



University of World
Economy and Diplomacy



Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan
in the UK



GCRF COMPASS
International Project

Webinar

“NATO’s withdrawal from Afghanistan: implications for Central Asia”

Thursday, 27 May, 10.30-12.00 UK Time/14.30-16.00 Tashkent Time

Language: English

Co-organisers:

GCRF COMPASS Project

Embassy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the UK

University of World Economy and Diplomacy

Moderators: Hameed Hakimi and Akram Umarov

Time: 27 May 2021 02:30 PM Islamabad, Karachi, Tashkent

Join Zoom Meeting

<https://us02web.zoom.us/j/84305989305?pwd=UnRhWDF1WnlrKy83NVcxTmtUdzV1QT09>

Meeting ID: 946 0763 4079

Passcode: 097464

Discussion points

The US has started withdrawing troops from Afghanistan in May 2021, beginning the end of what President Joe Biden called "the forever war". The NATO military forces and their allies are planning to conclude the withdrawal on the symbolic date of 11 September 2021. US President Joe Biden says the US pull-out is justified as US forces have made sure the country cannot again become a base for foreign jihadists to plot against the West.

However, the current situation in Afghanistan is quite far from being stable: peace talks between Afghan government and the militants are stalled; the violence is widespread as the numbers of victims from both sides keep rising; international involvement is gradually drawing down and the prospects of conflict resolution are looming. In such circumstances, Central Asia as a neighbouring region is carefully observing the ongoing developments in Afghanistan. For many years after 1991, Central Asia perceived the situation in Afghanistan mainly from a security angle. But this approach was substantially reshaped starting from 2016 with active socio-economic partnership between Tashkent and Kabul. Therefore, the considerable changes in Afghanistan can heavily impact Central Asia not only by increasing security challenges, but also disrupting the increasing volume of trade, economic and investment activities between the sides.

The webinar aims to discuss the following issues:

a) Troops’ withdrawal: pace and situation on the ground

b) The prospects of continued US presence in the region

c) Future of Peace talks

- *Limits and room for compromise*
- *The future form of governance in Afghanistan: Republic or Emirate?*
- *Power-sharing perspectives between the opposing sides*
- *HR, minorities and women's rights*

d) The role of regional countries

- *Pakistan, India, Iran, China, Russia, Gulf states and Central Asia*
- *Future of regional connectivity projects*
- *Impact of the troops' withdrawal on Central Asia*

Each speaker will have **3-4 minutes** to give a very brief introductory talk and then we will open the floor for Q&A, comments.

It is a closed event for participants only in order to encourage free exchange of opinion.

Participants

United Kingdom

1. Hameed Hakimi, Research Associate, Chatham House
2. Elena Korosteleva, Principal Investigator, GCRF COMPASS project
3. Siddharth (Montu) Saxena, Co-Investigator, GCRF COMPASS project
4. Antonio Giustozzi, Associate Fellow, Royal United Services Institute
5. Raffaello Pantucci, Senior Associate Fellow, Royal United Services Institute
6. Zalmi Nishat, Senior Fellow at the Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies
7. Avinash Paliwal, Deputy Director, SOAS South Asia Institute
8. Magnus Marsden, Professor, Sussex University Asia Centre

Uzbekistan

1. Akram Umarov, Leading Research Fellow, University of World Economy and Diplomacy
2. Ulugbek Khasanov, Chair of Department, University of World Economy and Diplomacy
3. Bakhtiyor Mustafaev, Deputy Director, International Institute of Central Asia
4. Farkhod Talipov, NGO "Bilim Karvoni"
5. Rustam Makhmudov, Senior Lecturer, University of World Economy and Diplomacy
6. Abdusamat Khaidarov, Professor, Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies
7. Aliyor Tilavov, Uzbek Embassy in London

Bios

UK

1. Hameed Hakimi is a Research Associate at the Asia-Pacific Programme and Europe Programme in Chatham House (The Royal Institute of International Affairs) in London. Hameed's

policy research interests include, among others, the politics and society of Afghanistan and Pakistan, regional connectivity between South and Central Asia, migration and Muslims in Europe. Prior to joining Chatham House in 2013, he worked as a researcher at various institutions including the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS) and the London School of Economics and Political Science (LSE). Between 2014 and 2015, Hameed was an International Advisor for policy and capacity development working under a USAID-funded programme in Kabul to support international efforts during Afghanistan's political transition.

Hameed is also a member of Magdalene College and the Department of Sociology at the University of Cambridge where he is a doctoral candidate. His doctoral research examines the bottom-up conceptualisations of subjective security among minority groups in Europe and the securitisation of migration and European integration policies. He is keenly interested in the study of decolonising methodologies of research that impact knowledge production and epistemologies.

He tweets @hameedhakimi, Email: HHakimi@chathamhouse.org

2. Elena Korosteleva is Professor of International Politics, and Jean Monnet Chair of European Politics, which she was awarded twice by the European Commission in recognition of her research and teaching excellence. Before joining the School in 2012, Elena was Senior Lecturer in International Politics and Director of the newly established Centre for European Studies at Aberystwyth University. Drawing on this experience, in 2013 Elena successfully launched the Global Europe Centre (GEC) at Kent, in partnership with Professor Whitman. Professor Korosteleva is presently the Principal Investigator for the 3rd largest project at the University of Kent GCRF UKRI COMPASS project (ES/P010849/1, 2017-21, £4m), supported by the British government via UKRI, to address the challenges of capacity-building in developing countries. In particular, the COMPASS project, along with its partner at the University of Cambridge, seeks to establish 'the hubs of excellence' at the top-level HEIs in Azerbaijan (ADA University), Belarus (BSU), Tajikistan (TNU) and Uzbekistan (UWED) for global partnership-building in the areas of research integration, impact governance, and sustainable communities.

Elena received her Doctoral Degree in European Politics from the University of Bath (2001), and a PhD equivalent in Political Sociology from the Belarusian State University (1997). Thereafter she served as a British Academy Postdoctoral Research Fellow at the University of Glasgow, and is currently a Visiting Professor at the LSE IDEAS and the College of Europe (Natolin). Elena's research interests include the concepts of governance, resilience as self-governance, regional order-building, peoplehood and democracy promotion; EU Global Security Strategy and Foreign Policies (ENP/EaP) including relations with Russia, Eastern Europe, Central Asia and China. Elena has more than 100 publications, including 10 authored and edited monographs. Her major academic articles appeared in the journals of Contemporary Security Policy; International Relations & Development; Cooperation & Conflict; Democratization; and International Relations. Elena is currently working with Dr Irina Petrova on a manuscript Change, Resilience and Adaptive Governance in wider Eurasia; and with Professor Trine Flockhart (Southern Denmark University) - on resilience and multi-order governance.

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3. Dr Siddharth (Montu) Saxena is an Affiliated Lecturer at the Centre of Development Studies & Director of the Cambridge Central Asia Forum, Jesus College. He is a Principal Research Associate at the Cavendish Laboratory, Department of Physics, University of Cambridge. He trained as an anthropologist, historian and a physicist. His research interests are in the areas of religion and identity, knowledge systems, social and political development and institutional history in Central Asia and the Middle East. In Physics he works on science of strongly correlated electrons, superconductivity and magnetism. He also holds a Fellow Commonership at Jesus College, University of Cambridge and a number of Professorships, Honorary Professorships and Visiting Professorships at Universities in Central Asia. His progress through school took him to Britain, France, Germany, Soviet Union and Switzerland. He went on to New Orleans to complete High School and proceeded to the University of New Orleans, where he studied Physics and History of Islam. He then studied Historical Anthropology of Islam in Khorassan. From the United States he came to Trinity College, Cambridge, on a Commonwealth Trust-Trinity Scholarship to study for a PhD in Physics at the Cavendish Laboratory. He then did Post-Doctoral training at the University of Groningen, in the Netherlands and University College London and was elected as a Junior Research Fellow at Girton College, Cambridge.

He is a Co-I on the GCRF COMPASS Project titled 'Comprehensive Capacity-Building in Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia: research integration, impact governance and sustainable communities'. His other research projects include a study of notions of Eastern Cosmopolitanism in Bukhara and development of the concept of 'projected commonality' along with an ethnographic study of Challa, the 'Muslim Jews', of Central Asia. He also directs the Cambridge project on documenting inter-linkages between environment, culture and education through mapping of local knowledge systems in Ferghana Valley. This historical and anthropological research is done in conjunction with some policy-related projects like understanding of social development in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation realm, dialogue between the Muslim world and the West and Environmental Security of the Central Asian Region. He has supervised nearly 30 PhD dissertations, numerous Masters projects and a number of undergraduate dissertations. In the last five years, he has delivered more than 70 plenary and keynote addresses and international conferences and government and public forums. He has published 75 peer-reviewed and invited research articles and book chapters in both Islamic and Central Asian Studies as well as Experimental Physics. He has chaired several major international conferences and numerous panels.

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4. Dr. Antonio Giustozzi holds a PhD from the LSE (International Relations) and a BA in Contemporary History from the University of Bologna. He was at the Crisis States Research Centre (LSE) until January 2011. He served with UNAMA (United Nations Assistance Mission to Afghanistan) in 2003-4. Currently he is Visiting Professor at King's College London and Fellow at RUSI. He is the author of several articles and papers on Afghanistan, as well as of books: *War, Politics and Society in Afghanistan, 1978-1992* (Georgetown University Press), *Koran, Kalashnikov and Laptop: the Neo-Taliban Insurgency, 2002-7* (Columbia University Press), *Empires of Mud: War and Warlords in Afghanistan* (Columbia University Press) and *Policing Afghanistan* (with M. Ishaqzada, Columbia University Press, 2013), *The Taliban at war* (Hurst, 2019), *The Islamic State in Khorasan* (Hurst, 2018), *Missionaries of modernity: Advisory Missions and the Struggle for Hegemony, from the 1940s to Afghanistan* (with Artemy Kalinovsky, Hurst, 2016), *The Army of Afghanistan: a political history of a*

fragile institution (Hurst, 2016), Policing Afghanistan: The Politics of the Lame Leviathan (with Mohammad Ishaqzadeh, Hurst, 2013). He also authored a volume on the role of coercion and violence in state-building, The Art of Coercion (Columbia University Press, 2011).

He also edited a volume on the Taliban, Decoding the New Taliban (Columbia University Press, 2009), featuring contributions by specialists from different backgrounds, and one on DDR processes, Post-Conflict Demobilisation, Disarmament and Reintegration: Bringing State-Building Back in (Ashgate, 2012). Email: antonio.1.giustozzi@kcl.ac.uk

5. Raffaello Pantucci is Senior Associate Fellow at RUSI and Senior Fellow in the International Centre for Political Violence and Terrorism Research (ICPVTR) at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS) in Singapore. Raffaello Pantucci's research focuses on terrorism and counter-terrorism as well as China's relations with its Western neighbours. He currently spends his time between London and Singapore. Prior to joining RUSI in London in 2013, Raffaello lived for over three years in Shanghai, where he was a visiting scholar at the Shanghai Academy of Social Sciences (SASS). Before that he worked in London at the International Institute for Strategic Studies (IISS), and earlier than that at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington. He has also held positions at the European Council of Foreign Relations (ECFR) and at the International Center for the Study of Radicalisation (ICSR) at King's College, London.

He is the author of We Love Death As You Love Life: Britain's Suburban Terrorists (London: Hurst, April 2015/US: Oxford University Press, September 2015), described by The Financial Times as 'the most articulate and carefully researched account of Britain's 'suburban terrorists' to date.' He is currently completing a writing project looking at Chinese interests in Central Asia under contract to a major publisher. His journal articles have appeared in Survival, The National Interest, Studies in Conflict and Terrorism, Terrorism and Political Violence, and RUSI Journal amongst others, and his journalistic writing has appeared in the New York Times, Financial Times, Wall Street Journal, Sunday Times, CNN, Guardian, Foreign Policy, South China Morning Post, and more.

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6. Zalmay Nishat is a researcher at the Afghanistan Institute of Strategic Studies (AISS) and Asia Centre at the University of Sussex. He has a BA in politics from SOAS, University of London, and an MA in political philosophy from the University of Sussex. He is a former senior aide to Abdullah Abdullah's Office. His Twitter is @Zalmay_Nishat. Email: zalmay.nishat@gmail.com

7. Dr Avinash Paliwal is Senior Lecturer in International Relations and Deputy Director of the SOAS South Asia Institute. Previous to this he taught Defence Studies at King's College London and was the Defence Academy Postdoctoral Fellow at the Regional Security Research Centre at King's. He specialises in foreign and security policy analysis with regional focus on South Asia, Afghanistan, and Myanmar. His book, My Enemy's Enemy - India in Afghanistan from the Soviet Invasion to the US Withdrawal, details India's role in Afghanistan from the Soviet invasion to the US withdrawal. His current research is focused on India's foreign policymaking processes towards Myanmar since Independence (1947).

He holds an MA and PhD in International Relations from King's College London, and a BA (Hons) in Economics from the University of Delhi. Formerly a Visiting Fellow at the Observer Research Foundation (ORF), New Delhi and the Paul H. Nitze School of Advanced International Studies at John Hopkins University, Avinash worked as a foreign affairs journalist before entering academia.

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8. Magnus Marsden is Professor of Social Anthropology at the University of Sussex and Director of the University of Sussex Asia Centre. He has spent fifteen years conducting research in both Afghanistan and Pakistan and, with Benjamin Hopkins, is the author of *Fragments of the Afghan Frontier* and editor of *Beyond Swat: History, Society and Economy Along the Afghanistan-Pakistan Frontier*. His most recent book, *Trading Worlds: Afghan Merchants Across Modern Frontiers*, was published by Hurst in March 2016.

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Uzbekistan

1. Dr Akram Umarov is Senior Research Fellow at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy. Previously he worked as a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies and Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan. He received BA, MA and PhD Degrees in International Relations at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy. He also graduated with MA degree in Governance, Development and Public Policy from Institute of Development Studies, University of Sussex (UK).

He has great interest in security studies, conflict management, public diplomacy, Afghanistan, Central Asian studies, CIS countries, public administration, global security, peace and development. His policy papers have been published in the international journals and newspapers like "The Diplomat", "European Eye on Radicalization", "Cabar.asia", etc. Akram Umarov is the author of monograph "Afghanistan and regional security of Central Asia: the beginning of XXI century" (in Russian) (UWED, 2017). His articles have appeared in "Central Asian Affairs", "Asia and Africa", "National Strategy Issues", "Comparative Politics", "Defence Journal" and other peer reviewed journals.

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2. Dr Ulugbeck A. Khasanov is a Chair of International Relations Department / Associate Professor at the University of World Economics & Diplomacy. He graduated Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO) and later its Graduate School of Political Science. In 2003 he defended PhD dissertation on issues of Regional Security and National Interests of CA5 at the Moscow Institute of World Economy and International Relations (IMEMO) of the Russian Academy of Sciences. In January-June 2004 he participated in University Extension Program at UC Berkeley. In 2009-2011 he served as Press Secretary/Aide to the President of Uzbekistan. Ulugbeck Khasanov has 50 plus publications, monograph and textbooks. His research interests cover the field of international relations theory, its general trends, attributes, behavior, driving forces, determining dimensions of the Central Asian politics. Email: ulugbecks@gmail.com

3. Bakhtiyor Mustafaev is Deputy Director at the International Institute of Central Asia. Previously he worked as Head of Center at the Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of Uzbekistan. He holds BA and MA degrees in International Relations from the University of World Economy and Diplomacy. Email: b.mustafaev@yandex.ru

4. Dr. Farkhod Tolipov is a Director of the non-governmental Research Institution "Bilim Karvoni" ("Caravan of Knowledge") and Professor at the Webster University in Tashkent. Dr. Tolipov graduated from the Tashkent State University. From 1994 until 2005 he taught at the University of

World Economy and Diplomacy in Tashkent, from which he received the PhD degree in Political Science. From 1998 until 2002 he was a Chief Consultant for the Presidential Apparatus of Uzbekistan. From 2005 to 2010 Dr. Tolipov was teaching at the National University of Uzbekistan the courses “World Politics” and “International Security”, and from 2003 to 2004 he was a National Professional at the OSCE Center in Tashkent. Dr. Tolipov is also a former fellow at the NATO Defense College in Rome (1997, 2013); Harvard University (1999); was a visiting Professor at the University of Georgia, U.S. (2004); the Middle East Technical University in Ankara, Turkey (2015); visiting researcher at Atilim University in Ankara, Turkey (2016); and was lecturer at the George Marshall European Center for Security Studies (2004-05); Geneva Center for Security Policy (2008-11,) as well as at the OSCE Academy in Bishkek (2004, 2009, 2012). Dr. Tolipov extensively publishes his articles on Central Asian topics in several international scientific journals. He is an author of the monograph “Grand Strategy of Uzbekistan in the Context of Geopolitical and ideological Transformation of Central Asia”.

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5. Rustam Makhmudov - Senior Lecturer at the University of World Economy and Diplomacy. He worked as Head of the Information and Analytical Department of the Main Directorate MFA RU (2003-2005), head of the Analytical Department, then Deputy Director at the Center for Policy Studies (2005-2013). He has extensively published in various local and international media and journals. Email: rustammakhmudov73@gmail.com

6. Ambassador Abdusamat A. Khaydarov is Professor at the Tashkent State University of Oriental Studies. He has more than 40 years of experience as a diplomat, foreign service officer, and faculty member with experience in international relations, economy and security issues in Central and South Asia and Middle East. He served as Ambassador of Uzbekistan to Iran in 1996-1999 and then worked as Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs in 1999-2000. Later he worked in different positions at the UNAMA from 2007-2016. He has authored more than 60 publications, monographs and books on international affairs and security issues, including studies on Afghanistan, Iran and Central and South Asia. He is fluent in Dari, Farsi, Uzbek, Russian, and English.

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7. Aliyor Tilavov is a Political Counsellor at the Embassy of Uzbekistan in the UK.

He holds BA in Politics and International Relations from the University of Hull, UK (2001), MA in Politics and International Relations from the Academy of State and Social Construction under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan (2006).

He worked as a Researcher and Head of the Centre for Regional Studies at the Institute of Strategic and Regional Studies under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan (2002 – 2009). He was also Head of Unit and Head of Analytical Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Uzbekistan (2009 – 2018).

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