

volume, however, are a sobering reminder of the fiendish difficulty of preventing conflicts and stabilizing fragile states. It is necessary to remember that the military cannot do it all, and, crucially, that they have an important responsibility to ensure that they do not make things worse.

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## **Russia and Eurasia**

**Webs of corruption: trafficking and terrorism in central Asia.** Edited by **Mariya Y. Omelicheva and Lawrence P. Markowitz.** New York: Columbia University Press. 2019. 256pp. £35.19. ISBN 978 0 23118 854 8. Available as e-book.

The trafficking–terrorism nexus is the main feature of the organized crime scene in today’s interconnected and globalized world, as Mariya Y. Omelicheva and Lawrence P. Markowitz conclude in *Webs of corruption* (p. 140). The book they have edited is a thorough and rich compilation of data, narratives and assessments of the interlinkages between drug trafficking and terrorist groups that have emerged since the five central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan—became independent in 1991. As the authors describe it, the trafficking–terrorism nexus is both temporal and spatial, and leads to unpredictable interactions between state authorities, security forces, terrorist groups and organized criminals.

The first part of *Webs of corruption* provides a rich historical overview going back to the 1990s, which helps readers follow the contributions on current developments, for example how Tajikistan has become the main gatekeeper on the route from Afghanistan to Russia and Europe, handling two-thirds of the world’s drug supplies; or why Kyrgyzstan, despite successfully combating its own drug producers, continues to provide a safe route for trafficking to Kazakhstan and further on to Russia. Chapters in the second part highlight the connections between trafficking, drug production and terrorist groups; and the topography of the region, its socio-economic circumstances and state corruption.

Since the end of the Cold War, state-sponsored and ideologically driven terror groups in central Asia have been replaced by terrorist organizations engaged in drug trafficking (and other forms of goods and human trafficking). These are self-sufficient organized crime groups that dominate a large portion of markets and illicit flows in the region. Because of its geopolitical situation, central Asia has turned into the world’s largest drug-trafficking hub. It is run and organized by clans, as well Islamic, or otherwise politically motivated, terrorist groups which trace back their networks to the Russian–Afghan war in the 1980s. They finance their activities by means of trafficking drugs from Afghanistan and Pakistan. Terrorist groups such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, the Islamic Jihad Union, Al-Qaeda and the Islamic State in Iraq and Syria are just the tip of the iceberg of groups that finance themselves through drug trafficking. Geographic features—like mountains—demography, socio-economic circumstances—such

as the high unemployment rate among young people and wealth disparity—and the absence of law enforcement have created an environment ripe for corruption. Terrorism manifests itself in more ways than just opposition to the weak and oppressive governments in the region or the promotion of an Islamic caliphate; it is a way of making a living, and often the only source of income for millions of people. Therefore, the editors argue, the trafficking–terrorism nexus has to be taken into account when rethinking anti-terrorism measures and the fight against drug cartels—and not only in central Asia.

Omelicheva and Markowitz also highlight the ‘new Silk Road of terrorism and organized crimes’ (p. 6), which is a vast network of different—and often competing—terrorist groups, organized criminals, business groups and local state security and administrative authorities. Revenues from the new Silk Road make up a significant part of local and even state income in four central Asian countries, but especially in Tajikistan. The network is so complex that it should not be seen as temporally limited activity against the state, but rather as something systematic. It replaces and undermines state structures, and the fact that the newly established states in the region could not or did not want to provide equal distribution of resources and wealth to their citizens, or make arrangements with opposing political groups, extremists and local clan leaders, fuelled the growth of this crime–trafficking–terrorism nexus.

The book is inspirational and a valuable resource for scholars and policy-makers wishing to rethink current anti-terror and organized crime policies, and not only in central Asia. It takes more than hunting down clan leaders to effectively eliminate terrorism and organized crime. International donors and investors need to take into account the underlying conditions of the trafficking–terror–corruption nexus, as recommended by the authors. This could be of particular interest to the main international players in the region, namely China, Russia, the European Union and the United States.

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**Judgment in Moscow: Soviet crimes and western complicity.** By Vladimir Bukovsky. California: Ninth of November Press. 2019. 705pp. Index. £21.99. ISBN 978 0 99804 162 9. Available as e-book.

Vladimir Bukovsky has endured the worst of humanity for embodying the best of it. He died last October. For holding the Soviet state accountable, the USSR’s foremost prisoner of conscience spent twelve of his first 35 years in prisons, concentration camps and *psikhushkas*—psychiatric torture facilities for political prisoners. Believed gone once the USSR ended, this abhorrent practice has returned under Vladimir Putin—a self-admitted admirer of Yuri Andropov, the KGB chairman who institutionalized psychiatric repression in the late 1960s.

An international best-seller first published in France in 1995, *Judgment in Moscow* is only now available in English thanks to a determined group of human rights activists, including award-winning pianist Evgeny Kissin, publisher Elizabeth