.archive.org/web/20130131123529/http://megapolis.kz/art/Nochnaya_ataka, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷² Dmitry Evgenev and Nadezhda Shumilina, “Солдаты у дачи (Soldiers at the dachas),” *Vremya*, September 22, 2012, <http://www.time.kz/news/archive/2012/09/22/soldaty-u-dachi>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Murat Sultangaliev, “Убиты четыре человека. Спецоперация по задержанию подозреваемых в нападении на полицию г.Атырау, завершилась (Four people were killed. The special operation to apprehend the suspects in the attack on the police in the city of Atyrau has ended),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 21, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11756>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Kanata Eleuova, “Фоторепортаж с места спецоперации в мкр. «Коктем» г. Атырау (A photo report from the scene of the special operation in the «Koktem» district in the city of Atyrau),” *Aq Zhaiyq*, September 21, 2012, <http://www.azh.kz/ru/news/view/11760>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷³ Bagdat Asylbek, “Теракты в Актобе. 5 июня. Как это началось (Attacks in Aktobe. 5 June. How it started),” *Diapazon*, June 8, 2016, <http://www.diapazon.kz/aktobe/aktobe-details/83665-terakty-v-aktobe-5-iyunya-kak-eto-nachalos.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Roza Esenkulova, “17 человек погибли в ходе перестрелки в Актобе (17 people were killed in the shootout in Aktobe),” *Tengri News*, June 6, 2016, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/17-chelovek-pogibli-v-hode-perestrelki-v-aktobe-295928/, (accessed December 20, 2017); Madina Alimkhanova, “Сергей Катнов: Опасность представляют не оружейные магазины, а террористы (Sergey Katnov: Terrorists, not gun stores, represent the danger),” *Ratel*, June 13, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/raw/sergej_katnov_opasnost_predstavljajut_ne_oruzhejnye_magaziny_a_terroristy,

(accessed December 20, 2017); Asemgul Kasenova, “Генерал-майор о нападении на воинскую часть в Актобе: Это был настоящий бой (The Major General on the attack on the military unit in Aktobe: It was a real fight),” *Tengri News*, June 9, 2016, https://tengrinews.kz/kazakhstan_news/general-mayor-napadenii-voinskuyu-chast-aktobe-byil-296175/, (accessed December 20, 2017); Gennadiy Benditskiy, “Почему КНБ проспал теракт в Актобе (Why the KNB slept through the attack in Aktobe),” *Ratel*, June 14, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/scandal/pochemu_knb_prospal_terakt_v_aktobe, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁴ Asylbek, “Теракты в Актобе. 5 июня. Как это началось (Attacks in Aktobe. 5 June. How it started),”; “Глава МВД: Ночью в Актобе ликвидированы ещё 7 преступников (The head of the MVD: Another 7 criminals have been eliminated overnight in Aktobe),” *Ratel*, June 6, 2016, http://ratel.kz/raw/glava_mvd_nochju_v_aktobe_likvidirovani_esche_7_prestupnikov, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Погибшего во время теракта в Актобе контрактника похоронят на родине в ЗКО (The contractor killed during the attack in Aktobe will be buried in his hometown in the Western Kazakhstan Oblast),” *Inform Buro*, June 6, 2016, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/v-zko-usileny-mery-bezopasnosti.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “Кто устроил войну в Актобе (Who organized the war in Aktobe),” *Ratel*, June 6, 2016, http://ratel.kz/raw/kto_ustroil_vojnu_v_aktobe, (accessed December 20, 2017); Anar Bekbasova, “МВД молчит о «сантехнике-террористе» (The MVD is silent about the “plumber-terrorist”),” *Ratel*, June 9, 2016, http://ratel.kz/raw/mvd_molchit_o_santehnike_terroriste, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁵ “За информацию о террористах из Актобе объявлено вознаграждение в 5 млн тенге (A reward of 5 million Tenge has been offered for information on the terrorists from Aktobe),” *Inform Buro*, June 8, 2016, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/za-informaciyu-o-terroristah-iz-aktobe-obyavleno-voznagrashdenie-v-5-mln-tenge.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁶ Anton Moldin and Madina Aimbetova, “Приказано уничтожить (Ordered to destroy),” *Vremya*, June 10, 2016, <http://www.time.kz/articles/risk/2016/06/10/prikazano-unichtozhit>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Ernar Kararov, “Спецназ КНБ уничтожил 5 террористов в ходе спецоперации в Актобе (Special forces of the KNB eliminated 5 terrorists during a special operation in Aktobe),” *Kursiv*, June 10, 2016, <http://www.kursiv.kz/news/obshestvo/specnaz-knb-unictozil-5-terroristov-v-hode-specoperacii-v-aktobe/>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁷ “Все участники теракта в Актобе задержаны или нейтрализованы – КНБ (All participants of the attack in Aktobe have been arrested or neutralized – KNB),” *Tengri News*, June 12, 2016, <https://tengrinews.kz/crime/uchastniki-terakta-aktobe-zaderjanyi-neytralizovanyi-knb-296389/>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁸ Anar Bekbasova, “Генерал Касымов: Актюбинские боевики получили задание из Сирии (General Kasymov: The Aktobe combatants received tasks from Syria),” *Ratel*, June 14, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/raw/general_kasymov_aktjubinskie_boeviki_poluchili_zadanie_iz_sirii, (accessed December 20, 2017); Svyatoslav Antonov, “Теракт в Актобе: Кто виноват и что делать? (The attack in Aktobe: Who is to blame and what is to be done?),” *Vox Populi*, June 15, 2016, <http://www.voxpopuli.kz/interview/terakt-v-aktobe-kto-vinovat-i-chto-delat-13123.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁷⁹ Marina Ruzmatova, “Список пострадавших в результате стрельбы в Алматы появился в соцсетях (The list of victims as a result of the shooting in Almaty appeared in social media),” *Inform Buro*, July 18, 2016, <https://informburo.kz/novosti/spisok-postradavshih-v-rezultate-strelby-v-almaty-poyavilsya-v-socsetyah.html>,

(accessed December 20, 2017); “МВД Казахстана: Стрелявший в полицейских в Алма-Ате планировал убить судей и прокуроров (The MVD of Kazakhstan: the shooter of policemen in Almaty planned to kill judges and prosecutors),” *Fergana News*, July 19, 2016, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/25063>, (accessed December 20, 2017); Anastasiya Razina, “All of the known facts of the life of the Almaty shooter,” *Inform Buro*, July 20, 2016, <https://informburo.kz/stati/vse-izvestnye-na-segodnya-fakty-iz-zhizni-almatinskogo-strelka.html>, (accessed December 20, 2017); “В Алматы будут судить стрелка Кулекбаева и его пятерых сообщников (The shooter Kulekbaev and five of his accomplices will stand trial in Almaty),” *Ratel*, October 12, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/kaz/v_almaty_budut_sudit_strelka_kulekbaeva_i_ego_pjateryh_soobschnikov, (accessed December 20, 2017); Dosym Satpaev, “Как обеспечить баланс между безопасностью и правами человека? (How to provide a balance between security and human rights?),” *Ratel*, September 13, 2016, http://www.ratel.kz/raw/kak_obespechit_balans_mezhdu_bezopasnostju_i_pravami_cheloveka, (accessed December 20, 2017); Aynash Ondiris, “Руслан Кулекбаев рассказал в суде, как стрелял в полицейских (Ruslan Kulekbaev discussed in court, how he shot policemen),” *Tengri News*, October 24, 2016, <https://tengrinews.kz/crime/ruslan-kulekbaev-rasskazal-sude-strelyal-politseyskih-304752/>, (accessed December 20, 2017).

³⁸⁰ Bakhrom Tursunov and Marina Pikulina, “Severe Lessons of Batken,” *Conflict Studies Research Centre* (November 1999), <https://web.archive.org/web/20130615011228/https://www.da.mod.uk/colleges/arag/document-listings/ca/K28>, (accessed December 21, 2017); Michael Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force, A Comparative Study of Central Asian Islamic Extremist Movements,” *Asian Cultures and Modernity* 12 (October 2006) 19-30; Dmitry Alyaev and Boris Volkhonskiy, “Открыт второй ваххабитский фронт (The opening of a second Wahhabi front),” *Kommersant*, August 25, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/224241>, (accessed December 21, 2017); Yuri Stepanov, “Киргизия справится с боевиками сама (Kyrgyzstan is coping with the militants by itself),” *Kommersant*, August 31, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/224611>, (accessed December 21, 2017); Yuri Chernogaev, “На памирских бандитов потратили \$15 млн (The bandits spent \$15 million in the Pamirs),” *Kommersant*, October 20, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/228154>, (accessed December 21, 2017).

³⁸¹ Fredholm, “Islamic Extremism as a Political Force,”; Igor Rotar, Vladimir Mukhin, and Aleksandr Umnov, “Фундаменталисты активизируются (The fundamentalists are activating),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 15, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-15/5_activity.html, (accessed December 21, 2017); Afanasiy Sborov, “ИДУ на вы (The IMU to you),” *Kommersant*, August 22, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/17471>, (accessed December 21, 2017); Sergey Danilov, “Исламские экстремисты разгромлены (The Islamic extremists have been destroyed),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 23, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-23/5_islam.html, (accessed December 21, 2017); Nikolay Plotnikov, “Очаг напряженности в Средней Азии (A hearth of tension in Central Asia),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 25, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-08-25/5_ochag.html, (accessed December 21, 2017); Armen Khanbabyan, ““Горячая осень” перейдет в “горячую весну”? (Will a “hot fall” turn into a “hot spring”?),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, September 12, 2000, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2000-09-12/5_hot_autumn.html, (accessed December 21, 2017); Yuri Chernogaev, “Киргизская вода в обмен на узбекский газ (Kyrgyz water in exchange for Uzbek gas),” *Kommersant*, September 27, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/159076>, (accessed December 21, 2017).

³⁸² “Киргизия: возмущенные избиратели перекрыли трассу Ош–Араван (Kyrgyzstan: upset voters have blocked the Osh-Aravan highway),” *AKI Press*, February 28, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1109609040>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017); “Список 31-го победителя в 1-м туре киргизских выборов: А.Акаев - 79,65% (The list of 31 winners of the 1st round of the Kyrgyz election: A. Akayev – 79,65%),” *AKI Press*,

February 28, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1109591160>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017); “Winners of First Round of Parliamentary Elections Announced,” *AKIpress*, February 28, 2005; “Киргизия ищет виновников теракта (Kyrgyzstan is searching for the perpetrators of the terrorist attack),” *Dni.ru*, March 3, 2005, <http://www.dni.ru/polit/2005/3/3/58741.html>, (accessed December 21, 2017); “В Жалалабаде проходят 2 митинга с противоречивыми требованиями (2 protests with contradicting demands are taking place in Jalalabad),” *AKI Press*, March 5, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1110012780>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017); “200 каракульджинцев митингуют перед зданием Ошской госадминистрации. Из Узгена готовы выйти еще 1 тыс. Человек (200 Karakul residents are protesting in front of the Osh government administration. Another 1 thousand people from Uzgen are ready to go out),” *AKI Press*, March 9, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1110391560>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017); “Киргизия. Списки победителей во 2-ом туре парламентских выборов (Kyrgyzstan. The list of the winners of the 2nd round of the parliamentary elections),” *Kyrgyz info*, March 14, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1110826140>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017).

³⁸³ “Kyrgyzstani Police Avert Hostage Crisis in South,” *AKIpress*, March 16, 2005; Ilya Varabanov, “Киргизские революционеры взяли заложника (Kyrgyz revolutionaries have taken hostages),” *Gazeta.ru*, March 15, 2005, <https://www.neweurasia.info/corruption/18-special-projects/library/430->, (accessed December 21, 2017); Yelena Glumskova and Sergey Stokan, “Киргизская оппозиция собирает курултай (The Kyrgyz opposition is gathering for a kurultai),” *Kommersant*, March 15, 2005, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/554595?isSearch=True>, (accessed December 21, 2017); Yelena Glumskova, “Джалал-Абад стал оплотом киргизской демократии (Jalal-Abad has become a bastion of the Kyrgyz democracy),” *Kommersant*, March 16, 2005, <http://kommersant.ru/doc/554974>, (accessed December 21, 2017); “При захвате Базаркоргоонской райадминистрации в заложниках оказались аким и его заместитель (уточнено в 18:30) (During the capture of the Bazarkorgoonskoy District administration building the mayor and his deputy were taken hostage – updated at 18:30),” *AKI Press*, March 16, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1110998700>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 21, 2017).

³⁸⁴ “ОМОН Киргизии освободил захваченные оппозицией здания (The OMON of Kyrgyzstan have freed the captured opposition building),” *Gazeta.ru*, March 20, 2005, <http://www.gazeta.ru/2005/03/20/last151848.shtml>, (accessed December 22, 2017); “В Киргизии идут массовые акции протеста (A massive protest is taking place in Kyrgyzstan),” *RIA Novosti*, March 20, 2005, <http://ria.ru/politics/20050320/39547280.html>, (accessed December 22, 2017); Yelena Glumskova and Vasiliy Mikhailov, “Ош зла (Evil Osh),” *Kommersant*, March 21, 2005, <http://kommersant.ru/doc/556262>, (accessed December 22, 2017); “В Киргизии митингующие заняли территорию аэропорта Оша (The protestors have taken the territory of the Osh airport in Kyrgyzstan),” *RIA Novosti*, March 21, 2005, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20050321/39550147.html>, (accessed December 22, 2017); Viktoriya Panfilova, “Война севера и юга (War of the north and south),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, March 23, 2005, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2005-03-23/1_akaev.html, (accessed December 22, 2017).

³⁸⁵ “Демонстранты размахивают штандартом из окна кабинета Акаева (The demonstrators are waving the standard from the office window of Akayev),” *RIA Novosti*, March 24, 2005, <http://ria.ru/politics/20050324/39565514.html>, (accessed December 22, 2017); “Opposition In Firm Control In Kyrgyzstan,” *RFE/RL*, March 24, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1058113.html>, (accessed December 22, 2017); Viktoriya Panfilova, “Акаев схитрил напоследок (Akayev cheated at the end),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, April 4, 2005, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2005-04-04/3_akaev.html, (accessed December 22, 2017).

³⁸⁶ “Хронология событий в Таласе. Оппозиция в третий раз штурмует облУВД (The chronology of events in Talas. The opposition is storming the Interior Ministry oblast headquarters for the third time),” *AKI Press*, April 6,

2010, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1270558560>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 22, 2017); Andrey Rezchikov, "Бои местного значения (Battles of local significance)," *Vzglyad*, April 6, 2010, <http://vz.ru/politics/2010/4/6/390385.html>, (accessed December 22, 2017);

³⁸⁷ "Аресты, перестрелки, ложь властей. Обзор ситуации в Киргизии (Arrests, shootings, the lie of the authorities. A review of the situation in Kyrgyzstan)," *Centrasia.ru*, April 7, 2010, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1270615320>, (accessed December 22, 2017); "Беспорядки перекинулись на юг Киргизии. Восставшие штурмуют здание Нарынской облдминистрации (The disorder has spread to the south of Kyrgyzstan. The rioters are storming the Naryn oblast administration building)," *AKI Press*, April 7, 2010, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1270621560>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 22, 2017); "Тяжело раненный Молдомуса Конгантиев вывезен в Казахстан (The seriously wounded Moldomusa Kongantiyev has been taken to Kazakhstan)," *Belyy Parus*, April 9, 2010, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1270789860>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, December 22, 2017).

³⁸⁸ "Released Kyrgyz Opposition Leader Joins Protests," *Kabar Online*, April 7, 2010; "Police Blocks Opposition Breakthrough," *ITAR-TASS*, April 7, 2010; "Кыргызстан: УВД Таласа захвачено толпой оппозиционеров, в их руки попало оружие. В стране введено чрезвычайное положение (Kyrgyzstan: the UVD of Talas has been seized by an opposition group, which is now armed. The country is now in a state of emergency)," *Fergana.ru*, April 7, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=14396>, (accessed January 17, 2018); "В центре Бишкека не прекращается стрельба (The shooting in Bishkek has not stopped)," *Zpress*, April 7, 2010, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1270652280>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, January 17, 2018); "Новая "тюльпановая революция" в Бишкеке: митинг, стрельба, переворот (The new "Tulip Revolution" in Bishkek: protest, shooting, a coup)," *RIA Novosti*, April 8, 2010, <http://ria.ru/world/20100408/219291874.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018); Farangis Najibullah, "Interim Kyrgyz Government Pledges Inquiry Into Bloodshed," *RFE/RL*, April 16, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Interim_Kyrgyz_Government_Pledges_Inquiry_Into_Bloodshed/2015504.html, (accessed January 17, 2018); for photos of the aftermath in Bishkek, see: "Первый день после революции. Бишкек 2010. (The first day after the revolution. Bishkek 2010.)," <http://zyalt.livejournal.com/236341.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018).

³⁸⁹ "Kyrgyz President Bakiev 'Resigns'," *RFE/RL*, April 15, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Gunfire_Erupts_Amid_Rival_Political_Rallies/2012762.html, (accessed January 17, 2018).

³⁹⁰ "Kyrgyz Party Leader Accuses President of Nepotism," *Agym*, September 15, 2006; "Kyrgyz Opposition Leaders Accuses Government of Starting to Build 'Khanate'," *De-Fakto*, June 12, 2008; "Kyrgyz President's Ex-Allies Disappointed with 'Tulip Revolution'," *Interfax*, March 24, 2010; "Former Kyrgyz Defense Minister Sentenced to Eight Years," *RFE/RL*, January 11, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Former_Kyrgyz_Defense_Minister_Sentenced_To_Eight_Years_/1926297.html, (accessed January 17, 2018); "Another Opposition Newspaper Shut Down in Kyrgyzstan," *RFE/RL*, April 1, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Another_Opposition_Newspaper_Shut_Down_In_Kyrgyzstan_/2000249.html, (accessed January 17, 2018); "Ряд нефтяных компаний приостановил поставки нефтепродуктов в Киргизию (A number of oil companies suspended supplies of oil products to Kyrgyzstan)," *RIA Novosti*, April 5, 2010, <http://ria.ru/economy/20100405/218482687.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018).

³⁹¹ “Сторонники Бакиева заняли администрации трех областей Киргизии (Supporters of Bakiyev have occupied the administrations of three oblasts of Kyrgyzstan),” *RIA Novosti*, May 13, 2010, <http://ria.ru/world/20100513/233967734.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “В здании Баткенской облгосадминистрации не осталось никого (There is no longer anyone in the Batken oblast administration building),” *AKI Press-Fergana*, May 13, 2010, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:25391>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “В Оше здание облгосадминистрации перешло под контроль сторонников Временного правительства (The oblast administration building in Osh has passed under the control of the supporters of the current government),” *AKI Press-Fergana*, May 14, 2010, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:25403>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “Юг Киргизии снова под контролем новых властей, без жертв не обошлось (The south of Kyrgyzstan is again under the control of the new authorities, but it has not been without casualties),” *RIA Novosti*, May 15, 2010, <http://ria.ru/world/20100515/234513986.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “Ситуация в Жалал-Абаде. В городе появились военнослужащие (The situation in Jalal-Abad. Soldiers have appeared in the city),” *AKI Press-Fergana*, May 19, 2010, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:25511>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “OSCE Calls For Restraint After Deadly Kyrgyz Unrest,” *RFE/RL*, May 20, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Kyrgyz_Rally_Urge_Arrest_Of_Local_Uzbek_Leader/2046500.html, (accessed January 17, 2018).

³⁹² “Large Youth Groups Gathering on Osh Outskirts Despite Curfew,” *ITAR-TASS*, June 10, 2010.

³⁹³ “Witnesses Say Troops Not in Control of Situation in Kyrgyz South,” *24.kg*, June 11, 2010.

³⁹⁴ “Mob Hijacks Armored Vehicle in Kyrgyz South Despite Curfew,” *24.kg*, June 11, 2010.

³⁹⁵ “Kyrgyz Government Asks Former Law-Enforcement Officers for Help,” *24.kg*, June 12, 2010.

³⁹⁶ “Uzbekistan Sends Troops to Border Area,” *24.kg*, June 12, 2010.

³⁹⁷ “Number of Uzbek refugees from Kyrgyzstan grows to 83,000,” *RIA-Novosti*, June 15, 2010, <https://web.archive.org/web/20121104171910/http://en.rian.ru/exsoviet/20100615/159428561.html>, (accessed January 17, 2018).

³⁹⁸ “Kyrgyz Police Have Right to Shoot to Kill During Curfew,” *AKIpress Online*, June 12, 2010; “Special Operation Launched to Stabilize Situation in Kyrgyz South,” *Interfax*, June 12, 2010.

³⁹⁹ “Large Aggressive Crowd in Kyrgyz Southwest Calls for Expulsion of Uzbeks,” *Interfax*, June 13, 2010.

⁴⁰⁰ “Uzbekistan Closes Border to Kyrgyz Refugees,” *Central Asian News*, June 15, 2010.

⁴⁰¹ “Night in Kyrgyzstan’s Osh Was Relatively Calm – Police Head,” *ITAR-TASS*, June 16, 2010; “Kyrgyzstani Soldiers Restore Order in Osh for Now,” *Kommersant Online*, June 16, 2010; “Curfew hours reduced in Kyrgyz southwest,” *24.kg*, June 16, 2010.

⁴⁰² See: *Kylym Shamy*, Centre for Defenders of Human Rights, “Доклад Роль органов власти в период событий в июня 2010 года в кыргызстане (The Report on the role of the government agencies during the situation in June 2010 in Kyrgyzstan),” December 16, 2011, <http://www.osce.org/ru/odihr/94202?download=true>, (accessed January 17, 2018); For additional photos of the aftermath, see: <http://ferghana-blog.livejournal.com/114965.html>, and <http://ferghana-blog.livejournal.com/111348.html> (accessed January 17, 2018). Additionally, the Russian

translation of the billboards, http://www.fergana.info/details.php?image_id=1287 (accessed January 17, 2018) is “Uzbeks brutally murdered innocent Kyrgyz”, but a possible translation is “Uzbeks cannibalistically murdered...”

⁴⁰³ “Several Hundred People Killed in Clashes in Kyrgyzstan South – ICRS,” *ITAR-TASS*, June 16, 2010.

⁴⁰⁴ Yekaterina Ivashchenko and Daniil Kislov, “Кыргызстан-Узбекистан: Десять столбов и шесть метров от границы (Kyrgyzstan-Uzbekistan: Ten posts and six meters from the border),” *Fergana News*, January 8, 2013, <http://www.fergananews.com/articles/7591>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “Противоправные действия кыргызских пограничников привели к обострению обстановки на границе – КОГГ СНБ (The unlawful actions of the Kyrgyz border guards led to the exacerbation of conditions on the border – The Border Guards Service of the SNB),” *12.uz*, January 7, 2013, <http://www.12.uz/#ru/news/show/official/12730/>, (accessed February 6, 2013); “Хроника кыргызской-узбекского пограничного инцидента в анклаве Сох 5-я января 2013 года (The chronology of the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border incident in the enclave of Sokh on January 5, 2013),” *AKI Press Osh*, January 10, 2013, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:39615>, (accessed January 17, 2018); “В Баткенской области вновь открыт один из пограничных пунктов пропуска вблизи анклава Сох (One of the border crossing points near the enclave of Sokh in the Batken oblast has again been opened),” *K News*, February 2, 2013, <http://knews.kg/2013/02/v-batkenskoy-oblasti-vnov-otkryit-odin-iz-pogranichnyih-punktov-propuska-vblizi-anklava-soh/>, (accessed January 17, 2018).

⁴⁰⁵ Khayrullo Mirsaidov, “Осадный Ворух (The Vorukh Siege),” *Asia-Plus*, May 3, 2013, <http://news.tj/ru/news/osadnyi-vorukh>, (accessed January 18, 2018); Zarema Sultanbekova, “Строительство дороги вокруг Воруха приостановлено до разрешения приграничных споров (Construction of the roads around Vorukh have been suspended until the resolution of the border disputes),” *Kloop*, April 29, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/04/29/stroitel-stvo-dorogi-vokrug-voruha-priostanovleno-do-razresheniya-prigranichny-h-sporov/>, (accessed January 18, 2018); “УМВД Таджикистана по Согду: Ситуация в районе анклава Ворух стабилизировалась (Tajikistan’s Sughd UMVD: the situation in the Vorukh enclave has been stabilized),” *Asia-Plus*, April 29, 2013, <http://news.tj/ru/news/umvd-tadjikistana-po-sogdu-situatsiya-v-raione-anklava-vorukh-stabilizirovals>, (accessed January 18, 2018); “Конфликт при строительстве дороги в Баткене (The conflict over the construction of the roads to Batken),” *Fabula*, April 30, 2013, http://www.gezitter.org/society/20082_konflikt_pri_stroitelstve_dorogi_v_batkene/, (accessed at *Gezitter*, January 18, 2018); “Пограничники Баткенской области продолжают работать в усиленном режиме несения службы (The border guards of the Batken oblast are continuing to be on high alert),” *K News*, April 29, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/31229_pogranichniki_batkenskoy_oblasti_prodoljayut_rabotat_v_usilennom_rejime_neseniya_slujby/, (accessed January 18, 2018); “В Ворухе ворох проблем (There is a pile of problems in Vorukh),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, April 30, 2013, <http://members.vb.kg/2013/04/30/panorama/5.html>, (accessed January 18, 2018).

⁴⁰⁶ Aleksandra Vasilkova, “Требования невыполнимы (The demands are not practical),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, May 31, 2013, <http://members.vb.kg/2013/05/31/akcia/2.html>, (accessed January 19, 2018); Alina Toktobayeva, “Азиза Мамбетказиева, жительница Иссyk-Куля: «Видно, что за митингующими стоят политические силы» (Aziza Mambetkazyeva, residents of Issyk-Kul: “It is evident that the protestors are political forces),” *Achyk Sayosat*, May 31, 2013, http://www.gezitter.org/kumtor/20866_aziza_mambetkazyeva_jitelnitsa_issyik-kulya_vidno_chno_za_mitinguyuschimi_stoyat_politicheskie_silyi/, (accessed at *Gezitter*, January 19, 2018); “Число митингующих на дороге к Кумтору достигло 600-700 человек (The number of protestors on the road to Kumtor reached up to 600-700 people),” *K News*, May 29, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/32422_chislo_mitinguyuschih_na_doroge_k_kumtoru_dostiglo_600-700_chelovek/,

(accessed January 19, 2018); “Митингующие в Тамге ждут на переговоры президента или премьер-министра до 16.00 пятницы (The protestors in Tamga are waiting for discussions with the president or prime minister until 16:00 on Friday),” *K News*, May 30, 2013, <http://knews.kg/2013/05/premer-ministr-provel-ekstrennoe-soveschanie-po-situatsii-na-kumtore/?utm-source=rnews>, (accessed January 19, 2018); “Захват здания госадминистрации Джалал-Абадской области (The capture of the Jalal-Abad oblast administration building),” *K News*, May 31, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/32644_zahvat_zdaniya_gosadministratsii_djalal-abadskoy_oblasti_video/, (accessed January 19, 2018); Nurzhamal Janibekova and Azat Ruziyev, “Хроника: На задержанных митингующих возбудили уголовные дела [обновлено в 19:01] (Chronicle: Criminal charges have been filed against the arrested protestors [updated at 19:01]),” *Kloop*, May 30, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/05/30/hronika-na-kumtore-voznovilos-e-lectrosnabzhenie/>, (accessed January 19, 2018); Nurzhamal Janibekova, Azat Ruziyev, Eldos Kazybekov, Evgeniy Pogrebnyak, Nurmukammed Atambayev, and Ayshoola Aysayeva, “Хроника: Митинг в Иссык-Кульской области закончился, в Джалал-Абаде продолжается [обновлено в 00:48] (Chronicle: The protest in Issyk-Kul oblast has finished, in Jalal-Abad it continues [updated at 00:48]),” *Kloop*, May 31, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/05/31/hronika-situatsiya-s-kumtorom-vy-zvala-mitingi-v-raznyh-regionah-strany/>, (accessed January 19, 2018); Nurzhamal Janibekova, Azat Ruziyev, Ayshoola Aysayeva, Nurmukammed Atambayev, Evgeniy Pogrebnyak, and Shakhida Dyusheeva, “Митинги на Иссык-Куле завершились, в Джалал-Абаде противостояние продолжается (The protest in Issyk-Kul is finished, the standoff in Jalal-Abad continues),” *Kloop*, June 1, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/06/01/hronika-mitingi-v-issyk-kul-skoj-oblasti-i-gorode-dzhalal-abad-prodolzhayutsya/>, (accessed January 19, 2018).

⁴⁰⁷ “У властей достаточно сил и средств для освобождения захваченного здания облминистрации – УВД Джалал-Абада (The authorities have enough forces and means to free the captured oblast administration building – UVD of Jalal-Abad),” *K News*, May 31, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/32641_u_vlastey_dostatochno_sil_i_sredstv_dlya_osvobozeniya_zahvachennogo_zdaniya_obladministratsii_uvd_djalal-abada/, (accessed January 22, 2018); Bektur Iskender, Evgeniy Pogrebnyak, and Shakhida Dyusheeva, “Хроника: Митингующие в Джалал-Абаде перекрыли трассу Бишкек-Ош [обновлено в 23:57] (Chronicle: The protestors in Jalal-Abad have blocked the Bishkek-Osh highway [updated at 23:57]),” *Kloop*, June 2, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/06/02/hronika-protivostoyanie-mezhdu-vlastyami-i-oppozitsiej-v-dzhalal-abade/>, (accessed January 22, 2018); Nurmukammed Atambayev and Evgeniy Pogrebnyak, “Хроника: Митингующие в Джалал-Абаде перекрыли трассу Бишкек-Ош [обновлено в 23:57] (Chronicle: The protestors in Jalal-Abad have blocked the Bishkek-Osh highway [updated at 23:57]),” *Kloop*, June 3, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/06/03/hronika-mitinguyushhie-prodolzhayut-perekryvat-trassu-bishkek-osh/>, (accessed January 22, 2018); Bermet Malikova, “Все дороги ведут в Сузак (All roads lead to Suzak),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, June 7, 2013, <http://members.vb.kg/2013/06/07/panorama/6.html>, (accessed January 22, 2018); “Джалалабадцы сегодня освободят здание областной госадминистрации (Jalalabadis released the oblast administration building today),” *K News*, June 5, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/32898_djalalabadtsy_segodnya_osvobodiyat_zdanie_oblastnoy_gosadministratsii/, (accessed January 22, 2018).

⁴⁰⁸ “Кыргызская и узбекская стороны сняли пограничные наряды в местности Унгар-Тоо (The Kyrgyz and Uzbeks withdrew their border guard detachments from the Ungar-Too area),” *K News*, October 2, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37630_kyrgyzskaya_i_uzbekskaya_storony_snyali_pogranichnyie_naryady_v_mestnosti_ungar-too/, (accessed January 22, 2018); “Участок «Унгар-Тоо» охраняется пограничниками Кыргызстана и Узбекистана (The site of “Ungar-Too” is being protected by the border guards of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan),”

Kabar, September 26, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/law-and-order/full/63618>, (accessed January 22, 2018); “Узбекские пограничники «захватили» кыргызскую телевышку (Uzbek border guards “captured” a Kyrgyz radio tower),” *Kloop*, September 26, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/09/26/uzbekskie-pogranichniki-zahvatili-ky-rgy-zskuyu-televy-shku/>, (accessed January 22, 2018); “Погранслужба КР: Обстановка в местности Унгар-Тоо Джалал-Абадской области стабильная (The Border Guards of the Kyrgyz Republic: the situation in the area of Ungar-Too of the Jalal-Abad Oblast is stable),” *Kabar*, October 4, 2013, <http://kabar.kg/rus/society/full/64093>, (accessed January 22, 2018).

⁴⁰⁹ Ayshoola Aysayeva, Shakhida Dyusheeva, and Karina Ditkovskaya, “Митинг в Караколе: Полпред отпущен, милиция разогнала демонстрантов (The protest in Karakol: the envoy has been released, the police dispersed the protestors),” *Kloop*, October 7, 2010, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/10/07/miting-v-karakole-vlasti-oprovergayut-napadenie-na-polpreda-ochevitsy-utverzhdavut-obratnoe/>, (accessed January 22, 2018); Yuri Копытин, “Эмильбек Каптагаев планирует встретиться с митингующими в Джети-Огузском районе (Emilbek Kaptagayev plans to meet with the protestors in the Jetti-Oguz district),” *K News*, October 7, 2014, http://www.knews.kg/action/37841_emilbek_kaptagaev_planiruet_vstretitsya_s_mitinguyuschimi_v_djeti-oguzskom_rayone/, (accessed January 22, 2018); “Митингующие в Караколе напали на Эмильбека Каптагаева (The protestors in Karakol attacked Emilbek Kaptagayev),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, October 8, 2013, <http://members.vb.kg/2013/10/08/panorama/4.html>, (accessed January 22, 2018); Yuri Копытин, “Сотрудники милиции провели операцию по разгону митингующих и освобождению Эмильбека Каптагаева (Members of the police have carried out an operation to disperse the protestors and free Emilbek Kaptagayev),” *K News*, October 7, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37910_sotrudniki_militsii_proveli_operatsiyu_po_razgonu_mitinguyuschih_i_osvobojdeniyu_emilbeka_kaptagaeva/, (accessed January 22, 2018); Ayganysh Abdryayeva, “Митингующих начали задерживать (They have started arresting protestors),” *K News*, October 7, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37916_mitinguyuschih_nachali_zaderjivat/, (accessed January 22, 2018).

⁴¹⁰ Ayshoola Aysayeva, Ulan Myrza, Nurmukammed Atambayev, and Shakhida Dyusheeva, “Хроника: Трасса Балыкчы-Каракол окончательно разблокирована (Chronicle: The Balykchy-Karakol highway has finally been unblocked),” *Kloop*, October 8, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/10/08/hronika-v-karakole-sпокойно-nasleduyushhij-den-posle-besporjadkov/>, (accessed January 23, 2018); Чыныбек Азыхбеков, “Картина митинга на Иссык-Куле (A snapshot of the protest at Issyk-Kul),” *Alibi*, October 11, 2013, http://www.gezitter.org/kumtor/24563_kartina_mitinga_na_issyik-kule/, (accessed at *Gezitter*, January 23, 2018); Bakyt Kulchumanov, “На перекрытой трассе Балыкчы-Каракол в селе Саруу собралось около 700-800 митингующих (Around 700-800 protestors have gathered on the blocked Balykchy-Karakol highway in the Saruu village),” *K News*, October 8, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37965_na_perekryitoy_trasse_balykchyi-karakol_v_sele_saruu_sobralos_okolo_700-800_mitinguyuschih/, (accessed January 23, 2018); Bakyt Kulchumanov, “Саруууцы опасаются применения силы в отношении митингующих (Saruu residents are afraid of the use of force in regards to the protestors),” *K News*, October 8, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/37980_sarruuutysi_opasayutsya_primeneniya_silyi_v_otnoshenii_mitinguyuschih/, (accessed January 23, 2018); Bakyt Kulchumanov, “Жители села Саруу вновь перекрыли трассу Балыкчы-Каракол (Residents of the Saruu village have again blocked the Balykchy-Karakol highway),” *K News*, October 8, 2013, http://www.knews.kg/action/38014_jiteli_sela_saruu_vnov_perekryili_trassu_balykchyi-karakol/, (accessed January 23, 2018); Eldiyar Arykbaev, “Задержанные в беспорядках в Караколе заключены под стражу до конца года (Those arrested in the disorder in Karakol will remain in detention until the end of the year),” *Kloop*,

October 11, 2013, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2013/10/11/zaderzhanny-e-v-besporjadkah-v-karakole-zaklyucheny-pod-strazhu-do-kontsa-goda/>, (accessed January 23, 2018).

⁴¹¹ “Погранслужба Кыргызстана: Таджикистан требует ликвидировать киргизский пограничный пост «Тамдык» (The Border Guard service of Kyrgyzstan: Tajikistan demands liquidation of the Kyrgyz border post “Tamdyk”),” *Fergana News*, July 10, 2014, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/22407>, (accessed January 23, 2018); Avaz Yuldashev, “Душанбе и Бишкек ведут интенсивные переговоры (Dushanbe and Bishkek are holding intensive negotiations),” *Asia-Plus*, July 11, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/node/191332>, (accessed January 23, 2018); “Обстановка на таджикско-кыргызской границе стабильная (The situation on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border is stable),” *Asia-Plus*, July 14, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/obstanovka-na-tadzhiksko-kyrgyzskoi-granitse-stabilnaya>, (accessed January 23, 2018); “В Баткенской области открыты дороги Ак-Сай-Баткен и Ворух-Исфара (The Ak-Say-Batken and Vorukh-Isfara roads have been opened in the Batken oblast),” *Kabar*, July 12, 2014, <http://www.kabar.kg/rus/regions/full/79658>, (accessed January 23, 2018); “Карта — Местность Тамдык, где произошла перестрелка между пограничными нарядами Кыргызстана и Таджикистана (The map of the Tamdyk area, where a shooting between the border guards of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan took place),” *Turmush*, July 17, 2014, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:67018>, (accessed January 23, 2018); “На кыргызско-таджикской границе прошла встреча руководства правоохранительных органов Баткенской и Согдийской областей (A meeting of the authorities of the Batken and Sughd oblast security services took place on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border),” July 11, 2014, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:66217>, (accessed January 23, 2018); Aleksandra Vasilkova, “Напряженность сохраняется (Tension remains),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, July 15, 2014, <http://members.vb.kg/2014/07/15/panorama/1.html>, (accessed January 23, 2018).

⁴¹² Viktoriya Kureneva, “Террористов ликвидировали... (The terrorists were eliminated...),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, July 21, 2015, <http://members.vb.kg/2015/07/21/panorama/1.html>, (accessed January 25, 2018); “Акт терроризма группировка планировала провести в день Орозо-айт в Бишкеке (The group planned to carry out an act of terrorism on the day Orozo-ait in Bishkek),” *K News*, July 17, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/action/66890_akt_terrorizma_gruppirovka_planirovala_provesti_v_den_orozo-ayt_v_bishkeke/, (accessed January 25, 2018); Khloya Geyne, “Видео: Перестрелка между спецназом и «боевиками ИГИЛ» (Video: the shootout between special forces and the “militants of ISIL”),” *Kloop*, July 20, 2015, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2015/07/20/video-perestrelka-mezhdu-spetsnazom-i-boevikami-igil/>, (accessed January 25, 2018); Ulugbek Akishev, “Видео: Завершена «антитеррористическая операция» на Горького/Панфилова, четверо убиты (Video: four have been killed as the “antiterrorism operation” at Gorky/Panfilov wraps up),” *Kloop*, July 16, 2015, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2015/07/16/sejchas-spetsnaz-shturmuet-zdanie-v-yuzhnoj-chasti-bishkeka-video/>, (accessed January 25, 2018); Ulugbek Akishev, “ГКНБ: Убитые «боевики» — члены «Исламского государства» (The GKNB: the dead “militants” – were members of the “Islamic State”),” *Kloop*, July 17, 2015, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2015/07/17/gknb-ubitye-boeviki-chleny-islamskogo-gosudarstva-foto/>, (accessed January 25, 2018); Elena Tsoi, “В Бишкеке один из разыскиваемых казахстанцев подорвал себя гранатой (One of the fugitives from Kazakhstan blew himself up with a grenade in Bishkek),” *K News*, July 1, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/action/66242_v_bishkeke_odin_iz_razyiskivaemyih_kazahstantsev_podorval_sebya_granatoy/, (accessed January 25, 2018).

⁴¹³ “Бывший «акжоловец» Максат Кунакунов передавал деньги нейтрализованной террористической группировке и обеспечивал их оружием (The former “Ak Zhol” member Maksat Kunakunov provided money and weapons to the neutralized terrorist group),” *K News*, July 20, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/action/66917_byivshiy_akjlovets_maksat_kunakunov_peredaval_dengi_neytralizovannoy_terroristicheskoy_gruppirovke_i_obespechival_ih_oruzhiem/, (accessed January 25, 2018).

⁴¹⁴ Aida Jumashева, “ГКНБ проверяет подлинность видеопослания ИГИЛ к кыргызстанцам (The GKNB is verifying the authenticity of the video message of ISIL to citizens of Kyrgyzstan),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, July 27, 2015, http://www.vb.kg/doc/321154_gknb_proveriaet_podlinnost_videoposlaniia_igil_k_kyrgyzstancam.html, (accessed January 26, 2018); Malika Bayaz, “ИГИЛ впервые опубликовал «послание народу Киргизии» (ISIL published the first “message to the people of Kyrgyzstan”),” *Kloop*, July 26, 2015, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2015/07/26/srochno-igil-vpervye-opublikoval-poslanie-narodu-kirgizii/>, (accessed January 26, 2018).

⁴¹⁵ Bermet Malikova, “Баткенский разлом (The Batken fault line),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, August 7, 2015, <http://members.vb.kg/2015/08/07/pogran/1.html>, (accessed January 29, 2018); Payrav Chorshanbiyev, “Таджикистан обвиняет местное руководство Кыргызстана в конфликте на границе (Tajikistan blames the local authorities of Kyrgyzstan for the conflict on the border),” *Asia-Plus*, August 4, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/tadjikistan-obvinyayet-mestnoe-rukovodstvo-kyrgyzstana-v-konflikte-na-granitse>, (accessed January 29, 2018); Altynay Jalmambetova, “На кыргызско-таджикской границе произошла перестрелка, как минимум пять пострадавших (A shooting has taken place on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border with at least five injured),” *Kloop*, August 4, 2015, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2015/08/04/na-kyrgyzsko-tadjikskoj-granitse-proizoshla-perestrelka-kak-minimum-ryat-postradavshih-foto/>, (accessed January 29, 2018); Madina Sheralieva, “Погранслужба: Обстановка в зоне конфликта на кыргызско-таджикском участке границы остается напряженной (The Border Guards service: the situation in the area of conflict on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border remains tense),” *K News*, August 4, 2015, http://www.knews.kg/action/67541_pogranslujba_obstanovka_v_zone_konflikta_na_kyrgyzsko-tadjikskom_uchastke_granitsyi_ostaetsya_napryajennoj/, (accessed January 29, 2018); Avaz Yuldashev, “Ночь на конфликтном участке таджикско-киргизской границы прошла спокойно (Last night passed peacefully in the conflict area on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border),” *Asia-Plus*, August 5, 2015, <http://news.tj/ru/news/noch-na-konfliktnom-uchastke-tadjiksko-kirgizskoi-granitsy-proshla-spokoino>, (accessed January 29, 2018).

⁴¹⁶ “Командир ОМОНа МВД Таджикистана погиб при невыясненных обстоятельствах (The commander of the OMON of the MVD of Tajikistan was killed in unclear circumstances),” *RIA Novosti*, February 2, 2008, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20080202/98241761.html>, (accessed January 31, 2018); “Кровавая суббота (Bloody Saturday),” *Asia-Plus*, February 14, 2008, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/krovavaya-subбота-0>, (accessed January 31, 2018); “Мирзохуджа Ахмадов амнистирован. Заочно... (Mirzokhuja Akhmadov has been amnestied. In absentia...),” *Asia-Plus*, October 22, 2008, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/mirzokhudzha-akhmadov-amnistirovan-zaочно>, (accessed January 31, 2018).

⁴¹⁷ Turko Dikayev, Olga Tutubalina, and Nargis Khamrabayeva, “Куляб: бой местного значения (Kulyab: a fight of local meaning),” *Asia-Plus*, May 29, 2008, <http://old.news.tj/en/node/4595>, (accessed February 1, 2018); Shirin Safarov, “Штурм дома Сухроба Лангариева: как и почему? (The storming of Sukhrob Langariyev’s home: How and why?),” *Avesta*, May 28, 2008, <http://avesta.tj/2008/05/28/shturm-doma-suhroba-langarieva-kak-i-pochemu-2/>, (accessed February 1, 2018); “«Я не имею никакого отношения к инциденту в Кулябе», - генерал-майор Файзали Лангариев (“I have no connection to the incident in Kulyab,” – Major General Fayzali Langariyev),” *Asia-Plus*, May 27, 2008, <http://news.tj/ru/news/ya-ne-imeyu-nikakogo-otnosheniya-k-intsidentu-v-kulyabe-general-maior-faizali-langariyev>, (accessed February 1, 2018); “Эксперты: Президент Таджикистана не контролирует ситуацию в стране (Experts: the President of Tajikistan is not controlling the situation in the country),” *Asia-Plus*, May 28, 2008, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=9275>, (accessed February 1, 2018); “Таджикистан: С.Лангариев и члены его преступной группировки получили пожизненные сроки (Tajikistan: S. Langariyev and members of his criminal group have received life sentences),” *Asia-Plus*, April 8, 2009, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=11642>, (accessed February 1, 2018).

⁴¹⁸ Alexander Sodiqov, "High-Profile Death Raises Questions in Tajikistan," *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Analyst*, August 19, 2009, <https://www.cacianalyst.org/publications/field-reports/item/11893-field-reports-caci-analyst-2009-8-19-art-11893.html>, (accessed February 1, 2018).

⁴¹⁹ "В Согде в рамках операции «Кукнор-2010» уничтожено около 10 тыс. кустов конопли (Around 10 thousand bushes of cannabis have been destroyed during the operation "Kunkor-2010" in Sughd)," *Avesta*, May 26, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/05/26/v-sogde-v-ramkah-operatsii-kuknor-2010-unichtozhenoko-10-tys-kustov-konopli/>, (accessed February 28, 2018); "В Душанбе прошло первое заседание штаба по проведению операции «Мак-2011» (The first staff meeting for carrying out the operation "Mak-2011" was held in Dushanbe)," *Avesta*, May 4, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/05/04/v-dushanbe-proshlo-pervoe-zasedanii-shtaba-po-provedeniyu-operatsii-mak-2011/>, (accessed February 28, 2018); Nargis Khamrabayeva, "В Душанбе состоялось первое заседание штаба по проведению операции «Кукнор-2012» (The first staff meeting for carrying out the operation "Kunkor-2012" was held in Dushanbe)," *Asia-Plus*, May 17, 2012, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-dushanbe-sostoyalos-pervoe-zasedanie-shtaba-po-provedeniyu-operatsii-kuknor-2012>, (accessed February 28, 2018).

⁴²⁰ "Р. Назаров: «Наркотиков будет много...» (R Nazarov: "There will be a lot of narcotics...)," *Asia-Plus*, May 28, 2009, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/r-nazarov-narkotikov-budet-mnogo>, (accessed March 1, 2018).

⁴²¹ "Дан старт операции «Кукнор-2009» (Operation "Kunkor-2009" has been launched)," *Khovar*, May 20, 2009, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/10193-dan-start-operacii-kuknor-2009.html>, (accessed March 20, 2013); "В поисках Мулло Абдулло (In search of Mullo Abdullo)," *Asia-Plus*, May 28, 2009, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/v-poiskakh-mullo-abdullo>, (accessed April 2, 2018); Farangis Najibullah, "Reports Of Clampdown In Tajik East Kindle Lingering Fears," *RFE/RL*, May 21, 2009, http://www.rferl.org/content/Clampdown_In_Tajik_East_Kindles_Lasting_Fears/1736770.html, (accessed April 2, 2018).

⁴²² "В Таджикистане при невыясненных обстоятельствах погибли трое военнослужащих Минобороны страны (Three service members from the country's Ministry of Defense have died in unclear circumstances in Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, June 16, 2009, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tadzhikistane-pri-nevyasennykh-obstoyatelstvakh-pogibli-troe-voennosluzhashchikh-minoborony>, (accessed April 24, 2018); "Officials Say Tajik Officer Killed During Anti-Rebel Operation," *RFE/RL*, June 15, 2009, http://www.rferl.org/content/Military_Officials_Say_Tajik_Officer_Killed_During_AntiRebel_Operation/1754819.html, (accessed April 24, 2018).

⁴²³ "Во время перестрелки в Тавильдаринском районе убиты трое преступников, в том числе некий человек по кличке «Кури Малыш» (Three criminal were killed during a shootout in the Tavildara District, including a person by the name of "Kuri Malysh")," *Asia-Plus*, July 10, 2009, <http://news.tj/ru/news/vo-vremya-perestrelki-v-tavildarinskom-raione-ubity-troe-prestupnikov-v-tom-chisle-nekii-chelov>, (accessed April 26, 2018).

⁴²⁴ "Мирзо Зиёев сдался властям (Mirzo Ziyoyev surrendered to authorities)," *Asia-Plus*, July 11, 2009, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mirzo-zieev-sdalsya-vlastyam>, (accessed May 7, 2018).

⁴²⁵ "Мирзо Зиёев непосредственно руководил вооружённой группировкой, орудовавшей в Тавильдаринском районе, - МВД РТ (Mirzo Ziyoyev directly managed an armed group active in the Tavildara District – MVD of the Republic of Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, July 12, 2009, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mirzo-zieev-neposredstvenno-rukovodil-vooruzhennoi-gruppirovkoi-orudovavshei-v-tavildarinskom-r>, (accessed May 7, 2018).

⁴²⁶ “М. Зияев сотрудничал с международным терроризмом (M. Ziyoyev participated in international terrorism),” *Khovar*, July 12, 2009, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/12089-m-ziyaev-sotrudnichal-s-mezhdunarodnym-terrorizmom.html>, (accessed March 21, 2013).

⁴²⁷ “А. Каххаров: «Я не могу сказать точно, кто стрелял в Зиеева» (A. Kakharov: “I cannot say exactly who shot Ziyoyev”),” *Asia-Plus*, July 22, 2009, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/kakhkharov-ya-ne-mogu-skazat-tochno-kto-streljal-v-zieeva>, (accessed May 7, 2018).

⁴²⁸ “Убит Нёмат Азизов (Nemat Azizov is killed),” *Asia-Plus*, July 31, 2009, <http://old.news.tj/en/node/2721>, (accessed May 7, 2018).

⁴²⁹ “Э. Рахмон поручил создать оперативный штаб по поиску и поимке сбежавших заключенных (E. Rahmon instructed the creation of an operational headquarters for the search and capture of the escaped prisoners),” *Avesta*, August 23, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/08/23/e-rahmon-poruchil-sozdat-operativnyj-shtab-po-poisku-i-poimke-sbezhavshih-zaklyuchennyh/>, (accessed May 8, 2018); Olga Tutubalina, “День открытых дверей (The day of open doors),” *Asia-Plus*, August 26, 2010, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/den-otkrytykh-dverei>, (accessed May 8, 2018).

⁴³⁰ “В пригороде Душанбе задержан один из участников побега из столичного СИЗО (One of the participants of the escape from the capital’s SIZO has been arrested near Dushanbe),” *Avesta*, September 2, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/02/v-prigorode-dushanbe-zaderzhan-odin-iz-uchastnikov-pobega-iz-stolichnogo-sizo/>, (accessed May 9, 2018); Farangis Najibullah, “Top Tajik Security Chiefs Dismissed Following Prison Break,” *RFE/RL*, September 2, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Tajik_Special_Services_Head_Dismissed_Following_Jailbreak/2146168.html, (accessed May 9, 2018); Nargis Khamrabayeva, “В пригороде Душанбе задержан Кори Иброхим - один из организаторов массового и дерзкого побега из СИЗО ГКНБ (Kori Ibrokhim – one of the organizers of the massive and daring escape from the GKNB SIZO has been arrested near Dushanbe),” *Asia-Plus*, September 2, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-prigorode-dushanbe-zaderzhan-kori-ibrokhim-odin-iz-organizatorov-massovogo-i-derzкого-pobega->, (accessed May 9, 2018).

⁴³¹ Nargis Khamrabayeva, “Задержан сбежавший брат Гаффора Мирзоева (The brother of the fugitive Ghaffor Mirzoyev has been arrested),” *Asia-Plus*, September 6, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/zaderzhan-sbezhavshii-brat-gaffora-mirzoeva>, (accessed May 29, 2018); “Escaped Tajik Prisoner Recaptured,” *RFE/RL*, September 6, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Escaped_Tajik_Prisoner_Recaptured/2149908.html, (accessed May 29, 2018); “Задержан Абдурасул Мирзоев – один из 25 беглецов СИЗО ГКНБ (One of the 25 escapees from the GKNB SIZO - Abdurasul Mirzoyev has been arrested),” *Khovar*, September 6, 2010, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/24203-zaderzhan-abdurasul-mirzoev-odin-iz-25-beglecov-sizo-gknb.html>, (accessed May 23, 2012).

⁴³² Nargis Khamrabayeva, “В Душанбе задержаны еще двое сбежавших заключенных из СИЗО ГКНБ (Another two of escaped prisoners from the GKNB SIZO have been arrested in Dushanbe),” *Asia-Plus*, September 10, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-dushanbe-zaderzhany-eshche-dvoe-sbezhavshikh-zaklyuchennykh-iz-sizo-gknb>, (accessed May 30, 2018); “Оперативники ГКНБ схватили в Душанбе Магомеда Ахмедова и Зайдулло Азизова (GKNB Operatives captured Magomed Akhmedov and Zaydullo Azizov in Dushanbe),” *Avesta*, September 10, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/10/operativniki-gknb-shvatili-v-dushanbe-magomeda-ahmedova-i-zajdullo-azizova/>, (accessed May 30, 2018).

⁴³³ Ibid.

⁴³⁴ Nargis Khamrabayeva, “Еще двое беглецов задержаны на юге Таджикистана (Another two escapees have been arrested in the south of Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, September 12, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/eshche-dvoe-begletsov-zaderzhany-na-yuge-tadzhikistana>, (accessed May 31, 2018); “Как брали террористов. Некоторые подробности операций по захвату беглецов (How to capture terrorists. A few details on the capture of the escapees),” *Avesta*, September 12, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/12/kak-brali-terroristov-nekotorye-podrobnosti-operatsij-po-zahvatu-begletsov/>, (accessed May 31, 2018).

⁴³⁵ Ibid.

⁴³⁶ “В Вахдате задержан седьмой бежавший из СИЗО ГКНБ (The seventh escapee from the GKNB’s SIZO has been arrested in Vakhdat),” *Asia-Plus*, September 16, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-vakhdate-zaderzhan-sedmoi-bezhavshii-iz-sizo-gknb>, (accessed June 4, 2018); “В Вахдате задержан седьмой по счету заключенный, бежавший из СИЗО ГКНБ (The seventh of the escaped prisoners from the GKNB’s SIZO has been arrested in Vakhdat),” *Avesta*, September 16, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/16/v-vahdate-zaderzhan-sedmoj-po-schetu-zaklyuchennyj-bezhavshij-iz-sizo-gknb/>, (accessed June 4, 2018).

⁴³⁷ Nargis Khamrabayeva, “В Файзабаде убит один из бежавших заключенных (One of the escaped prisoners has been killed in Fayzabad),” *Asia-Plus*, September 26, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-faizabade-ubit-odin-iz-bezhavshikh-zaklyuchennykh>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Tajik Prison Escapee Killed In Gun Battle,” *RFE/RL*, September 29, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Tajik_Prison_Escapee_Killed_After_Gunbattle/2171422.html, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Сообщение центра общественных связей ГКНБ РТ (The GKNB of the Republic of Tajikistan’s Public Relations Center),” *Khovar*, September 27, 2010, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/24532-soobschenie-centra-obschestvennyh-svyazey-gknb-rt.html>, (accessed May 24, 2012).

⁴³⁸ Nargis Khamrabayeva, “На востоке Таджикистана убит ещё один беглец (Another one of the escapees has been killed in eastern Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, September 28, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/na-vostoke-tadzhikistana-ubit-eshche-odin-beglets>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Second Tajik Prison Escapee Killed By Security Forces,” *RFE/RL*, September 29, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Second_Tajik_Prison_Escapee_Killed_By_Security_Forces/2171891.html, (accessed July 2, 2018); “В Файзабаде ликвидирован еще один, бежавший заключенный (Another one of the escaped prisoners has been eliminated in Fayzabad),” *Avesta*, September 28, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/28/v-fajzabade-likvidirovan-eshhe-odin-bezhavshij-zaklyuchennyj/>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴³⁹ “В Тавильдаре уничтожен преступник – гражданин Афганистана, сбежавший из СИЗО ГКНБ (A criminal – a citizen of Afghanistan and escapee from the GKNB’s SIZO, has been killed in Tavildara),” *Asia-Plus*, October 5, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tavildare-unichtozhen-prestupnik-grazhdanin-afganistana-sbezhavshii-iz-sizo-gknb>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Another Fugitive Killed in Tajikistan,” *RFE/RL*, October 6, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Another_Fugitive_Killed_In_Tajikistan/2177882.html, (accessed July 2, 2018); Lutfiya Eshonkulova, “В Тавильдаринском районе уничтожен очередной беглец из СИЗО ГКНБ (Another of escapees from the GKNB’s SIZO has been killed in the Tavildara District),” *Khovar*, October 5, 2010, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/24655-v-tavildarinskom-rayone-unichtozhen-ocherednoy-beglec-iz-sizo-gknb.html>, (accessed May 24, 2012).

⁴⁴⁰ “Кабул передал Душанбе «Кури Малыша» - беглеца из Душанбинского СИЗО (Kabul has transferred “Kuri Malysh” – the escapee from the Dushanbe’s SIZO to Dushanbe),” *Avesta*, December 27, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/12/27/kabul-peredal-dushanbe-kuri-malysha-begletsa-iz-dushanbinskogo-sizo/>, (accessed

July 2, 2018); “Afghanistan Extradites Jailbreak Fugitives To Tajikistan,” *RFE/RL*, December 27, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/afghanistan_tajikistan_extradition/2260748.html, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Экстрадиция беглецов из Кабула в Душанбе (The extradition of fugitives from Kabul to Dushanbe),” *Khovar*, December 27, 2010, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/25861-ekstradiציya-beglecov-iz-kabula-v-dushanbe.html>, (accessed May 24, 2012).

⁴⁴¹ “Силовики ищут двух скрывшихся членов банды Мулло Абдулло (The security services are searching for two members of Mullo Abdullo’s group that are in hiding),” *Asia-Plus*, April 20, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/siloviki-ishchut-dvukh-skryvshikhsya-chlenov-bandy-mullo-abdullo>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁴² Parvina Khamidova, “Убит еще один беглец из СИЗО ГКНБ Таджикистана (Another one of the escapees from the GKNB’s SIZO has been killed),” *Asia-Plus*, May 15, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/ubit-eshche-odin-beglets-iz-sizo-gknb-tadzhikistana>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Таджикские силовики ликвидировали очередного беглеца (Tajik security forces have eliminated another of the escapees),” *Avesta*, May 16, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/05/16/tadzhikskie-siloviki-likvidirovali-ocherednogo-begletsa/>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁴³ “В Таджикистане пойман очередной беглец из СИЗО (An escapee from the SIZO has been caught in Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, June 20, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tadzhikistane-poiman-ocherednoi-beglets-iz-sizo>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Tajik Forces Kill, Capture Prison Escapees And Suspected Militants,” *RFE/RL*, June 20, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/tajik_forces_kill_and_capture_prison_escapees_and_suspected_militants/24241216.html, (accessed July 2, 2018); “В Таджикистане обезврежены два беглеца из Душанбинского СИЗО (Two escapees from the Dushanbe SIZO have been neutralized in Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, June 21, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/06/21/v-tadzhikistane-obezvrezheny-dva-begletsa-iz-dushanbinskogo-sizo/>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁴⁴ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴⁵ “Avaz Yuldashev, “На таджикско-кыргызской границе задержаны двое беглецов из СИЗО ГКНБ РТ (Two escapees from the GKNB’s SIZO of the Republic of Tajikistan have been arrested on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border),” *Asia-Plus*, July 12, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/na-tadzhiksko-kyrgyzskoi-granitse-zaderzhany-dvoe-begletsov-iz-sizo-gknb-rt>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Один из заключенных, бежавших из СИЗО Душанбе, задержан в Бишкеке (One of the escaped prisoners from the Dushanbe SIZO has been arrested in Bishkek),” *CA-News*, July 13, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20120126030603/http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1310554260>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, July 2, 2018).

⁴⁴⁶ “В Кыргызстане задержан член международной террористической организации (A member of an international terrorist organization has been arrested in Kyrgyzstan),” *K News*, July 13, 2011, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110717051550/http://www.knews.kg/ru/action/880/>, (accessed July 2, 2018)

⁴⁴⁷ Avaz Yuldashev, “В Тавильдаре обезврежены двое беглецов из СИЗО ГКНБ (Two escapees from the GKNB’s SIZO have been neutralized in Tavildara),” *Asia-Plus*, July 26, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-tavildare-obezvrezheny-dvoe-begletsov-iz-sizo-gknb>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Спецоперация на востоке Таджикистана. Есть потери среди силовиков (A special operation in the east of Tajikistan. There are losses among the security forces),” *Avesta*, July 26, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/07/26/spetsoperatsiya-na-vostoke-tadzhikistana-est-poteri-sredi-silovikov/>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “One Escaped Prisoner Killed, One Recaptured In Tajikistan,” *RFE/RL*, July

26, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/one_fugitive_killed_one_captured_in_tajikistan/24277739.html, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁴⁹ Nargis Khamrabayeva, “На юге Таджикистана задержан Аъзами Панджара (Azami Panjara has been arrested in the south of Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, November 13, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/na-yuge-tadzhikistana-zaderzhan-azami-pandzhara>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “В Таджикистане задержан последний из 25 бежавших заключенных (The last of the 25 escaped prisoners has been arrested in Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, November 14, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/11/14/v-tadzhikistane-zaderzhan-poslednij-iz-25-bezhavshih-zaklyuchennyh/>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁵⁰ *Asia-Plus* reported on July 26, 2011 that Yuldoshev was the last remaining suspect still at large, although Azamsho Ziyoev’s arrest on November 13, 2011 contradicted this. Reports claimed that Ziyoev’s arrest meant that all 25 escapees have been accounted for, however, there are no reports on the capture or death of Yuldoshev, see: Igor Lekarkin, “Хамидулло Юлдошев - последний из оставшихся на свободе сбежавших заключенных (Hamidullo Yuldoshev – the last of the escaped prisoners still at large),” *Asia-Plus*, July 26, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/khamidullo-yuldoshev-poslednii-iz-ostavshikh-sya-na-svobode-sbezhavshikh-zaklyuchennykh>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “МВД Таджикистана: Пойман последний из преступников, совершивших групповой побег в 2010 году (MVD of Tajikistan: the last of the criminals of the group that escaped in 2010 has been caught),” *Fergana*, November 14, 2011, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=17623>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁵¹ Nargis Khamrabayev, “МВД подозревает во взрыве в Худжанде ИДУ (The MVD suspects the IMU in the explosion in Khujand),” *Asia-Plus*, September 3, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mvd-podozrevaet-vo-vzryve-v-khudzhande-idu>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Число пострадавших при взрыве на севере Таджикистана возросло до 25 (The number of casualties in the explosion in northern Tajikistan has rise to 25),” *RIA Novosti*, September 3, 2010, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20100903/271824439.html>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Число погибших при взрыве у здания РУБОП в Худжанде возросло до двух (The number of dead in the explosion at the RUBOP headquarters in Khujand has rise to two),” *RIA Novosti*, September 4, 2010, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20100904/272260868.html>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Ответственность за взрыв в Худжанде на себя взяла некая «Джамаат Ансаруллах», - Kavkazcenter.com (“Jamaat Ansarullah” claimed responsibility for the explosion in Khujand – Kavkazcenter.com),” *Avesta*, September 8, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/09/08/otvetstvennost-za-vzryv-v-hudzhande-na-sebya-vzyala-nekaya-dzhamaat-ansarullah-kavkazcenter-com/>, (accessed July 2, 2018); Tulav Razul-zade, “Худжандский взрыв. Герои известны, когда будут найдены виновные? (The Khujand explosion. The heroes are known, when will the guilty be found?),” *Fergana.ru*, September 9, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6718>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁵² Avaz Yuldashev, “Рахмон поручил найти организаторов нападения на военнослужащих в Раште (Rahmon has instructed that the organizers of the attack on the military in Rasht be found),” *Asia-Plus*, September 20, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/rakhmon-poruchil-naiti-organizatorov-napadeniya-na-voennosluzhashchikh-v-rashte>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “Таджикистан: В ущелье Камароб погибли 25 и без вести пропали 25 военнослужащих (Tajikistan: 25 soldiers have been killed and 25 “Список погибших военнослужащих под обстрелом в ущелье Камароб (The list of the dead soldiers that were shot in the Kamarob Gorge),” 5 are missing in the Kamarob Gorge),” *Fergana.ru*, September 20, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/news.php?id=15575&mode=snews>, (accessed July 2, 2018); “В Раште колонна

правительственных войск подверглась обстрелу (A column of government forces has come under fire in Rasht),” *Khovar*, September 20, 2010, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/24413-v-rashte-kolonna-pravitelstvennyh-voysk-podverglas-obstrely.html>, (accessed April 6, 2012); “Список погибших военнослужащих под обстрелом в ущелье Камароб (The list of the soldiers killed in the ambush in the Kamarob Gorge),” *Asia-Plus*, September 22, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/spisok-pogibshikh-voennosluzhashchikh-pod-obstreloom-v-ushchele-kamarob>, (accessed July 2, 2018).

⁴⁵³ Rasul Shodon, “Скончались еще двое военнослужащих, получивших тяжелые ранения в ходе теракта в ущелье Комароб, - Минобороны (Another two soldiers have died of the wounds they received during the attack in the Kamarob Gorge – Ministry of Defense),” *Asia-Plus*, September 21, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/skonchalis-eshche-dvoe-voennosluzhashchikh-poluchivshikh-tyazhelye-raneniya-v-khode-terakta-v-u>, (accessed July 3, 2018); “Tajik Security Forces Search Homes Of Former UTO Fighters,” *RFE/RL*, September 21, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Tajik_Security_Forces_Search_Homes_Of_Former_UTO_Fighters/2164451.html, (accessed July 3, 2018); “Tajikistan Says Five Killed In Counterterrorist Operation,” *RFE/RL*, September 22, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Tajikistan_Says_Five_Killed_In_Counterterrorist_Operation/2165479.html, (accessed July 3, 2018); “Таджикистан: Армия Рахмона идет по следу старых врагов (Tajikistan: the Army of Rahmon is going on the trail of old enemies),” *Fergana.ru*, September 23, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6736>, (accessed July 3, 2018); Shukhrat Shodiev, “Таджикистан: В Рашт и обратно. От греха подальше (Tajikistan: To Rasht and back. Further from sin),” *Fergana.ru*, October 12, 2010, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=6761>, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁴ “В Раште убито пятеро сотрудников правоохранительных органов (Five members of the security services have been killed in Rasht),” *Asia-Plus*, October 4, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-rashte-ubito-pyatero-sotrudnikov-pravookhranitelnykh-organov>, (accessed July 3, 2018); “Скончался командир хатлонского ОМОНа, получивший тяжелые ранения в ходе спецоперации в Раште (The commander of the Khatlon OMON has died from wounds received during the special operation in Rasht),” *Asia-Plus*, October 5, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/skonchalsya-komandir-khatlonskogo-omona-poluchivshii-tyazhelye-raneniya-v-khode-spetsoperatsii->, (accessed July 3, 2018); Farangis Najibullah, “Worries Grow As Tajik Government Continues Operation Against Militants,” *RFE/RL*, October 4, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Worries_Grow_As_Tajik_Government_Continues_Operation_Against_Militants_/2176159.html, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁵ Avaz Yuldashev, “В Раште потерпел крушение вертолет Национальной гвардии Таджикистана (A helicopter of the National Guard of Tajikistan has crashed in Rasht),” *Asia-Plus*, October 6, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-rashte-poterpel-krushenie-vertolet-natsionalnoi-gvardii-tadzhikistana>, (accessed July 3, 2018); “34 Troops Killed In Tajikistan,” *RFE/RL*, October 7, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/34_Troops_Killed_In_Tajikistan/2183391.html, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁶ “Власти Таджикистана могут амнистировать членов банд-формирований в Раште (The authorities of Tajikistan might grant amnesty to members of the gang in Rasht),” *Avesta*, October 12, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/10/12/vlasti-tadzhikistana-mogut-amnistirovat-chlenov-band-formirovanij-v-rashte/>, (accessed July 3, 2018); Avaz Yuldashev, “Мирзохуджа Ахмадов участвует в нейтрализации Мулло Абдулло и Али Бедаки (Mirzohudja Akhmadov is participating in the neutralization of Mullo Abdullo and Ali Bedaki),” *Asia-Plus*, October 15, 2010, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mirzokhudzha-akhmadov-uchastvuet-v-neitralizatsii-mullo-abdullo-i-ali-bedaki>, (accessed July 3, 2018); Oleg Samsonov, “Прощай, оружие! Можно надеяться навсегда? (A farewell to arms! Is it possible to hope forever?),” *Avesta*, October 15, 2010,

<http://avesta.tj/2010/10/15/proshhaj-oruzhie-mozhno-nadeyatsya-navsegda/>, (accessed July 3, 2018); Farangis Najibullah, "Local Tajik Commanders in Rasht Agree To Lay Down Their Weapons," *RFE/RL*, October 15, 2010, http://www.rferl.org/content/Local_Tajik_Commanders_Agree_To_Team_With_Government_Troops_In_Rasht/2191514.html, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁷ "В Раште правительственными силами уничтожены два боевика (Government forces have eliminated two militants in Rasht)," *Avesta*, November 23, 2010, <http://avesta.tj/2010/11/23/v-rashte-pravitelstvennymi-silami-unichtozheny-dva-boevika/>, (accessed July 3, 2018); "Tajik Official Announces Killing Of Two More Militants," *RFE/RL*, November 23, 2010, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/2228529.html>, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁸ "Али Бедаки и его бандгруппа ликвидированы недалеко от Рашта (Ali Bedaki and his gang were eliminated not far from Rasht)," *Avesta*, January 4, 2011, <http://avesta.tj/2011/01/04/ali-bedaki-i-ego-bandgruppa-likvidirovany-nedaleko-ot-rashta/>, (accessed July 3, 2018); "Таджикские силовики ликвидировали 8 членов бандформирования (Tajik forces eliminated 8 members of the gang)," *Khovar*, January 5, 2011, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/25950-tadzhikskie-siloviki-likvidirovali-8-chlenov-bandformirovaniya.html>, (accessed April 17, 2012); "Security Operation In East Tajikistan Kills Several Militants," *RFE/RL*, January 4, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/security_operation_east_tajikistan_kills_militants/2266892.html, (accessed July 3, 2018).

⁴⁵⁹ "Ali Bedaki alive," *You Tube*, February 6, 2011, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=ayjEzf-2lr0>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶⁰ "pressatj2.avi," *You Tube*, January 5, 2011, http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=fTYU_LLgmFs&feature=related, (accessed April 17, 2012).

⁴⁶¹ Avaz Yuldashev and Khaydar Shodiev, "На востоке Таджикистана опять стреляют (They are shooting again in the east of Tajikistan)," *Asia-Plus*, April 14, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/na-vostoke-tadzhikistana-opyat-strelyayut>, (accessed July 5, 2018); "Search Launched For Tajik Militant Leader," *RFE/RL*, April 14, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/search_launched_for_tajik_militant_leader/3557304.html, (accessed July 5, 2018); "В Раште проходят плановые учения (There is a planned exercise going on in Rasht)," *Khovar*, April 14, 2011, <http://khovar.tj/rus/archive/27674-v-rashte-prohodyat-planovye-ucheniya.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶² Parvina Khamidova, "МВД: Идет установление личностей уничтоженных в Раште боевиков (MVD: the process of identifying the individual militants eliminated in Rasht is ongoing)," *Asia-Plus*, April 16, 2011, <http://news.tj/ru/news/mvd-idet-ustanovlenie-lichnostei-unichtozhennykh-v-rashte-boevikov>, (accessed July 5, 2018); "Tajikistan Claims Militant Leader Killed," *RFE/RL*, April 15, 2011, http://www.rferl.org/content/tajikistan_says_militant_leader_killed/3558497.html, (accessed July 5, 2018); Parvina Khamidova, "Убит Мулло Абдулло (The killing of Mullo Abdullo)," *Asia-Plus*, April 18, 2011, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/ubit-mullo-abdullo>, (accessed July 5, 2018); for additional analysis on the incidents during the fall of 2010 in and around the Rasht District, see: Christian Bleuer, "The Insurgent Threat to Tajikistan: Exaggeration or Accurate Assessment?," *Ghosts of Alexander, Conflict and Society in Central Asia*, entry posted May 30, 2011, <http://easterncampaign.com/2011/05/30/the-insurgent-threat-to-tajikistan-exaggeration-or-accurate-assessment/>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶³ "Убит генерал нацбезопасности Абдулло Назаров (The killing of national security General Abdullo Nazarov)," *Asia-Plus*, July 24, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/ubit-general-natsbezopasnosti-abdullo-nazarov>, (accessed July 5, 2018); "Версии убийства генерала спецслужб Таджикистана: Контрабанда или терроризм?"

(The versions of the killing of security services general of Tajikistan: Contraband or terrorism?),” *Ozodagon*, July 23, 2012, <http://catoday.org/reportaj/7231-versii-ubiystva-general-a-specsluzhb-tadzhikistana-kontrabanda-ili-terrorizm.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶⁴ “At Least 42 Killed In Tajik Clashes,” *RFE/RL*, July 24, 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/tajik-troops-reported-killed-/24654837.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “Темные тучи над Хорогом (Dark clouds over Khorog),” *Asia-Plus*, July 27, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/temnye-tuchi-nad-khorogom>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶⁵ Ramziya Mirzobekova, “Хроники расстрелянного Хорога (The chronicles of the shooting of Khorog),” *Asia-Plus*, July 31, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/khroniki-rasstrelyannogo-khoroga>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “Government Ends Operations In Eastern Tajikistan,” *RFE/RL*, July 25, 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/tajik-government-offers-amnesty-to-quell-fighting/24655905.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018); For the video, see: “Страшная перестрелка в Хороре (The terrible shootout in Khorog),” *Pamir TV*, July 26, 2012, <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=sWa4sSzXvt8&feature=plcp>, (accessed October 2, 2012).

⁴⁶⁶ “Мораторий на прекращение огня в Хороре продлен (The moratorium on the cease-fire in Khorog has been extended),” *Ozodagon*, July 27, 2012, <http://catoday.org/reportaj/7250-moratoriy-na-prekraschenie-ognya-v-horoge-prodlen.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “Спецоперация на востоке Таджикистана (The special operation in the east of Tajikistan),” *RIA Novosti*, July 30, 2012, <http://ria.ru/infografika/20120730/713037152.html>, (accessed October 2, 2012); “Памир возвращается к миру? (Is Pamir returning to peace?),” *Asia-Plus*, August 3, 2012, <http://news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/pamir-vozvraschaetsya-k-miru>, (accessed October 2, 2012).

⁴⁶⁷ Temur Varki, “Памирский гамбит (The Pamiri gambit),” *Asia-Plus*, August 7, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/pamirskii-gambit>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “На востоке Таджикистана погиб замкомандира таджикского ОМОН (The deputy commander of the Tajik OMON has been killed in the east of Tajikistan),” *Avesta*, August 6, 2012, <http://avesta.tj/2012/08/06/na-vostoke-tadzhikistana-pogib-zamkomandira-tadzhikskogo-omon/>, (accessed July 5, 2018); Temur Varki, “Юристы: Применение армии в Бадахшане незаконно (Lawyers: the use of the army in Badakhshan is illegal),” *Asia-Plus*, August 15, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/yuristy-primenenie-armii-v-badakhshane-nezakonno>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶⁸ “АКН выложило досье на четырех лиц, стоящих за событиями в ГБАО (The AKN has given out a dossier on the four individuals behind the events in the GBAO),” *Asia-Plus*, July 30, 2012, <http://www.news.tj/ru/news/akn-vylozhilo-dose-na-chetyrekh-lits-stoyashchikh-za-sobytiyami-v-gbao>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁶⁹ “Армия уходит из Хорога (The army is leaving Khorog),” *Asia-Plus*, August 7, 2012, <http://old.news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/armiya-ukhodit-iz-khoroga>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁷⁰ “Толиб Айёмбеков заявил, что сдается властям (Tolib Ayombekov has stated that he will surrender to authorities),” *Avesta*, August 13, 2012, <http://avesta.tj/2012/08/13/tolib-ajyombekov-zayavil-chto-sdaetsya-vlastyam/>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁷¹ “Tajik Military Checkpoints Removed From Scene Of Recent Clashes,” *RFE/RL*, August 16, 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/tajik-checkpoints-removed-in-east-town/24679033.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “Правительственные войска Таджикистана начали покидать город Хорог (Government forces of Tajikistan have started to withdraw from the city of Khorog),” *RIA Novosti*, August 13, 2012, <https://web.archive.org/web/20130113104035/http://rja.ru/world/20120813/722646003.html>, (accessed July 5,

2018); “Former Tajik Opposition Commander Killed In Badakhshan,” *RFE/RL*, August 22, 2012, <http://www.rferl.org/content/former-tajik-opposition-field-commander-in-badakshan/24684382.html>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁷² Ramziya Mirzobekova, “Хорог: Смерть Имумназара и новый митинг (Khorog: the death of Imumnazarov and a new protest),” *Asia-Plus*, August 24, 2012, <https://news.tj/ru/news/khorog-smert-imumnazara-i-novyi-miting>, (accessed July 5, 2018); “Хорог покинули около 250 военнослужащих (Around 250 soldiers left Khorog),” *Avesta*, August 24, 2012, <http://avesta.tj/2012/08/24/horog-pokinuli-okolo-250-voennosluzhashhih/>, (accessed July 5, 2018).

⁴⁷³ “Пока в Кыргызстане считают количество минометных мин, их таджикские оппоненты распространяют «анонимки» (While they are counting the number of mortars in Kyrgyzstan, their Tajik opponents are spreading “propaganda”),” *Fergana News*, January 13, 2014, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/21679>, (accessed July 6, 2018); Yekaterina Ivashchenko and Daniil Kislov, “Кыргызстан закрыл всю границу с Таджикистаном. Подробности вчерашнего инцидента рассказал журналистам вице-премьер Токон Мамытов (Kyrgyzstan close its border with Tajikistan. Deputy Prime Minister Tokon Mamytov discussed details of yesterday’s incident with journalists),” *Fergana News*, January 12, 2014, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/21677>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Как развивались события на таджикско-кыргызской границе (хронология) (How the situation developed on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border – chronology),” *Asia-Plus*, December 19, 2013, <http://news.tj/ru/news/kak-razvivalis-sobytiya-na-tadzhiksko-kyrgyzskoi-granitse-khronologiya>, (accessed July 6, 2018).

⁴⁷⁴ Bektur Iskender, “Перестрелка на кыргызско-таджикской границе: ранены пограничники обеих стран (The shootout on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border: wounded border guards of both sides),” *Kloop*, January 11, 2014, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2014/01/11/perestrelka-na-ky-rgy-zsko-tadzhikskoj-granitse-est-raneny-e/>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Кто первым открыл огонь на таджикско-кыргызской границе? (Who opened fire first on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border?),” *Asia-Plus*, January 13, 2014, <https://news.tj/ru/node/181457>, (accessed July 6, 2018).

⁴⁷⁵ “В перестрелке на границе ранены шесть кыргызских пограничников (Six Kyrgyz border guards were wounded in the shootout on the border),” *K News*, January 11, 2014, http://www.knews.kg/action/42935_v_perestrelke_na_granitse_ranenyi_shest_kyrgyzskih_pogranichnikov/, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Спецназ Таджикистана стрелял прицельно по жизненно важным объектам (Special forces of Tajikistan shot directly at vital objects),” *K News*, January 12, 2014, http://www.knews.kg/action/42941_spetsnaz_tadjikistana_streljal_pritselno_po_jiznenno_vajnyim_obyektam_fo_to/, (accessed July 6, 2018); “В Баткене достигнута договоренность (An arrangement has been reached in Batken),” *Asia-Plus*, January 13, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/v-batkene-dostignuta-dogovorennost-dopolneno>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Работа совместного патруля кыргызской и таджикской милиции в Баткенской области (The work of the joint Kyrgyz and Tajik police patrol in the Batken oblast),” *Turmush*, January 14, 2014, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:47462>, (accessed July 6, 2018); Avaz Yuldashev, “Кыргызстан открывает свою границу с Таджикистаном (Kyrgyzstan has opened its border with Tajikistan),” *Asia-Plus*, March 31, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/kyrgyzstan-otkryvaet-svoyu-granitsu-s-tadzhikistanom>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “После переговоров силовых структур КР и Таджикистана начался вывод дополнительных сил с кыргызско-таджикской границы (After the negotiations the security services of the Kyrgyz Republic and Tajikistan have started to withdraw the reinforcements from the Kyrgyz-Tajik border),” *Turmush*, January 29, 2014, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:648>, (accessed July 6, 2018).

⁴⁷⁶ “Инцидент на таджикско-кыргызской границе расследуется (The incident on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border is being investigated),” *Asia-Plus*, May 12, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20140707010059/https://news.tj/ru/newspaper/article/intsident-na-tadzhiksko-kyrgyzskoi-granitse-rassleduetsya>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “ГПС сообщает подробности инцидента на кыргызско-таджикском участке границы в Баткенском районе (The Border Guards Service reports that details of the incident on section of the Kyrgyz-Tajik border in the Batken District),” *Turmush*, May 8, 2014, <http://turmush.kg/ru/news:57661>, (accessed July 6, 2018); Bermet Malikova, “Баткенский тупик с открытыми границами (The Batken stalemate with open borders),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, May 13, 2014, <https://web.archive.org/web/20170429090602/http://members.vb.kg/2014/05/13/pogran/1.html>, (accessed July 6, 2018).

⁴⁷⁷ Sheroz Sharipov, “Первые жертвы (The first victims),” *Asia-Plus*, September 1, 2014, <http://news.tj/ru/news/pervye-zhertvy-video-i-foto>, (accessed July 6, 2018); Yuri Kuzminykh, “На границе опять стреляют (They are shooting again on the border),” *Vechernii Bishkek*, August 27, 2014, <http://members.vb.kg/2014/08/27/panorama/4.html>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Госадминистрация Лейлекского района рассказала о причинах возникновения конфликта на кыргызско-таджикской границе (The government administration of the Leylekskiy District discussed the reasons of the conflict on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border),” *Turmush*, August 26, 2014, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:72919>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “В Лейлекском районе проводится расследование по приграничному инциденту на кыргызско-таджикской границе (An investigation on the border incident on the Kyrgyz-Tajik border is being carried out in the Leylekskiy District),” *Turmush*, August 26, 2014, <http://osh.turmush.kg/ru/news:72993>, (accessed July 6, 2018).

⁴⁷⁸ Aleksandr Shustov, “Туркмения - бои регионального значения (Turkmenistan – a fight of regional meaning),” *Fond strategicheskoy kul'tury*, September 17, 2008, <https://web.archive.org/web/20110811171119/http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1221726780>, (accessed July 6, 2018); M. Yanovskaya, “Туркменистан: Сентябрьская перестрелка в Ашхабаде. Версия правозащитников (Turkmenistan: the September shootout in Ashgabat. The version of human rights activists),” *Fergana.ru*, November 5, 2008, <http://www.fergananews.com/article.php?id=5943>, (accessed July 6, 2018); “Президент сообщил о потерях среди оперативных сотрудников в ходе операции в Ашхабаде (The President reported casualties among the members of the operation in Ashgabat),” *Turkmenistan.ru*, September 16, 2008, <http://www.turkmenistan.ru/ru/node/24728>, (accessed February 29, 2012).

⁴⁷⁹ Viktor Kurganov, “Террористы нанесли удар по центру Ташкента (Terrorists struck a blow in the center of Tashkent),” *Kommersant*, February 17, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/213169?isSearch=True>, (accessed July 9, 2018); Dmitry Alyaev, Viktor Kurganov, and Boris Mikhailov, “Ташкент продолжают взрывать (Explosions are continuing in Tashkent),” *Kommersant*, February 18, 1999, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/213278>, (accessed July 9, 2018); Bakytbek Beshimov, Pulat Shozimov, and Murat Bakhadyrov, “A New Phase in the History of the Fergana Valley, 1992-2008,” in *Fergana Valley, The Heart of Central Asia*, ed. S. Frederick Starr (New York: M.E. Sharpe, 2011), 221; Vitaly V. Naumkin, “Militant Islam in Central Asia: The Case of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan,” *Berkeley Program in Soviet and Post-Soviet Studies Working Paper Series* (2003).

⁴⁸⁰ Fredholm, “Узбекские исламисты пошли по чеченской дорожке и открыли второй фронт (Uzbek Islamists have gone on the Chechen path and opened a second front),” *Kommersant*, August 8, 2000, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/154876>, (accessed August 29, 2018); “На Узбекистан напали таджики (Tajiks attacked Uzbekistan),” *Kommersant*, August 9, 2000, <https://www.kommersant.ru/doc/154976>, (accessed August 29, 2018); “Террористический интернационал (International terrorism),” *Kommersant*, August 15, 2000,

<http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/155386?isSearch=True>, (accessed March 26, 2012); Ivan Sidorov, “Ташкент стал прифронтовым городом (Tashkent became a city on the front-line),” *Kommersant*, August 23, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/156033?isSearch=True>, (accessed March 26, 2012); Said Dzhangir and Vasilii Mikhailov, “Узбекские боевики рассеяны (Uzbek militants have scattered),” *Kommersant*, August 25, 2000, <http://www.kommersant.ru/doc/156181?isSearch=True>, (accessed March 26, 2012).

⁴⁸¹ “В результате терактов в Узбекистане погибли 19 человек (The terrorist attacks in Uzbekistan have resulted in 19 people killed),” *RIA Novosti*, March 29, 2004, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20040329/556903.html>, (accessed March 28, 2012); “Официальное сообщение о террористических актах в Узбекистане (The official report on the terrorist attacks in Uzbekistan),” *UzA*, March 29, 2004, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1080572400>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, March 28, 2012); “В Узбекистане совершен новый теракт (A new terrorist attack was carried out in Uzbekistan),” *RIA Novosti*, March 30, 2004, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20040330/557065.html>, (accessed March 28, 2012); Olga Fazylova, “Перестрелка на северо-востоке Ташкента закончилась (The shootout in the north-east of Tashkent has finished),” *TRIBUNE-uz*, March 30, 2004, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1080651420>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, March 28, 2012); Daniel Kimmage, “Terror in Uzbekistan: A Special Report,” *RFE/RL*, March 31, 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1052110.html>, (accessed August 29, 2018); Antoine Blua, “Uzbekistan: Standoff Ends When Suspects (sic) Blows Himself Up; Police Continue Sweep,” *RFE/RL*, April 1, 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1052136.html>, (accessed August 29, 2018).

⁴⁸² “В Ташкенте совершена серия терактов (A series of terrorist attacks has been carried out in Tashkent),” *RIA Novosti*, July 30, 2004, <http://ria.ru/incidents/20040730/644005.html>, (accessed March 30, 2012); “Uzbek Blast Draws International Criticism,” *RFE/RL*, July 31, 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1054116.html>, (accessed August 29, 2018); Daniel Kimmage, “Analysis: Terror In Uzbekistan,” *RFE/RL*, August 20, 2004, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1054424.html>, (accessed August 29, 2018); Viktoriya Panfilova and Anatoliy Gordienko, “Узбекских шахидов можно ждать в России (It is possible for Uzbek martyrs to wait in Russia),” *Nezavisimaya Gazeta*, August 2, 2004, http://www.ng.ru/cis/2004-08-02/5_shakhid.html, (accessed March 30, 2012).

⁴⁸³ Gulnoza Saidazimova, “Uzbekistan: Extremism Trial Postponed, Charges Reduced Amid Protest,” *RFE/RL*, May 12, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1058848.html>, (accessed October 25, 2018); “Андижан: восставшие взяли в плен около 15 милиционеров (Andijan: the rebels have captured around 15 policemen),” *Fergana.ru*, May 13, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1115975820>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, October 25, 2018); “В центре Андижана продолжается перестрелка. В здании администрации обороняются 100 человек (The shootout continues in the center of Andijan. 100 people are defending the administration building),” *Interfax*, May 13, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1115998320>, (accessed at Centrasia.ru, April 2, 2012); Muzaffarmirzo Iskhakov, “Штурм тюрьмы в Андижане (The storming of the prison in Andijan),” *Centrasia.ru*, May 13, 2005, <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php?st=1116005700>, (accessed October 25, 2018); “Uzbek Officials Claim Terrorists Behind Violence,” *RFE/RL*, May 17, 2005, <http://www.rferl.org/content/article/1058901.html>, (accessed October 25, 2018); Shirin Akiner, “Violence in Andijan, 13 May 2005: An Independent Assessment,” *Central Asia-Caucasus Institute Silk Road Studies Program, Silk Road Paper* (July 2005), <https://web.archive.org/web/20130707054636/http://www.silkroadstudies.org/new/inside/publications/0507Akiner.pdf>, (accessed October 25, 2018).

⁴⁸⁴ Khlova Geune, “Спецрепортаж: Как узбекские бронетранспортеры обнажили приграничные проблемы (Special report: How Uzbek armored personnel carriers exposed border problems),” *Kloop*, March 29, 2016, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2016/03/29/spetsreportazh-kak-uzbekskie-bronetransportery-obnazhili-prigranichnye-problemy/>, (accessed October 25, 2018); Aida Jumasheva, “Источник: В Ала-Букинский район выдвигается спецназ "Скорпион" (Source: the special forces unit “Scorpion” is deploying in the Ala-Buka District),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, March 21, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/336638_istochnik:_v_ala_bykinskiy_rayon_vydvigaetsia_specnaz_scorpion.html, (accessed October 25, 2018); “Кыргызская сторона выставила технику и стянула дополнительные силы к границе с Узбекистаном (The Kyrgyz side put additional equipment and units on the border with Uzbekistan),” *K News*, March 20, 2016, <http://knews.kg/2016/03/20/kyrgyzskaya-storona-vystavila-tehniku-i-styanula-dopolnitelnye-sily-k-granitse-s-uzbekistanom-foto/>, (accessed October 25, 2018); Aida Jumasheva, “ГПС: Обстановка на кыргызско-узбекском участке границы остается прежней (Border Guards service: the situation on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border area remains unchanged),” *Vecherniy Bishkek*, March 19, 2016, http://www.vb.kg/doc/336585_gps:_obstanovka_na_kyrgyzsko_uzbekskom_uchastke_granicy_ostaetsia_prejney.html, (accessed October 25, 2018); Аман Алымбеков, “Курбанбай Искандаров: «Ситуация на кыргызско-узбекской границе связана с возвратом объектов на баланс Кыргызстана» (Kurbanbay Iskandarov: “The situation on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border is connected with the return of objects on the balance of Kyrgyzstan”),” *Kabar*, March 24, 2016, <http://old.kabar.kg/rus/politics/full/104088>, (accessed October 25, 2018); Ermek Abdrisayev, “ИАЦ "Кабар": Новый инцидент на границе - в чем смысл? (Information Analytical Center “Kabar”: a new incident on the border – what is the point?),” *Kabar*, March 19, 2016, <http://kabar.kg/kabar/full/103899>, (accessed October 25, 2018); Adilet Makenov, “Узбекистан вывел военных со спорного участка в местности Чаласарт (Uzbekistan withdrew its forces from the disputed section in the area of Chalasart),” *Kloop*, March 26, 2016, <http://kloop.kg/blog/2016/03/26/uzbekistan-vyvel-voennyh-so-spornogo-uchastka-v-mestnosti-chalasart/>, (accessed October 25, 2018); “Список объектов вблизи госграницы, из-за которых Узбекистан мог пойти на обострение (The list of objects near the border which Uzbekistan could make worse),” *Kabar*, March 20, 2016, <http://kabar.kg/rus/politics/full/103903>, (accessed October 25, 2018); “Кыргызстан усилил границу и настаивает на выводе узбекских БТР и военных со спорного участка (Kyrgyzstan strengthened the border and insists on the withdrawal of Uzbek BTRs and soldiers from the disputed area),” *Fergana News*, March 21, 2016, <http://www.fergananews.com/news/24561>, (accessed October 25, 2018).