

**EUROPEAN INTER-UNIVERSITY CENTRE FOR HUMAN RIGHTS AND DEMOCRATISATION**

**SECOND SEMESTER UNIVERSITY: INSTITUTE FOR PEACE AND SECURITY STUDIES, UNIVERSITY  
OF HAMBURG**

# **Tackling Islamic Radicalisation in Kyrgyzstan: A Role for the OSCE?**

---

**Author: Clare Preece**

**Supervisor: Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer**

## **ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS**

This thesis was completed thanks to the support of Melissa, Philip and Doreen Preece, the editing skills of Tom Murphy and the supervision of Dr. Anna Kreikemeyer.

## **ABSTRACT**

The popularity of radical Islamic groups such as Hizb ut-Tahrir is rising in Kyrgyzstan, yet an appropriate policy for dealing with it is yet to emerge. The approach to date taken by the government has been characterised by authoritarianism, abuse of human rights and a reliance on the security services. This approach is not working. This thesis will examine how the OSCE could support the Kyrgyz government in designing and implementing an appropriate response to Islamic radicalism. This will be done by constructing an analytical framework from conflict prevention theories to examine the causes of radicalism and potential instruments to remedy it, comparing these instruments with the conflict prevention and counter-radicalisation tools of the OSCE.

## **ABBREVIATIONS**

ATU	Anti Terrorist Unit
CPC	Conflict Prevention Centre
HCNM	High Commissioner for National Minorities
HT	Hizb ut-Tahrir
ICG	International Crisis Group
ODIHR	Office of Democratic Instruments and Human Rights
OSCE	Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
VERLT	Violent Extremism and Radicalisation Leading to Terrorism

## TABLE OF CONTENTS

<b>1. CHAPTER 1: Introduction.....</b>	<b>1</b>
1.1. Rising Popularity of Radical Islamic Groups.....	1
1.2. Domestic Reactions.....	2
1.3. International Concern.....	3
1.4. A Potential Role for the OSCE?.....	4
1.5. Existing Studies.....	4
1.6. Aim of Thesis, and Guiding Research Questions.....	5
1.7. Methodology and Outline.....	5
<b>2. CHAPTER 2: CREATING AN ANALYTICAL FRAMEWORK.....</b>	<b>7</b>
2.1. Background of Conflict Prevention Theory.....	7
2.2. Key Concepts.....	8
2.2.1. Conflict .....	8
2.2.2. Conflict Prevention.....	8
2.2.3. Conflict Prevention Instruments.....	10
2.2.4. Causes of Conflict.....	14
2.2.5. Religious Extremism, Terrorism and Conflict Prevention.....	18
2.3. Constructing the Framework.....	21
2.3.1. Purpose of the Framework.....	21
2.3.2. The Analytical Framework.....	21
2.4. Summary.....	23
<b>3. CHAPTER 3: KYRGYZSTAN, ISLAM, HIZB UT-TAHRIR AND THE OSCE.....</b>	<b>25</b>
3.1. Introduction to Kyrgyzstan.....	25
3.1.1. Background.....	25
3.1.2. Political System.....	26
3.1.3. Development.....	26
3.2. Islam in Central Asia.....	27
3.2.1. Background.....	27
3.2.2. Political Islam.....	28
3.2.3. Government Responses.....	28

3.3. Islam in Kyrgyzstan.....	29
3.3.1. Background.....	29
3.3.2. Religious Policies.....	30
3.4. Hizb ut-Tahrir.....	31
3.4.1. Background.....	31
3.4.2. Hizb ut-Tahrir's Ideology.....	31
3.4.3. Methods of Hizb ut-Tahrir.....	32
3.4.4. Extent of Support.....	34
3.4.5. Government Responses.....	34
3.4.6. Risk of Violence.....	36
3.5. The Conflict Prevention and Counter-radicalisation Instruments of the OSCE.....	38
3.5.1. Overview.....	38
3.5.2. Regional Presence.....	41
3.5.3. Activities in Kyrgyzstan.....	44
3.6. Summary.....	45
<b>4. CHAPTER 4: ANALYSING THE CAUSES OF RADICALISATION IN KYRGYZSTAN.....</b>	<b>47</b>
4.1. Environmental Causes.....	48
4.1.1. Global-level Factors.....	48
4.1.2. State-level Factors.....	49
4.2. Individual-level Factors .....	51
4.2.1. Response of the Population.....	52
4.3. Drivers and Mitigators.....	53
4.3.1. Hizb ut-Tahrir.....	53
4.3.2. Government and Security Services.....	55
4.3.3. Mitigators .....	56
4.4. Triggers and Windows of Opportunity.....	58
4.5. Summary .....	59
<b>5. CHAPTER 5: IDENTIFYING INSTRUMENTS AND THE POTENTIAL ROLE OF THE OSCE.....</b>	<b>63</b>
5.1. Identifying Needs and Tasks.....	63

5.1.1. Windows of Opportunity.....	63
5.1.2. Potential Triggers.....	64
5.1.3. Conflict of Interest Between Hizb ut-Tahrir and the Government.....	64
5.1.4. Government Approach to Radicalisation.....	66
5.1.5. Undermining HT's Ideology and Addressing Needs of Individuals.....	66
5.1.6. Environmental Factors.....	67
5.1.7. Summary of Needs and Tasks.....	67
5.2. Identifying Instruments .....	71
5.2.1. Approach of Government.....	71
5.2.2. Police.....	72
5.2.3. Judiciary.....	72
5.2.4. Socio-economic.....	73
5.2.5. Political.....	74
5.2.6. Religious.....	75
5.2.7. Local Capacity.....	75
5.2.8. Summary.....	76
5.3. Potential Role of the OSCE.....	79
5.3.1. Priority Areas and OSCE Areas of Expertise.....	79
5.3.2. Experience and Instruments.....	79
5.3.3. Issues.....	83
5.4. Summary.....	85
<b>6. CHAPTER 6: CONCLUSION.....</b>	<b>87</b>