

**IN THE NAME OF GOD THE COMPPASIONATE
THE MERCIFUL**



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Area Studies**

**Analyzing of the Uzbekistan foreign policy in the regional and international
arena 1991 -2010**

(M.A Thesis)

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Abstract

After the collapse of Soviet Union central Asian states became independent and they tried to guide their foreign policy without Russian norms and by themselves. Uzbekistan is the only central Asian state to pursue a proactive and independent foreign policy. Among central Asian countries Uzbekistan has more regional power ambitions. In this thesis I have tried to answer this question that "Why Uzbekistan despite its much effort has not could to play the role of regional player?"

The concluding argument is that several points shows that Uzbekistan in some parts like military capabilities , armed forces , homogenous population, willingness and claim of regional power , more or less US support of a Uzbekistan secular state and regional hegemon , has this ability to play a regional role in central Asia, but in this process I have analyzed several issues that shows this country has faced to several limitations to become a regional power which decrease this leading role , despite its capabilities Uzbekistan has shown low willingness to regional arrangements and regional integration, this country refrained from an active role in regional structures. Structural economical constraints like relying on cotton, inflations, unemployment and corruption has limited Islam karimov regional ambitions. Uzbekistan's neighbor's unwillingness of increasing role of Tashkent in central Asia affairs has created several tensions in the region. US –Uzbekistan relations since the collapse of USSR imply a range of fluctuation up to now and Washington despite good relations with Tashkent with respect to counter terrorism and cooperation in frame of NATO has a little will to support a dictatorship government that suppressed all oppositions.

Key Terms:

Uzbekistan, foreign policy, regional power, Central Asia, Tran's regional powers, regional cooperation.

Dedicated to: my dear wife

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Chapter One: introduction

Introduction

After the collapse of Soviet Union in 1991 and independence of central Asian countries, this region faced to power vacuum, thus this region became a tension, competition and confrontation arena among trans regional countries from the one side and central Asian countries from the other.

In the international level, competition between US and Russia, China economical dominance, influence of Iran, Turkey, Israel and even Saudi Arabia has caused several confrontations. Russia has concentrated all of its efforts on decrease presence of foreign powers especially united states.

From the opposite side US has tried to influence and stick its foothold in the near abroad of Russia by using of different excuses such as Islamic fundamentalism , terrorism , drug trafficking and etc. in this regard economic cooperation between US and Kazakhstan , military and security cooperation among US , Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan can be considered .

Central Asian countries along side of foreign powers are trying to play a key role in the region, in this case Uzbekistan foreign policy activities and its regional ambitions should be noted it has potential elements to play a regional power, different factors such as historical, and cultural traits could help it to perform this objective.

If we take a look at the past we can see that the communist party's leaders have had specific view on the Uzbekistan because they had important capabilities to implement Kremlin orders in the region. Most of Tajikistan leaders and army commanders were appointing by Uzbek elites.

Uzbekistan state with regard to its capabilities such as geographical situation , notable population ,Uzbek communities in the region , military power , military and security cooperation

with the US in countering with terrorism , Islamic fundamentalism and having different cultural and religious centers like, Samarkand and Bokhara cities, Tashkent city as a religious center for Muslims in the soviet era has more potential ability to play a regional power .

Uzbekistan have borders with Turkmenistan ,Kazakhstan ,Kyrgyzstan ,Tajikistan and Afghanistan and in this case play a significant role in border crossing and flow of trade in the region .therefore it would play a significant role for Russia which for longtime seeking uncertainty and unsecure flow of trade in the region . Vis a vis Uzbekistan play a significant role for EU .for implementing pan Euro Asia region. Having said that it seems a symptom now days the role of Uzbekistan in the region and its impact on transit, trade facilitations. This is mainly due to the influence of china and Russia for using Uzbekistan as best option in the region and that is also important for EU and US find a way to use Uzbekistan.

Thus Uzbekistan state with leadership of Islam Karimov has designed its foreign policy to play a key role in the region, but in order to achieve its objective; it has a remarkable problem which has hampered Uzbekistan efforts in the central Asia region. Notable limitations such as political structural problems, economic constraints, geopolitical limitations environmental issues and water dispute with its neighbors and etc will decrease Uzbekistan efficient role in central Asian structures.

Main question:

Why Uzbekistan despite its much effort has not could to play the role of regional player?

Main hypothesis:

Structural geopolitical situation of Uzbekistan and shortage of economical resources, political system problems and fundamentalism issues has limited capability of this country to play a regional role.

Background(s)-(Review of Literature & Bibliography):

Although there are some researches studies about Uzbekistan country, there can be found few studies about its foreign policy. In spite of the seriousness of the shortage of existing resources with respect to Uzbekistan foreign policy, the assessment of this issue will be done through the examination of the existing documents and articles.

- Annette Boher “Uzbekistan politics and foreign policy “the royal institute of international affairs, great Britain 1998

The author analyzes the prospects for long-term stability in Uzbekistan, where an authoritarian system of rule has been firmly entrenched. Following an examination of political institutions and parties, she explores potential areas of instability, including ethnic and religious tensions, as well as the prolonged conflict in Tajikistan. Part two discusses Uzbekistan's principal foreign policy initiatives, concentrating on the young state's attempts to forge multilateral cooperation structures in order to counterbalance Russia's influence in the region.

- Alexi vassiliev” central asia , politics , economics, challenges in the post soviet era”cataloguing in publication data British library first publish 2001

Based on first-hand research conducted by the Moscow Centre for Civilizational and Regional Studies, this book documents the findings of one of the first authoritative studies on the newly independent states of Central Asia--Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Kirgizia, and Tadjikistan. Attention is also drawn to the causes and outcomes of the civil war in Tadjikistan as

well as the growing international competition for access to the natural resources of the Central Asian countries.

- Michael Mandelbaum "central asia and the world , Kazakhestan , Uzbekistan , Tajikistan, Turkmenistan , Kyrgyzstan" concil of relation press 1994

With the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, its fifteen constituent republics suddenly found themselves sovereign states. Among the new countries are the five republics of Central Asia Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan, and Turkmenistan that comprise the region south of the great Russian heartland. Each of these countries now faces the task of creating its own foreign policy: with one another, with its former imperial ruler to the north, with the Islamic countries to the south, and with the West. In Central Asia and the World, eight experts on the region address the historic power struggles between east and west and north and south that have shaped the region and the prognosis for success in overcoming a turbulent past and an uncertain, divided present. In addition to its continuing strong ties to Russia, Central Asians links with its southern neighbors and the potential role of Islam are also examined. The authors advance the case that these countries are critical to the West insofar as they affect Western interests in Russia and the Middle East. The ongoing civil war in Tajikistan and Central Asias relationship with China are also addressed.

-Islam Karimov "Uzbekistan on the thershold of the twenty first century , challanges to stability , and progress "matin,s press new york 1998

This new study by the President of Uzbekistan focuses on the country's special opportunities and challenges as it faces the 21st century. From the mid-19th century onwards, the people of Uzbekistan were under the yoke of Tsarist Russia, and later under the yoke of the Soviet Communist Empire, which made this land of unique natural and mineral resources a mere raw-material appendix. Fortunately, Uzbekistan has a huge potential for the establishment and successful development of foreign economic relations for an active participation in global economic relations. One of these potentials lies in the specific geostrategic situation of the

country, which can be a bridge between the West and East. Other potentials are the valuable and needed mineral resources, the agricultural products and the advance economic, manufacturing and social infrastructure.

-Sharam Akbarzadeh "Uzbekistan and the US :authoritarianism ,islamism, and washington,s security agenda" london , new York zed books 2005

Uzbekistan, the most strategically situated Central Asian country, has exhibited the most appalling record on human rights and democratic reforms. Yet, post-September 11, a transformation in US policy has suddenly taken place. US troops are now stationed there; Washington has put the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan on its list of terrorist organizations; and the Bush administration has promised to triple aid to President Karimov's highly authoritarian regime. This unique study explores the centrally important question from a longer-term Uzbek point of view: to what extent are closer ties between Washington and Tashkent contributing to political reforms inside Uzbekistan? Akbarzadeh describes political events since independence, including the emergence of a radical Islamic opposition. He analyzes how September 11 has catalyzed a transformation in Washington's attitude as it perceived a common Islamic enemy, and he examines the possible beginnings in a retreat from Soviet-style politics.

-Anderson, John, "The International Politics of Central Asia," Manchester University Press, Manchester/New York, 1997

Central Asia is a fascinating region yet remote and unfamiliar to many people. This new study provides an introduction to the politics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkestan, and Uzbekistan. The early chapters introduce the readers to the history of Russian and Soviet involvement in the region up until the collapse of communism, whilst the bulk of the book focuses on the politics of independence. The search for national identity in each region and the influence of Islam are discussed and attention is paid to political, economic and international developments. A central theme of the book is the importance of informal politics associated with national, regional and tribal networks in shaping the evolution of the five states.

-Adeeb Khalid," *Islam After Communism: Religion and Politics of Central Asia*.. "Islam as National Heritage. Los Angeles. University of California Press. 2007

Adeeb Khalid combines insights from the study of both Islam and Soviet history in this sophisticated analysis of the ways that Muslim societies in Central Asia have been transformed by the Soviet presence in the region. Arguing that the utopian Bolshevik project of remaking the world featured a sustained assault on Islam that destroyed patterns of Islamic learning and thoroughly de-Islamized public life, Khalid demonstrates that Islam became synonymous with tradition and was subordinated to powerful ethnonational identities that crystallized during the Soviet period. He shows how this legacy endures today and how, for the vast majority of the population, a return to Islam means the recovery of traditions destroyed under Communism. Islam after Communism reasons that the fear of a rampant radical Islam that dominates both Western thought and many of Central Asia's governments should be tempered by an understanding of the politics of antiterrorism, which allows governments to justify their own authoritarian policies by casting all opposition as extremist. Comparing the secularization of Islam in Central Asia to experiences in Turkey, the former Yugoslavia, and other secular Muslim states, the author lays the groundwork for a nuanced and well-informed discussion of the forces at work in this crucial region.

Research Objectives/Purposes:

The main objective of the present research is to examine the potential power of Uzbekistan state to play a regional power, and does Uzbekistan despite different obstacles can perform this objective.

Shortcomings and Obstacles of the Subject:

There is a scarcity of material in this regard especially English and Farsi books. Hence one of the main obstacles will be non-availability of primary and secondary sources for the present study. By that the only way is the using internet.

Chapter Two: Theoretical Background

Introduction

In this chapter some theories like foreign policy, regional power, and regional hegemon will be discussed. At the first I have defined foreign policy and then I have mentioned to influential factors on foreign policy like domestic factors such as leadership, public opinion, the role of media, the bureaucracy, political parties, interest groups and international factors such as Non-state actors, Bilateral relations, Regional factors and Global factors. Foreign policy tools such as military, economical, cultural and diplomatic tools will be discussed. A brief definition of regional power and regional hegemon and their characteristics like willingness, ability, acceptance and self perception, regional perception, public goods, projection of power have been analyzed. In the following Uzbekistan attempts toward becoming a regional power in a framework has elaborated.

Foreign policy:

A brief definition of foreign policy can be given as “the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor (usually a state) in international relations”.¹ A country's foreign policy, also called the international relations policy, is a set of goals outlining how the country will interact with other countries economically, politically, socially and militarily, and to a lesser extent, how the country will interact with non-state actors. Foreign policy is primarily concerned with the boundaries between the external environment outside of the nation state and the internal or domestic environment, with its variety of sub-national sources of influence.

¹ Christopher Hill, "The Changing Politics of Foreign Policy," London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003 p. 3

Foreign policies are designed to help protect a country's national interests, national security, ideological goals, and economic prosperity. This can occur as a result of peaceful cooperation with other nations, or through exploitation. ² The ideal world as a homogenized entity is much divided into real but separate and characteristic countries with their own sacrosanct communities. The term foreign policy is a nineteenth-century expansion of the idea of policy, which had been in use since Chaucer to denote a government's conduct of affairs. ³ Foreign policy is also seen as "attempts by governments to influence or manage events outside the state's boundaries. ⁴ Foreign policy is, therefore, both more and less than the "external relations" which states generate continuously on all fronts.⁵

In simple terms, foreign policy is constituted by two fundamental elements: the objectives of a state and the means required for their accomplishment. ⁶ Hence it aims at the benefits of the state which conducts it. However, this is not a complete explanation of the term because it does not refer to the many different national objectives that a state may set itself and the variety of means which can be employed. For example, a state may pursue its regional objectives by achieving international support over its regional neighbors, and it may want to secure greater foreign military and economic assistance. So in order to achieve these objectives, a state can use traditional diplomacy through bilateral meetings and agreements, or join regional security blocs sponsored by a greater power. In serious cases, a national military can also influence the foreign policy of a country for its institutional benefits and may cause a military coup to control the government and have military agreements. One understanding of the above discussion is that the study of foreign policy is not an easy task. There are no clear-cut dimensions, patterns or lines, and, therefore, conclusions should be drawn very carefully. Foreign policy as a subject has been extensively studied by historians, at first through detailed accounts of diplomatic historians and

² M. Wanjohi Anthony, "State's Foreign Policy: Determinants and Constraints," Posted online: 2011

³ Joel Krieger (ed.), Christopher Hill's chapter titled "Foreign Policy," in Oxford Companion to Politics of the World (New York: Oxford University Press, 1993) p. 312.

⁴ Ian Manners and Richard G. Whitman (eds.), "The Foreign Policies of European Member States," Manchester: Manchester University Press, 2000, 2.

⁵ Brian Hocking and Michael Smith, "Beyond Foreign Economic Policy: the United States, the Single Market and the Changing World Economy," London: Printer, 1997, 21-22.

⁶ Cecil Crabb, "American Foreign Policy in the Nuclear Age," New York: Harper & Row, 1972, p. 1

then through the “scope of ‘*domestic history*’ which strove to relate diplomacy to its domestic roots, whether political, social, economic or cultural”. 7

Influential factors on foreign policy:

The sources of change are divided into domestic and international factors. Focus is divided equally between each set of factors, although, depending on the case study, either factor could be more influential than the other.

Domestic factors:

Domestic factors play an important part in influencing and pressuring governments into a possible foreign policy change. Key decision-makers need to take domestic factors into account when deciding foreign policies, since they count on the latter’s support in order to stay in power. Public opinion and the media can have a considerable impact on government policies if dissent or approval is powerful enough. Support from other political parties and other actors in the society are also important in order to uphold a particular foreign policy. Domestic factors play an important part in influencing and pressuring governments into a possible foreign policy change. 8 In this regard most important domestic influential factors on foreign policy has classified, these factors are: leadership, bureaucracy, public opinion, media, interest groups and political parties.

Leadership:

A key decision-maker’s perception can be affected by a number of personal characteristics... They are:

- Beliefs

7 Christopher Hill, " the Changing Politics of Foreign Policy," London: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003, p .5

8 Gustavsson, J, "The Politics of Foreign Policy Change: Explaining the Swedish Reorientation on EC Membership," Lund University Press, Lund, Doctoral Dissertation, 1998 p.23