

Central Asia Executive Summary Series

Uzbekistan Country Profile

**Program for Culture and Conflict Studies (CCS)
Department of National Security Affairs
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Program for Culture & Conflict Studies at Naval Postgraduate School

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This paper on Uzbekistan provides a broad reaching, but detailed analysis of human, structural and cultural issues affecting security and development in that country. Part of our Central Asia Executive Summary Series, the profile on Uzbekistan provides significant and needed context to the overall international strategy in South and Central Asia.

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Formal Name: **Republic of Uzbekistan**
(*O'zbekiston Respublikasi* in Uzbek)
Short Form: **Uzbekistan** (O'zbekiston)

National Flag:



State Emblem:



Map of Uzbekistan



Source: Lonely Planet. <http://www.lonelyplanet.com/maps/asia/uzbekistan/>

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LOCATION:

Uzbekistan is one of only two double-landlocked countries in the world located in Central Asia, north of Afghanistan and south of Kazakhstan.

Uzbekistan means the land of Uzbeks (Stan – land)

CAPITAL:

Tashkent (*Toshkent* in Uzbek means the city of stones: *Tosh* – stone, *kent* – city) - the largest city in Central Asia with population of approximately 2.5 million.

Tashkent is the only city in the region with a well developed metro system.¹

INDEPENDENCE FROM THE USSR:

September 1, 1991 is celebrated as Independence Day. Uzbekistan did not struggle for independence but rather received it as a result of Boris Yeltsin's victory over Mikhail Gorbachev and Yeltsin's "Russia alone" vision. The Uzbek government was opposed to fragmenting the Union.

It is important to note that Uzbeks were united in one country comparatively recently - in 1924 when the Bolsheviks created the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (present day Uzbekistan) under National Delimitation Act which incorporated three rival khanates - Bukhoro, Khiva, and Qoqon.

TERRITORY:

Total: 447,400 sq km (slightly larger than California)

Water: 22,000 sq km

Land: 425,400 sq km

Uzbekistan borders all four Central Asia States and Afghanistan:

Border length with Kazakhstan: 2203 km

Border length with Turkmenistan: 1621 km

Border length with Tajikistan: 1161 km

Border length with Kyrgyzstan: 1099 km

Border length with Afghanistan: 137 km

WEATHER:

The country has an extreme continental climate with low humidity. Southern regions have higher temperature than the northern ones. Temperature in late December/early January may reach - 10 °C in the northern region 0 °C in the southern region. In July the heat reaches +30 °C in the north and +40 °C in the south.

¹ The first metro station in Tashkent was built in 1970. See the current map of the Tashkent metro system at http://www.orexca.com/tashkent_metro.shtml

POPULATION/ DEMOGRAPHIC DATA:

Total Population: 27, 555,000 as of January of 2009.

According to official statistics, the population increased by 483,100 or 1.8% in 2008.² The population of Uzbekistan is almost half of the total population of Central Asia (nearly 60 million) and 2nd highest level of increase of population in Newly Independent States after Tajikistan. For instance, the population density in Andijan province is higher than in Moscow province.

Uzbekistan also has the highest population density in Central Asia. Nine percent of the total population lives on 1% of total area.

Currently about 64% of the population resides in rural areas³. In rural areas there is a much higher birth rate than urban areas, and presently 64% of the countryside population is under the age of 30.⁴

Composition of population:

Although the Government of Uzbekistan for political reasons has not conducted a national demographic census since independence, the most accurate numbers are: 80% - Uzbeks; 5.5% - Russians; 5% - Tajiks and Ironiy (descendants from Persia); 3% - Kazakhs; 2.5% - Karakalpaks; 1.5% - Tatars; 2.5% - Kyrgyz, Turkmens, Jews, Ukrainians and others.⁵

² 'Naselelniye Uzbekistana prevysilo 27,5 milliona (population of Uzbekistan exceeded 27,5 million), gazeta.uz. The web site cites the information provided by the State Committee on Statistics of Uzbekistan. Available at: <http://www.gazeta.uz/2009/03/02/population/>

³ 'Welfare Improvement Strategy for Uzbekistan Paper,' Tashkent, 2007. According to this report, approximately 32% of the workforce is employed in the agricultural sector. 24% of the gross domestic product of Uzbekistan is produced in the agricultural sector. Available at: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP\(Jan-2008\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP(Jan-2008).pdf)

⁴ 'Uzbekistan – kluchevoi partnor v Tsentralnoi Azii' (Uzbekistan – key partner in Central Asia), press release of the Embassy of Uzbekistan in People's Republic of China, January 31, 2009. Available at: <http://www.embassy-uz.cn/modules.php?name=News&file=article&sid=555>

⁵ CIA World Factbook: Uzbekistan (last updated on March 5, 2009), Available at: <https://www.cia.gov/library/publications/the-world-factbook/geos/uz.html#People>

Results of the last official census conducted in 1989 (in alphabetical order):

Ethnic group	Percentage of Total Population
Armenian	0.3
Azerbaijan	0.2
Belarus	0.1
Ironiy (Persian)	0.1
Jewish	0.5
Kazakh	4.1
Karakalpak	2.1
Korean	0.9
Kyrgyz	0.9
Russian	8.3
Tajik	4.7
Tatar	3.3
Turkmen	0.6
Uyghur	0.2
Ukrainian	0.8
Uzbek	71.4
Others	1.5

The total population was estimated 19,810.100⁶

OCCUPATION OF POPULATION:

Major: Agriculture (cotton, grains, fruits and vegetables); agricultural processing (primarily cotton, fruits and vegetables); trade. Construction and transportation industries are on the rise.

Many men and a few women are migrant labors travelling primarily to Russia and Kazakhstan and also to Europe, South Korea and the United States.

According to statistics from Russian immigration services, migrants from Uzbekistan outnumber other countries in the Commonwealth of Independent States.⁷ As of 2007, 80% of Uzbekistan's labor migrants work in Russia.

EBRD representative for Uzbekistan stated money transfers made up about 9 percent of Uzbekistan's gross domestic product.⁸ Russia hit by global economic turmoil plans to cut labor migrant quotas for the next year which will result in a higher level of unemployment. The government could tackle this by offering less restrictive economic policies instead of relying on authoritarian methods of prosecuting social discontent.

⁶ Data is obtained from the 'Umid Foundation' established and funded by the Government of Uzbekistan. Available at <http://www.umid.uz/Main/Uzbekistan/Population/population.html>

⁷ E. Scherbakova, 'Registriruemyy migratsionniy prirost naseleniya Rossii' (Registered migration increase of Russia's population). Available at: <http://www.demoscope.ru/weekly/2007/0303/barom05.php>

⁸ 'Uzbekistan faces tension as migrants return –EBRD,' Guardian.co.uk, April 22, 2009, at <http://www.guardian.co.uk/business/feedarticle/8467315>

PUBLIC HOLIDAYS:

January 1	New Year
March 8	International Women's Day
March 21	Navruz (comes from ancient Zoroastrian tradition which many Central Asians observe as the Islamic New Year)
May 1	International Labor Day
May 9	Day of Memory and Remembrance (previously celebrated as the Victory Day over Nazi Germany in the World War II)
September 1	Independence Day (from the USSR)
October 1	Teacher's Day
December 8	Constitution Day

The dates of two Islamic holidays Ramazon hayiti (*Eid al-Fitr* in Arabic) and Qurbon hayiti (*Eid al-Adha* in Arabic) are based on the Islamic calendar.

LANGUAGES:

- The official language is Uzbek, a Turkic language with Arabic and Persian influences. There are major regional dialects such as Tashkent, Ferghana, Khorezm, and Qarshi.
- Russian is widely used in major cities, amongst intelligentsia and political and business elites. It serves as the language of communication between ethnic groups.
- Tajik (a dialect of Farsi) is used in Samarqand and Bukhara provinces.
- Karakalpak is spoken in the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan. Karakalpak belongs to the Kypchak or north-western category of the Turkic-Altaic family of languages,
- English is in big demand, particularly among the youth. The major reasons for the demand are educational and professional opportunities abroad and access to information.

ADMINISTRATIVE SETUP:

Uzbekistan consists of the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan and 12 provinces⁹ which include 162 districts and 118 towns.

Administrative Units (in area size sequence, given in Uzbek spelling)¹⁰

No.	Administrative Unit	Area (in sq. km)	Capital City
1	Qoraqalpog'iston Respublikasi	160,000	Nukus
2	Navoiy Viloyati	110,800	Navoiy

⁹ Province: *viloyat* in Uzbek and *oblast* in Russian

¹⁰ The official web sites of provinces and autonomous Republic of Qaraqalpakstan is provided in Appendix 4.

3	Buxoro Viloyati	39,400	Buxoro
4	Qashqadaryo Viloyati	28,400	Qarshi
5	Surxondaryo Viloyati	20,800	Termez
6	Jizzax Viloyati	20,500	Jizzax
7	Samarqand Viloyati	16,400	Samarqand
8	Toshkent Viloyati	15,300	Toshkent
9	Namangan Viloyati	7,900	Namangan
10	Farg'ona Viloyati	6,800	Farg'ona
11	Xorazm Viloyati	6,300	Xorazm
12	Sirdaryo Viloyati	5,100	Guliston
13	Andijon Viloyati	4,200	Andijon

CROPS/FARMING/LIVESTOCK:

Cotton is the country's primary cash crop. However because of food security, water shortage and environmental problems the government ordered an increase in the farmable area dedicated to cereals. The major cereals grown are wheat, corn, barley and rice.

The northwest corner of the country suffers from soil salination, especially near the Aral Sea.

Uzbekistan is famous for its fruits. Farmers profit by exporting fruits to Russia in large quantities despite the government's attempts to keep fruits in country and set prices.

Livestock: Sheep, cattle, and goats are raised. Karakul sheep are famous for their black wool, which is used to produce hats (President Karzai of Afghanistan typically wears a Karakul hat).

SIGNIFICANT TOPOGRAPHIC FEATURES:

The country has a diverse landscape, although nearly 80 percent of the territory is covered by the Qizilqum Desert in the north-central region. Uzbekistan's most fertile and populated region is the Ferghana Valley located in the north-east and divided from the rest of the Republic by the Kamchik pass. The eastern part of the country is in close proximity to the Tian Shan mountains and is over 4,000 meters above sea level. The western part is divided from the rest of the country by the Turan Lowland. The far north-west suffers from the soil salination, especially near the shrinking Aral Sea. In the northwest corner there is also soil contamination from buried nuclear waste and agricultural chemicals from the Soviet period.

Major sources of water are the *Syr Darya River*, *Amu Darya River* and *Zaravshon River*.

LITERACY:

There are nine years of compulsory education. In 1997 the government started the National Program of Personnel Training. Aimed at transforming the educational system to better meet the needs of the economy, the program and implementation process caused controversy among the public including educators.

- There are 9,800 public schools with 5,707,000 students, and 463,100 teachers.
- Uzbekistan offers free secondary special vocational education. Currently 1,052 vocational colleges and academic lyceums employ 67,330 teachers and instructors for 627,200 students.¹¹

According to UNDP, Uzbekistan ranks amongst the most developed countries with an education index of 0.92, compared to the world average of 0.77. The literacy rate is 99.3%¹²

Despite the overall high level of education, after the demise of the Soviet Union the percentage of educated youth and the quality of education declined in rural areas. Educated workers, including teachers, left the villages in search of a better life in cities or abroad. Poverty and family demands force children drop out of school. In rural schools, 65% of teachers have secondary schooling compared to 96% in cities.¹³

During the Soviet time, education was a key to success and transition into adulthood. For example, a bride's parents would check the groom's educational credentials before approving the marriage. Currently, parents are more concerned with job status than education. Education does not provide the same amount of financial security and social prestige as in the past.

Number of Higher Educational Institutions:

Higher education institutes/universities: 64¹⁴

Each year higher educational institutions enroll on average 64,000 students. The number of students totaled 286,000 for the 2006-2007 academic year. In 2007, 23,400 faculty members worked in higher educational institutions, of whom 30.1% are candidates for a doctoral degree and 6.5% hold doctoral degrees.¹⁵

¹¹ 'Welfare Improvement Strategy for Uzbekistan Paper,' Tashkent, 2007, p.31. Available at: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP\(Jan-2008\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP(Jan-2008).pdf)

¹² UNDP-Uzbekistan, 'Uzbekistan: Matching Supply and Demand,' Tashkent 2007/08, p.27. Available at <http://www.undp.uz/en/publications/publication.php?id=100>

¹³ 'Welfare Improvement Strategy for Uzbekistan Paper,' Tashkent, 2007, p.32. Available at: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP\(Jan-2008\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP(Jan-2008).pdf)

¹⁴ For more information on higher and secondary special education see the portal of the government of Uzbekistan at <http://www.gov.uz/en/ctx.scm?sectionId=119&contentId=1951>

¹⁵ 'Welfare Improvement Strategy for Uzbekistan Paper,' Tashkent, 2007, p. 31. Available at: [http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP\(Jan-2008\).pdf](http://siteresources.worldbank.org/INTPRS1/Resources/Uzbekistan_PRSP(Jan-2008).pdf)

Despite an increase in the number of institutes and universities and the state educational reform implemented, the overall quality of education from elementary to collegiate education has deteriorated due to low teacher pay, lack of qualified educators, shortage of textbooks and equipment and corruption in the state educational system. A common practice is to pay for high marks either on mid-term exams or entrance exams into college. Furthermore, the President and Vice President positions at higher education institutions and school districts are for sale.

Education is becoming less accessible to ordinary citizens. Even though free education is granted by the constitution, the opportunity for free education is quite limited and mostly granted to children of well-connected and rich parents. Thanks to cost associated with corrupted practices, tuition actually costs approximately US\$ 1,000 a year while the average salary is about US\$100 a month.

A dean of a university in Tashkent calls this informal system “free education for those who are free of needs while others are paying for them.”¹⁶ In March 2009, the Administration for Education started a campaign to eliminate corruption by having teachers sign declarations promising not to take bribes. Educators doubt it will have any effect if wages are still low and hiring processes remain dishonest.

TRANSPORTATION:

Primary Roads:

The total length of automobile roads is more than 183,000 km out of which 42,530 km are highways. Ninety four percent of roads are asphalt concrete.¹⁷

The capital city is well connected to all provincial capitals and to neighboring countries. By 2000 the reconstruction of the road from Tashkent to Ferghana Valley through the Kamchik pass was completed and new asphalt was paved on the road linking the provinces of the Valley as well as Tashkent – Samarqand road. The government recently declared the start of a new project on reconstruction of Uzbek part of the international road from the town of Beyneu (Kazakhstan) to China via Kungrad, Bukhara, Samarqand, Tashkent, Andijan (Uzbekistan), Osh (Kyrgyzstan) into four lanes freeway. The cost of the project is US\$ 2.6 billion.

Despite the investment into new strategic road the overall condition of roads across the country has deteriorated due to lack of funding for maintenance.

¹⁶ E-mail correspondence with CCCS, November 2008.

¹⁷ According to the UzAvtoYol state company’s official web site: <http://www.uzavtoyul.uz/ru/about/#3>

Distance between cities in km (source: RoxanaTour):¹⁸

	Tashkent	Andijan	Bukhara	Djizak	Karshi	Khiva (Urgench)
Tashkent	•	362/0/4/5	557/8/6/7	203/3,5/2/2,5	455/8/5/6	1119/16/13/14
Andijan	362/0/4/5	•	919/0/12/14	480/0/5/7	750/0/9/11	1566/0/17/20
Bukhara	557/8/6/7	919/0/12/14	•	363/6/4/5	161/2/1,5/1,5	503/8/5/6
Djizak	203/3,5/2/2,5	421/0/5/6	363/6/4/5	•	247/5/3/4	916/14/11/13
Karshi	455/8/5/6	807/0/10/12	161/2/1/1,5	247/5/3/4	•	664/9/7/8
Khiva (Urgench)	1119/16/13/14	1566/0/17/20	503/8/5/6	916/14/11/13	664/9/7/8	•
Navoi	434/7/5/6	669/0/7/9	125/2/1/1,5	248/4/3/3,5	241/5/3/4	610/9/7/8
Namangan	293/0/4/5	67/1/1/1	850/0/8/10	500/0/6/7,5	780/0/10/12	1318/0/16/13
Nukus	1255/19/15/17	1342/0/15/18	558/8/6/7	921/16/12/14	719/12/10/11	136/2,5/2/2,3
Samarkand	293/5/3,5/4	516/0/6/7	268/4/3/3,5	95/1,5/1/1	152/2,5/2/2	738/11/8/10
Termez	661/10/7/9	1050/0/13/15	383/6/4/5	471/9/6/7,5	273/4/3/3,5	853/11/9/10
Ferghana	348/0/3,5/4,5	73/1/1/1	905/0/11/13	510/0/6/8	750/0/9/11	1373/19/15/17

	Navoi	Namangan	Nukus	Samarkand	Termez	Ferghana
Tashkent	434/7/5/5,5	293/0/3,5/4	1255/19/15/17	293/5/3,5/4	661/10/7/9	348/0/3,5/4,5
Andijan	669/0/7/8	67/1/1/1	1342/0/15/18	516/0/6/7	1050/0/13/15	73/1/1/1
Bukhara	125/1,5/1/1	850/0/8/10	558/8/6/7	268/4/3/3,5	383/6/4/5	905/0/11/13
Djizak	248/4/3/3,5	500/0/6/7,5	921/16/12/14	95/1,5/1/1	471/9/6/7,5	510/0/6/8
Karshi	241/3/3/3,5	780/0/10/12	719/12/10/11	152/2,5/2/2	273/4/3/3,5	750/0/9/11
Khiva (Urgench)	610/9/7/8	1318/0/18/21	136/2,5/2/2,3	738/11/8/10	853/11/9/10	1373/19/15/17
Navoi	•	650/0/7/9	683/10/7/9	153/2,5/1/1,5	477/9/6/7	634/0/8/10
Namangan	663/0/7/9	•	1406/0/16/19	615/0/7/9	1099/0/12/14,5	85/2/1/1,5
Nukus	683/9/7/8	1406/0/17/20	•	824/11/9/1,5	939/16/12/14	1461/22/18/20
Samarkand	153/2/1/1	615/0/8/10	826/13/10/12	•	376/7/5/6	600/0/7/9
Termez	477/10/6/8	1099/0/15/20	939/16/12/14	376/7/5/6	•	931/0/13/11
Ferghana	634/0/8/0	85/2/1/1,5	1461/0/17/19	600/0/7/9	931/0/13/11	•

Time of driving by: **Distance**/**Bus**/**Sedan**/**Minibus**. 0 means not available.

National civil aviation and airport infrastructure:

The government of Uzbekistan has heavily invested into reconstruction of national airports bringing them up to International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO) standards. The government has also developed the national air lines

¹⁸ The table and more information on travel in Uzbekistan are available at: http://www.roxanatour.com/uzbekistan/transportation/uzbekistan_transportation.html

company, "*O'zbekiston Havoyollari*" (Uzbekistan Airways). The fleet includes: Boeing 757-200, Boeing 767-300-ER, A 310-300, RJ85, TU-154, IL114 -100, IL 76-TD. **The airline flies** to major destinations in Europe, Asia, Middle East and to New York City, USA.¹⁹

In late 2008 Uzbekistan Airways signed a contract to purchase 4 new A320 airbuses in addition to 6 already purchased. The company also intends to buy four Boeing 767-300ERs.

Pipelines:

The construction of oil and gas pipelines to export energy resources has become a strategic goal for the government. The majority of government revenue is from raw material exports. Uzbekistan has huge proven natural gas reserves and is the 8th largest natural gas producer. The current major gas pipeline runs to Russia.

Russian Prime Minister Putin's visited Tashkent to seal a new deal allowing the Russian company Gazprom to build a new natural gas pipeline from Turkmenistan through Uzbekistan. The major obstacle in negotiations, the price, was overcome. Russia agreed to pay the price for natural gas demanded by Turkmens and Uzbeks. According to the agreement, 30 billion cubic meters will be shipped annually at the price set by a European gas pricing formula (reports indicated \$300 per 1000 cu meters). As of late 2008, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan were paid \$150 and \$160 respectively for 1000 cu meters of natural gas.

In July 2008, Uzbekistan and China began construction on a new gas pipeline supply route to China. It will provide 30 billion cubic meters of natural gas annually. The pipelines planned completion date is December, 2009. By 2012, the second line of the pipeline will be completed.

¹⁹ More information on Uzbekistan Airways can be found at the official web site of the company at <http://www.uzairways.com/index.aspx>

Map: Oil and gas pipelines.

<http://www.worldpress.org/specials/pp/pipelines.htm>



Railroads:

The construction of railroads in Central Asia began when the Russians built the Trans-Caspian railroad in 1880. They began construction to satisfy her thirst for natural resources and raw materials. In 1888, the railroad reached Samarqand and in 1899 Tashkent and then the Ferghana Valley.²⁰

In 1906, the Tashkent – Orenburg railroad connected Uzbekistan directly with Russia. Even today the railroad actively takes passengers and cargo from Uzbekistan to major cities of Russia.²¹

Today the railroads connect the capital city of Tashkent with provincial capitals in the country. The railroad also leads out of the countries to the Tajik cities of Kurg’an -Tube, Khujand, Kulab and Dushanbe, Russian cities of Moscow, Saratov, Novosibirsk, Ufa and Saint- Petersburg and lead to Kazakh city of

²⁰ The official web site of “Uzbekiston Temir Yollari” (Uzbekistan Railroads) in Uzbek and Russian is <http://www.uzrailway.uz>

²¹ See the map of Uzbekistan’s railways at http://www.orexca.com/img/uzb_rail1.jpg

Almaty and town of Beyneu, and Turkmen cities of Dashoguz and Türkmenabat (formerly Chardzhou).²²

Cargo trains constructed after the Soviets left connect Uzbekistan to China, Iran, Afghanistan and other regional countries.

In March of 2009 the Uzbek State Company “Uzbekiston Temir Yollari” (Uzbekistan Railroads) signed a contract with Chinese “CSR Zhuzhou Electric Locomotive Works” on purchase of 15 new electric trains.

Total length of railways is 3,645 km. The “Uzbekiston Temir Yollari” employs 54.7 thousand people. The railroad is responsible for 90% of total cargo shipments annually.²³

Ports:

Because Uzbekistan is double landlocked Uzbekistan, it has no sea ports. However Uzbekistan has a river port in the city of Termez on the Afghan – Uzbek border.

HEALTH FACILITIES:

As of 2006:

Hospitals: 1,150

Hospital beds Average: 53.9 per 10 000 population.

Specialty doctors: 2,998.²⁴

Despite an adequate quantity of medical personnel the major challenge to the health care sector is poor quality, poorly qualified personnel and lack of equipment and supplies. Patients have to pay for medications, better treatment, and for certain operations due to lack of funding for personnel’s wages and medical supplies.

The growing rates and types of diseases are underreported which is a legacy of Soviet times when the government would report only positive events in the mass media and hide negative developments. Drug trafficking via Uzbekistan from Afghanistan has enlarged the number of drug users contributing to a rise of HIV infected.

²² See the map of railways in Russia, CIS and Baltic republics at:

<http://www.parovoz.com/maps/supermap/index-e.html>

²³ Information is obtained from the official web site of the state company “Uzbekiston Temir Yollari.”

²⁴ Information on healthcare is obtained from the official web site of the “Uzbekistan in Figures - UinF” which is a result of joint efforts of UNDP Country Office and Center for Economic Research in Tashkent, Available at:http://www.statistics.uz/data_finder/2451/

The corruption in higher education leads to a shortage of qualified medical personnel due to the low quality of professional education in medical institutes and nurse schools. A lot of non-Uzbek doctors left the country in 1990's.

The poverty, particularly in rural areas, resulted in a rise of health problems that largely impacts woman and children. Drinking water pollution is a major factor behind rapidly growing cases of dysentery, cholera, typhoid, hepatitis, and various types of cancer.

The intentional spread of tuberculosis among political (particularly religious) prisoners in penitentiary system of Uzbekistan has led to a spill over of the disease when some prisoners were released or visited by relatives. The plan of "tuberculosis" of religious prisoners was aimed at creating the picture that dissidents die "naturally," not from killing and torturing by police to ensure no "extremist" returns home alive.

POLITICAL LANDSCAPE:

The government

President of Republic of Uzbekistan -

Islam Abduganievich Karimov:

- Ruled the country since 1989
- was appointed as First Secretary of the Central Committee of the Communist Party of Uzbekistan by M. Gorbachov
- in 1991 won the presidential elections conducted in the Soviet style (considered neither free nor fair)
- Exceeded 2 terms limit set by the Constitution through constitutional amendments²⁵

President Karimov is highly authoritarian, very corrupt and self-deceiving. Karimov will not resign until he is physically incapable or eliminated from office by force. It is believed Karimov's eldest daughter Gulnara Karimova will succeed her father when he is no longer able to rule.

The list of members of Cabinet of Ministers (as of March 25, 2009):

Shavkat Miromonovich MIRZIYOEV -

Prime Minister, Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers.

Mirzoyev is well-known for brutal beatings of government officials and ordinary citizens. He is extremely arrogant which resembles the behavior of President Karimov who appointed Mirzoyev for similarity of character.

²⁵ The text of the Constitution in English, Uzbek and Russian is available at:
<http://politics.freenet.uz/konstitut.html>

Title/position	Name
Deputy Prime-Ministers:	
Minister of Finance, Head of the Economic sector and Foreign Economic Relations Sector	Rustam Sadikovich Azimov
Head of the Construction, Industry, Construction Material, Housing and Municipal Services and Transport	Nodirkhon Masudovich Khanov
Head of Machinery, Ferrous and Non-ferrous Metallurgy, Oil and Gas, Geology, Energy, Chemical Production, Standardization and Metrology, and State and Mobilization resources sectors	Ergash Rahmatullayevich Shaismatov
Head of the Communication and Information Technologies sector, General Director of the Agency for Communication and Information	Abdulla Nigmatovich Aripov
Head of Education, Health Care and Social Security	Rustam Sabirovich Kasymov
Chairman of the Women's Committee	Farida Shorahimovna Akbarova
Ministers:	
Minister of Economy	Botir Asadillayevich Khodjaev
Minister of Foreign Economic Relations, Investments and Trade	Elyor Majidovich Ganiev
Minister of Justice	Ravshan Abdulatifovich Mukhitdinov
Minister of Internal Affairs (police)	Bahodir Ahmedovich Matlubov
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Vladimir Imamovich Norov
Minister of Higher and Secondary Special Education	Azimjon Parpievich Parpiev
Minister of Public Education	Gayrat Baxromovich Shoumarov
Minister of Public Health	Feruz Gofurovich Nazirov
Minister of Labor and Social Security	Aktam Akhmatovich Khaitov
Minister of Culture and sports	Anvar Jumaniyozovich Jabborov
Minister of Defense	Kabul Raimovich Berdiev
Minister of Emergency Situations	Kasimali Khoshimovich Akhmedov
Minister of Agriculture and Water Management	Sayfiddin Umarovich Ismoilov
List of the Chairmen of the State Committees:	

Chairman of the State Committee for State Property Management	Dilshod Olimjonovich Musaev
Chairman of the State Committee on Customs	Sodirkhon Kholkhojayevich Nosirov
Acting Chairman of the State Committee on Demonopolization and Competition and Business Support	Boymurot Suyunovich Ulashev
Chairman of the State Nature Protection Committee	Bari Borisovich Alikhanov
Chairman of the State Committee on Geology and Mineral Resources	Nariman Ganievich Mavlyanov
Chairman of the State Committee on Architecture and Construction	Azamat Ramzetdinovich Tokhtaev
Chairman of the State Committee on land resources geodesy, cartography and state cadastre	Saidqul Amirovich Aarabov
Chairman of the State Committee on Statistics	Gafurjon Sabirovich Kudratov
Chairman of the State Tax Committee	Botir Rahmatovich Parpiev

Official Political Parties:

- *O'zbekiston Liberal Demokratik Partiyasi* (Liberal Democratic Party of Uzbekistan), chairman - Adham Shamdmanov;
- *O'zbekiston Xalq Demokratik Partiyasi* (People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan), chairman - Asliddin Rustamov;
- *Fidokorlar Milliy Demokratik Partiyasi* (National Democratic Party of Self-Sacrificers), chairman - Ahtam Tursunov;
- *O'zbekiston Milliy Tiklanish Demokratik Partiyasi* (National Rebirth Democratic Party of Uzbekistan), chairman - Hurshid Dosmuhammedov;
- *Adolat Sotsial Demokratik Partiyasi* (Justice Social Democratic Party) chairwoman - Dilorom Toshmuhamedova

All five political parties in Uzbekistan were created by the government in order to produce the image of political plurality and mature democracy to please foreign observers. These parties have no public support and membership is mandatory.

Since all official parties are subservient to the executive branch, the 2009 parliamentary elections will present no new candidates. According to December 2008 amendments to the Constitution, the 150 seats lower chamber of the parliaments is occupied by officially recognized parties and the Ecological Movement of Uzbekistan.

Secular opposition parties (denied registration by the government):

The Ministry of Justice provides registration documents to a political party before they can legally function. Opposition parties are banned and their members are imprisoned and harassed. It is difficult to know the size of opposition parties due to the ban on their activities and parties claim popular support and large membership.

Birlik Halq Xarakati Partiyasi²⁶ (Party of Unity People's Movement)

Chairman - Abdurahim Polat.

General Secretary - Vasila Inoyat.

This party has never been registered by authorities. Its leaders had to flee the country to avoid imprisonment and torture. One leader, Abdurahim Polat has been residing in the United States since 1992. He has escaped murder attempts.

Democratic "Erk" (Freedom) Party of Uzbekistan

Chairman - Muhammad Salih²⁷

Erk is a splinter party of the Birlik (Unity) People's Movement established in 1990. The party has been denied registration by the government. Muhammad Salih was the only alternative candidate to run in the first presidential elections on December 29, 1991.

Currently, Muhammad Salih is the major opposition figure to the regime. The party gained a lot of support among Uzbekistani students who studied in Turkey in the 1990s until the Uzbek government ordered them to return. A few years ago Mr. Salih received asylum in Norway when he left Turkey. Turkey had been under pressure from the Uzbek government to extradite Mr. Salih.

More information can be found on this party at its web site.²⁸

Religious movements/parties:

According to the constitution, Uzbekistan is a secular state and no parties with a religious platform may legally function.

O'zbekiston Islom Harakati (Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan)

Military leader - Juma Namangani, (previous Soviet name: Jumaboi Ahmadzhanovitch Khojayev) Namangani was born in the Hodja village of Namangan province on 12 June, 1969. He was killed in Afghanistan during the U.S. operation "Enduring Freedom" in November 2001.

Political leader Tohir Abduhalilovich Yoldashev was born in Namangan province on October 2, 1968. Yoldashev (most frequently used aliases: Muhammad Tahir Farooq, Qori Tohir, Tahir Jann).

²⁶ The official web site of the party: <http://www.birlik.net/>

²⁷ Personal web site of Muhammad Salih: <http://www.muhammadsalih.info/>

²⁸ The official web site of the party: <http://www.uzbekistanerk.org/default.asp?dil=eng>



Photo of Tohir Abduhalilovich Yoldashev

The goal of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU) is to overthrow the government of President Karimov and establish an Islamic state based on Sharia law and eventually spread Sharia laws over Central Asia.

The party was formally established in 1998 in Kabul, Afghanistan by Juma Namangani and Tohir Yoldash²⁹. Its associates included former members of small local Islamist groups in Ferghana Valley such as “Adolat Uyushmasi” (Association of Justice), “Islom Lashkarlari” (Warriors of Islam), and “Tovba” (Repentance). During the 1990’s Uzbeks who were victimized by religious prosecution conducted by the government and disillusioned by corruption joined the IMU.

During the civil war in Tajikistan, the IMU supported the anti-Communist government coalition of Islamists and democratic forces. The Tavildara Valley became a new home for future IMU. Amid the peace accord signed in 1997, the Uzbek militants were under the pressure of former Tajik comrades to leave the country. The organization fled to Afghanistan in November of 1999 where it earlier established close links with all international Jihadist organizations and sponsors. IMU embraced Al-Qaida’s ideology and supported Taliban; Mazar-e

²⁹ Video materials with Tohir Yoldashev’s image is available on Internet. For instance see <http://www1.nefafoundation.org/multimedia-speeches.html> or <http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=PXOjL33xEow>

Sharif, Kondo'z, and Taloqan became their strongholds in Afghanistan. Some Arabs, Uyghurs and citizens of former Soviet Union joined the organization.

Post 9/11 situation:

A significant blow to leadership, manpower and capability of the IMU occurred in November of 2001 when the coalition forces bombed the IMU militants along with their military commander Juma Namangani.

After the killing of Namangani, the IMU split into two distinct groups. Approximately 500 remain loyal to Tohir Abduhalilovich Yoldashev and the rest belong to Islamic Jihad Union.³⁰

Approximately 500 Central Asian men and their families linked to IMU, who did not get along well with Tohir Yoldash or did not want to continue fighting, migrated to Iran, Pakistan, Turkey, and Middle East countries. More than one hundred IMU members stayed in Afghanistan after the attacks of Coalition forces. A small number of Central Asian militants decided to take a risk and return home.³¹

The remaining troops and their political leader Tohir Yoldash escaped into the North and South Waziristan in Federal Administered Tribal Areas of Pakistan. The exact number of active fighters in Pakistan is unknown but believed to be between a few hundred to a thousand.

Central Asian militants experienced rough times in the tribal border region of Pakistan. Baitullah Mehsud, the leader of the Tehrik-i-Taliban in Pakistan, supported Central Asian, Chechen and Uygur fighters against Mullah Nazir's Wazir tribe. The Wazir tribe were resisting the presents of foreigners on their lands. The conflict between Mullah Nazir's tribe and Baitullah Mehsud's forces occupied jihadists from the Commonwealth of Independent States in 2007 and 2008.

Since 2005 Central Asian news agencies frequently report IMU involved in terrorist activities throughout Central Asia. Several members were detained in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and a large amount of weapons and ammunition were found in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. IMU members planned terrorist attacks in Tajikistan in 2007 but were caught by law enforcement.³²

³⁰ Bill Roggio, 'Spinning the Fighting in South Waziristan, April 24, 2007, The Long War Journal. Available at: http://www.longwarjournal.org/archives/2007/04/daveed_gartensteinro.php

³¹ Information was obtained in August 2007, CCS email communication with Alisher Saipov, a famous Uzbek journalist of Voice of America from Osh, Kyrgyzstan, who is believed to be shut by the security services of Uzbekistan in October of 2007.

³² Caucaz.com, Tajikistan Detains Seven IMU Suspects, July 23, 2007. Original source: RFE/RL (<http://www.rferl.org/>). Available at: http://www.caucaz.com/home_eng/depeches.php?idp=1776

The Uzbek government regularly jails practicing Muslims accusing them of membership in extremist groups, including IMU. For example on March 12, 2009 eight alleged members of IMU were sentenced to 5 years in prison. The Uzbek authorities are often accused of confusing religious piety with extremism.

Due to the unique combination of structural problems: prosecution of practicing Muslims, a lack of religious freedoms, poverty, corruption, abuses by the law enforcement and mismanagement, a small number of the population continue to sympathize with IMU.

Islomiy Jihod Ittihodi (Islamic Jihad Union)³³

The Islamic Jihad Union (IJU) is a splinter group of IMU founded in 2002 in the Waziri tribal area of FATA, Pakistan.

The founders of IJU:

- Najmiddin Fatilloevich Jalolov (alias: Abu Yahya Muhammed Fatih; born in 1972, lived in Hartum village of Andijan province in Uzbekistan; was on Uzbek government wanted list since March 1999 after a Tashkent bombings);

³³ See appendix 1 for the list for IJU videos.



Photo of Abu Yahya Muhammed Fatih, commander of IJU.

- Suhayl Kamolidinovich Buranov (alias: Mansur Buranov, Mansur Sohail, Abu Huzaifa; born in 1983, in Tashkent city of Uzbekistan).

The reason for creating a new organization was the gradual internationalization of the IMU. By accepting foreign jihadists, IJU became a Turkic and European

speaking organization with military and training objectives all over the world. Although the leadership of IJU consists of Uzbeks, the rank and file included Germans, Chechens, Central Asians, Pakistanis, Slavs and Uyghurs. The members view themselves as a part of global jihad against all enemies of Islam, firstly United States and Israel, rather than only focusing on Central Asia. IJU has close ties with Al-Qaida, the Haqqani network and other pan-Islamist jihadist organizations.

According to Guido Steinberg, a former counterterrorism adviser to the German government, the Islamic Jihad Union has no more than 200 followers.³⁴

IJU claimed responsibility for the May 26 suicide attack on a police officer on Fitrat Street in Andijan City and assault on police check point and clashed with the Uzbek law enforcement units in the town of Khanabad located near the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border and 80 km from Andijan which suffered government repressions in spring of 2005. Prior to this incident, two IJU militants were arrested in Afghanistan. Pakistan military's assault on Taliban in jihadists' stronghold FATA area pushed IJU to undertake a new attack against President Karimov in the Ferghana Valley. Renewed attacks in Uzbekistan are likely an effort of IJU to garner financial support from global terror sponsors.

Hizb-ut-Tahrir (Party of Liberation)

Hizb-ut-Tahrir's goal is to rebuild the single Islamic Kilafah State (Caliphate) through propagation and peaceful transformation of Muslim society into the 'Islam Household''³⁵ The radical party is predominantly Sunni and does not employ violent means but Central Asian governments have accused HT of terrorism.

HT is anti-Western, anti-Semitic, anti-secular, considers democracy a Kufr system, and calls for overthrow of Muslim governments that do not obey the party's vision of Islamic governance.

Hizb-ut-Tahrir members first appeared in Central Asia in the mid-1990's in Uzbekistan. The massive arrest campaign during the aftermath of the Tashkent bombings brought the unknown party in spotlight. The government blamed IMU and HT for the attacks. They arrested not only alleged members of these organizations but those known for religious piety.

In 1999, Hizb-ut-Tahrir's regular members openly criticized the unpopular government of Karimov and refused an offer to ask pardon from President

³⁴ "German Officials Say Men Opposed Afghan Mission," Washington Post Foreign Service, April 23, 2009. Available at:

<http://www.washingtonpost.com/wp-dyn/content/article/2009/04/22/AR2009042200230.html?hpid=moreheadlines>

³⁵ See 'About Hizb-ut-Tahrir' at the official web site of the party: <http://www.hizbuttahrir.org/index.php>

Karimov. The refusal won support from many people who might not have shared the ideology of the organization.

Although HT claims to be peaceful some members left the party and either joined the militant movements or created separate violent cells. HT is banned in all Central Asian states.

Hizb-ut-Tahrir, despite its early popularity, failed to become a popular movement due to highly secretive recruitment process, heavy repression, little interest in political Islam and theological discrepancies with mainstream Islamic doctrine.

Differences in doctrine of *Ahl as-Sunna wal-Jama'ah* (majority of Muslims) and HT is a significant obstacle for broad public support and recruitment of new members. The frequency and quantity of leaflet distribution among populace in the region has decreased and the number of arrests of alleged members of HT has dropped indicating the party has lost ground in Central Asia in general and Uzbekistan in particular.

Traditionally, HT was popular among ethnic Uzbeks. Besides Uzbekistan the organization was also active in the border areas of neighboring countries populated by ethnic Uzbeks. Currently the group is most active in the Kyrgyz and Tajik sections of the Ferghana Valley and southern regions of Kazakhstan.

Other non-violent Islamic movements banned in Uzbekistan:

- Akramiya;
- Nurchilar;
- Tablighi Jamaat

HUMAN TERRAIN:

Major ethnic groups

Uzbeks:

Historical divide along the regional lines among Uzbeks in pre-Soviet period have been an important factor in the power struggles among Uzbek elites during the Soviet and ex-Soviet period.

Although President Karimov heavily relied on the Samarqand –Bukhara regional clan in early stages of his presidency, he later realized the importance of recruiting followers across the country. President tried to gain the support of all regional clans in order to hold power. Many Uzbeks were angered that Karimov gave key position to many representatives of Samarqand clan of Tajik ethnic origin. A fast learner of strategy and a great admirer of Nikolo Makyaveli's

Prince, Karimov demands personal loyalty regardless of ethnicity or regional identity if one seeks an important position in the government.

City - Rural divide:

There is a definite tension between rural and urban Uzbek populations in Uzbekistan. For example, Tashkent locals complained to CCS that majority of police come from poor and less educated rural areas and towns outside of Tashkent and this fuels corruption.³⁶

On the other hand, villagers used to survive on \$1 dollar a day, are shocked to see the enormous wealth in Tashkent. "We feed the capital but get nothing in return besides brutal khakims (governors/mayors) who beat and curse us," admitted a resident of Marhamat town in Andijan province.³⁷

Ethnic Uzbek Diasporas in neighboring countries as an external threat to regime of President Karimov:

There is a significant number of ethnic Uzbeks residing in neighboring countries. These groups historically belonged to Uzbek khanates before their territories were given to neighboring Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan by the Soviets.

Afghanistan's ethnic Uzbeks make up about 8 percent of the total population. They mostly reside in northern Afghanistan. Outside Central Asia, Saudi Arabia, Turkey, Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous Region of China and Russia are also home to smaller Uzbek diasporas. The number of immigrants to the United States is on the rise, particularly after 1995 when the economic situation drastically deteriorated. Many students decided to stay in the U.S. and are either illegal immigrants or naturalized citizens. Some tourists did the same. Thus far in 2009 3,284 citizens of Uzbekistan have won the lottery and immigrated to the U.S.³⁸ Today, the largest Uzbek communities are located in Parsippany, NJ, Brooklyn N.Y. C, Los Angeles and San Francisco, CA, Nashville, TN, Philadelphia, PA.

Uzbeks of Kyrgyzstan:

A journalist and editor from Voice of America, Alisher Saipov, an ethnic Uzbek from Osh was killed before the last presidential elections in Uzbekistan. He was known for his criticism of President Karimov. He was offered money from the National Security Service in exchange for his silence. In 2005, he was warned by the Uzbek secret service that unless he stopped criticizing the Uzbek government he might face the worst outcome.³⁹

³⁶ CCCS's phone interviews with a dozen of residents of Tashkent in February – March 2009.

³⁷ CCCS's e-mail correspondence with Botir K., September 5, 2008.

³⁸ See 'Green Card Lottery Results, at the <http://greencardlottery.visapro.com/Green-Card-Lottery-Results.asp>

³⁹ CCCS interview with Alisher Saipov in Osh in July 2005.

In 2007, Saipov decided to run against President Karimov and was killed shortly thereafter.⁴⁰ His murder was a clear signal to Uzbek opposition that the regime in Tashkent is willing to employ any means to eliminate threats.

In August 2006, the Kyrgyz security service officers shot a famous imam Rafiq Qori Kamoluddin, an ethnic Uzbek preacher whose mosque attracted up to 10,000 people at a Friday prayer. Officials in Kyrgyzstan accused the renowned imam in membership in Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan on the basis of intelligence they obtained from the Uzbek government.⁴¹ Qori Kamoluddin was known for his tolerance of Hizb-ut-Tahri and criticisms of Karimov's foreign policy and internal politics. Imam Qori Kamoluddin was warned several times by the Uzbek National Security Service agents to stop criticizing the regime in Tashkent.⁴² When Kurmanbek Bakiev became president of Kyrgyzstan the situation in Kyrgyzstan changed: in order to ensure continued gas supplies from Uzbekistan Bakiev clapped down on Uzbekistan's dissidents. Previously Uzbekistan cut the gas supply to Kyrgyzstan every winter. Bakiev's bias against ethnic Uzbeks and his repressive policies will lead to negative consequences for both Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

Many Uzbeks in southern Kyrgyzstan still remember and can't forgive that Karimov stopped the thousands of Uzbeks crossing into Kyrgyzstan to defend fellow Uzbeks who were murdered by Kyrgyz nationalists in June of 1990.

Karakalpaks:

Karakalpak translates into black hat (kara - black, kalpak - hat).

Karakalpaks are Sunni Muslims and are culturally closer to Kazakhs than Uzbeks. Traditionally Karakalpaks practiced exogamy but it was normal to marry a man or a woman from another clan of the same tribe.

The exact number of Karakalpaks is unknown given that the last population census in Uzbekistan was in 1989. Various sources cite the total number is between 560,000 - 600,000 in Uzbekistan and abroad. Karakalpaks comprise only one third of the total population of the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan.

The Autonomous Republic of Karakalpakstan:

As a political administrative unit Karakalpakstan (size of Oklahoma) was formed in 1925 as autonomous region. In 1936, it was transferred to the jurisdiction of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic as the autonomous republic.

⁴⁰ For instance read 'Dissidents live in fear after Uzbek murder,' by Imre Karacs, TimesOnline, October 27, 2008. Available at <http://www.timesonline.co.uk/tol/news/world/asia/article2753584.ece>

⁴¹ 'Kyrgyzstan: Prominent Imam Killed In Security Raid,' by Gulnoza Saidazimova, RFE/RL, August 07, 2006. Available at: <http://www.rferl.org/content/Article/1070381.html>

⁴² CCCS interview with Imam Kamoluddin in Kara-Suu in July 2005.

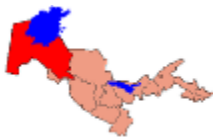
Map of the Karakalpakstan Autonomous Republic



Source: <http://karakalpak.com/stan.html>

There are separatist sentiments among some Karakalpaks who either call for creation of an independent state or uniting with Kazakhstan. The region has large oil and gas reserves. In 2008 the Russian corporation Gazprom drilled the well in the Tajenkazgan field in Karakalpakstan which is estimated to hold 14.9 billion cubic meters of gas. Inspired by the potential for economic development, the separatists formed the group called "Free Karakalpakstan National Revival Party." The government of Uzbekistan will not allow any section of the country to secede, particularly an energy rich area, constituting 37% of total area of Uzbekistan (see the map below).

Red area: the autonomous republic of Karakalpakstan is 37% of total area of Uzbekistan:



Russians:

Various sources estimate about a million ethnic Russians reside in Uzbekistan. During the years after independence every third Russian left the country. Most of Russians reside in major cities, primarily in Tashkent.

The first wave of emigration started in 1989 and during the early years of independence. Inter-ethnic clashes in the Ferghana Valley during Gorbachov's political relaxation period and the "Russians, go back home" campaign during early years of independence forced more than 20% of Russians to leave Uzbekistan.

After the nationalist sentiments among ethnic Uzbeks cooled down, Russians did feel threatened by rising unemployment and low wages. These two factors started a second wave of emigration in the late 1990s.

Worsening socio-economic conditions, corruption, police abuse and lack of opportunities for employment continues motivating many Russians to depart Uzbekistan.

Uzbekistani - Russian relations influence the Uzbek government policy towards ethnic Russians of Uzbek citizenship. The improved relations between the two countries led to the opening of Russian cultural centers, establishing departments of Russian at universities, Russian theater, etc.

Unlike Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan has never been threatened by Russian Diaspora of Uzbekistani nationality and no tensions between Russians and Uzbeks took place, with the exception of a few "Russian neighbor, go home!" statements. Karimov has been suspicious of ethnic Russians working in the government and particularly in the security apparatus. Russia has never indicated she would protect ethnic Russians in Uzbekistan. Ethnic Russians have dealt with the unique challenges of becoming marginal in the country they previously governed.

Tajiks and Ironiy (Persians):

The Tajiks mainly reside in the cities of Samarqand and Bukhara, the border area with Tajikistan and some districts of the Ferghana Valley.

The Ironiy are concentrated in Samarqand and Bukhara. The most famous representative of Ironiy is the former Communist Party apparatchik, the 'godfather' of President Karimov and head of Samarqand clan Ismail Zhurabekov whose nickname was 'grey cardinal.'

Tajiks and Ironiy speak a Persian dialect. Most of Ironiy are Shia Muslims while Tajiks are Sunni Muslims of Hanafi School.

Tajiks constitute the 2nd largest ethnic minority group after Russians. Most have lived in their current places of residence as long as their Uzbek neighbors. Comparatively, Russians started gradually immigrating to the region after 1864.

In the late 1980s and early 1990s there was a period of strong nationalist and separatist aspirations among the Tajiks of Samarqand and Bukhara. However President Karimov's repressive policy against Tajik nationalist and the 1992-97 civil war in Tajikistan pacified the ambitions of Tajiks to re-unite with fellow Tajiks.

Although officially ethnic Tajiks make up about 5% of the total population some Tajiks claim the percentage is 2-3 times higher. They explain the discrepancy through "Uzbekization," a process when many Tajiks were forced to write their nationality as Uzbeks at the national censuses as early as 1926.

Grievances among Tajiks in Uzbekistan have not manifested in political or military activity which could threaten the stability of the country.

Many Uzbeks believe President Karimov is an ethnic Tajik and angry that he brought many members of the regional clan into power in Tashkent. However most of Tajikistanis and ethnic Tajiks of Uzbekistan despise Karimov for his unfriendly relations with Tajikistan and for suppressing the cultural and/or political ambitions of the Samarqandi and Bukhara Tajiks.

The well known ethnic Tajiks serving/having served in administration of Karimov:

Prosecutor General: Buritosh Mustafoev
Chairman of the Central Bank: Fayzullo Mullojonov
Minister of Justice: A. Polvonzoda
Minister of Finance: Mamarizo Nurmurodov
Governor of Samarqand province: Alisher Mardiev.

Kazakhs:

There had been tensions in the past over the border areas between Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan. The most prominent incident took place in December 2001, when nearly 2,000 ethnic Kazakhs of Uzbek citizenship living in villages Turkestanets and Bagys declared the villages 'the Kazakh Bagys Republic.'

Approximately 70,000 ethnic Kazakhs immigrated to Kazakhstan from 1991 to 2001⁴³ and several thousands more Kazakh families left Uzbekistan after

⁴³ "Moya zagranichnaya rodina. Kak zhivotsa kazakham v Uzbekistane" (My abroad fatherland. How Kazakhs live in Uzbekistan), November 1, 2002. Available at: <http://www.centrasia.ru/newsA.php4?st=1036133040>

December 2001 under the repatriation program. According to Ambassador of Kazakhstan to Uzbekistan nearly 1.2 million ethnic Kazakhs resided in Uzbekistan as of August 2001. He announced 3,000 families planned to relocate to Kazakh republic.⁴⁴

The major reason for emigration is the worsening economy and lack of employment opportunities, especially in rural areas where most of Kazakhs reside. The conversion of land devoted to cattle breeding into cotton and cereal plantations further motivated traditionally nomadic Kazakhs to abandon their homes in Uzbekistan.

Jews:

Approximately 90,000 Jews resided in Samarqand, Bukhara and Tashkent until the dissolution of the USSR. By 2007, there were only 5,000 Jews remaining.⁴⁵ Most of them immigrated to the United States and Israel. Smaller groups went to Germany and Russia.

CLAN NETWORKS

The clan system in Uzbekistan is based on regional set up of the country resulting from Bolsheviks' conquer and unification of three Uzbek Khanates - Bukhoro, Khiva, and Qoqon in 1920s.

Although the Soviet administration opposed traditional regional, tribal or family networks, they existed in Central Asian and became more powerful with the independence. In Uzbekistan, the clanship has been developed firstly on the regional basis.

Today, the two most powerful regional clans are of Tashkent and Samarqand. However the clan has lost importance over time. The laws of the free market and economic profit supersede the loyalty to the clan. Another factor for diminishing importance of clanship is personal loyalty demanded by President Karimov. Currently the official positions are sold to the highest bidder while before the clanship was an important consideration for job appointment.

By 1995, two powerful ministerial clans which competed for favors from the President's office: National Security Service (NSS, formerly KGB) and Ministry of Interior (police). Any abuse by law enforcement is tolerated as long as they continue protecting the president and his family. The NSS has come as the winner of agency rivalry. The strength of the ministry allows the agency

⁴⁴ "Ethnic Kazakhs Want to Leave Uzbekistan," CACI Analyst, 29 August 2001, Available at: <http://www.cacianalyst.org/?q=node/584>

⁴⁵ World Jewish Population 2007, *American Jewish Yearbook*, vol. 107 (2007), p. 592. Available at: http://www.ajcarchives.org/AJC_DATA/Files/AJYB727.CV.pdf

leadership to control all sectors of the economy such as cotton export or selling the license needed to run a business.

PRESIDENT ISLAM KARIMOV

When Islam Karimov became president of Uzbekistan he had little national support base as he previously was chosen by Gorbachov as a leader of Uzbekistan.

The personal challenge of independence in 1991 for a new president was to consolidate his power. It was a difficult task because Gorbachov strengthened opposition parties and religious groups. The first step towards widening Karimov's support among the wealthiest and powerful figures was the government's release of officials imprisoned during Andropov period for corruption.⁴⁶ In doing so, Karimov decided to build the new country with hands of opportunists who had no principles but were thirsty for power and wealth.

In 1991, when Uzbekistan became an independent republic, Karimov had a historic chance to bring in reformers and appoint them to key positions while keeping the corrupt officials rightfully jailed by the Soviet regime behind bars. He did the opposite, painting Moscow's anti-corruption campaign as a crusade against all Uzbeks, President Karimov freed thieves and sold to them important positions. The best example is Ismail Zhurabokov, who Karimov appointed to the powerful Deputy Prime Minister Position. Zhurabokov was a top official in charge of cotton and irrigation in the Rashidov's government famous for its corrupt practices of *pripiska*⁴⁷ and paying bribes to Moscow patrons in *politburo*.⁴⁸ Another example – retired Major General Ubaidulla Tazhihanov who was imprisoned, then released and appointed as chief of the Police Academy. Under his administrative between 1992 – 2004 future police cadets paid up to US\$ 10,000 to “successfully” pass the entrance exams. Corruption flourished in the academy and the stories about bribes and price lists spread across the country.⁴⁹

Karimov could have built up a new reformed administration but relied on corrupt and authoritarian ex-Communist apparatchiks as he had to rise to power through corrupt career building methods and he chose people like himself whose major goal was the consolidation of power and wealth for the President's office.

RELIGIONS/SECTS:

⁴⁶ The investigation started in 1983 until 1989.

⁴⁷ Writing fraud papers by making up numbers on cotton harvest.

⁴⁸ Political bureau.

⁴⁹ 2008- 09 pricelist of official position is as following: District mayor - from US\$ 50,000 to 200,000 depending on economic resources of district; City mayor - starting at US\$ 100,000 depending on economic resources of city; Province governor – starting at US\$ 500,000 depending on economic resources of province; Ministerial posts - starting at US\$ 500,000 depending on financial resources and importance of province.

The government has not conducted the national census since 1989 and no religious identity polls have been conducted since independence. However, the Uzbek government claims 88% of the population consider themselves Muslim.⁵⁰ The government body that monitors activities of religious institutions called the Committee on Religious Affairs under the Cabinet of Ministers sets the state policy on religion. Despite the formal separation of religion and state, there is tight control and widespread suppression of religious freedoms.⁵¹

According to International Religious Freedom Report 2008, 2,228 religious organizations including 180 registered minority religious groups were registered with the Ministry of Justice of Uzbekistan:⁵²

- 2048 are Islamic organizations, including mosques, Islamic Institute, Tashkent Islamic University,⁵³ the Spiritual Administration of Muslims (the muftiate)⁵⁴ and maddrassas. Shias constitute about 1% of the population.
- 58 Korean Christian,
- 36 Russian Orthodox,
- 23 Baptist,
- 21 Pentecostal ("Full Gospel"),
- 10 Seventh-day Adventist,
- 8 Jewish organizations,
- 5 Roman Catholic,
- 6 Baha'i,
- 4 "New Apostolic,"
- 3 Lutheran
- 2 Armenian Apostolic,
- 1 Jehovah's Witnesses, 1 Krishna Consciousness group,
- 1 Temple of Buddha,
- 1 Christian "Voice of God" Church;

The Ferghana Valley became the center of religious political and social activism in the country. Three provinces of Uzbek part of the Valley differ in religiosity.

Ferghana city built by Russians as a fortress in 1876 is most European but the Ferghana province itself is traditional and religious.

Andijan city and the province as a whole are more traditional and religious than Ferghana city. The Akramiya movement became a confronter of the state when

⁵⁰ Embassy of Republic of Uzbekistan in the United States, PRESS-RELEASE: Religious Situation in Uzbekistan and Observance of Freedom of Faith in the Republic, November 29, 2006. Available at <http://www.uzbekistan.org/press/archive/420/>

⁵¹ The web site of the committee in Russian and Uzbek: <http://www.religions.uz/uzb/index.html>

⁵² International Religious Freedom Report 2008: Uzbekistan, the Bureau of Democracy, Human Rights, and Labor. Available at <http://2001-2009.state.gov/g/drl/rls/irf/2008/108509.htm>

⁵³ The web site of the university: <http://www.tiu.uz/eng/index.php>

⁵⁴ Address: 103, Zarkaynar St., Tashkent, ph: (998-712) - 40-05-07, Chairman: Usman Alemov.

the government troops killed hundreds of people at the central square in Andijan. Famous imam Abduvali qori preached in his mosque in downtown Andijan. He inspired practicing Muslims who were displeased with corruption, chaos and police abuse. He was kidnapped by the government in 1995.

Namangan city and the whole province is the champion enforcer of Sharia law. Both Juma Namangani and Tohir Yoldash, leaders of Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, came from Namangan. The streets of Namangan are almost completely empty during Iftar⁵⁵ and Tarawih prayer⁵⁶ in the Islamic holy month of Ramadan. During the Iftar, you can see some people in Andijan and many young residents of Ferghana city on the streets. One can easily observe a number of women wearing the hijab - Namangan has the highest percentage with Andijan and Ferghana following the list.⁵⁷ But one thing the Westerner might be surprised not to see in Uzbekistan – beards. They are unofficially banned for young and mid-age males unless those men are imams. The beard is viewed as a sign of religious piety which the government of President Karimov tries very hard to exterminate.

Karakalpakstan is considered the least religious region. The nomadic lifestyle of scattered populace prevented Islam from spreading as much as it did in urban parts of the country.

Bukhara and Samarqand produced many scholars like Imam Bukhari, Al-Beruni, Ibn Sina (Avicenna) and al - Farabi and had huge libraries well known around the Muslim world. The cities are known as centers of Islamic and secular scholarship. Modern day Bukhara and Samarqand are more traditional than religious due to the killing of a hundred of clergymen by the Bolsheviks in the 1920's.

Other provinces are not particularly religious and follow local traditions. For instance, old Uzbek women dancing with men and drinking vodka at the wedding or birthday party might be not an unusual thing in Khorezm but unacceptable in Namangan or Andijan.

FOREIGN MILITARY BASES:

Qarshi-Khanabad (K2) air field.

*(Former Soviet air base in support of the Soviet troops during the Soviet occupation of Afghanistan. Located in Khanabad, outskirts of the city of Qarshi, Qashqadaryo province, south of Uzbekistan, 125 miles north of the Afghan border).*⁵⁸

⁵⁵ Breaking the fast meal at sunset during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

⁵⁶ Additional prayer performed after the last Isha' (Hufton – in Uzbek) prayer during the Islamic holy month of Ramadan.

⁵⁷ Islamic headscarf for women.

⁵⁸ See Appendix 5 for the map of the K-2 base location.

In October of 2001 about 1,000 U.S. military troops landed at K2 Airbase which became a logistics base in support of Operation Enduring Freedom in Afghanistan targeting Al-Qaida and Taliban. The air field is home to the 60th Separate Mixed Aviation Brigade of Uzbek Ministry of Defense.

In November 2005, U.S. military personnel left the base. In May 2005 the U.S and EU governments criticized the killing of peaceful demonstrators in Andijan by the Uzbek troops. In July, Karimov ordered Americans to vacate the air field. There are currently reports that the governments of the United States and Uzbekistan are negotiating the re-opening of the base.⁵⁹

Uzbekistan is caught up between two major powers - Russia and United States which try to influence Karimov over the military bases. Karimov's family and the regime are considered illegitimate at home and face harsh criticism internationally. Karimov believes the West may sponsor the internal revolt or mass revolution if he does not improve relationship with the United States.⁶⁰

The International Security Assistance Force Air transport base in Termez.

*(The Termez city airport located at the border with Afghanistan, besides its primary use as a civilian airport, is being used as a base for German C-160 "Transalls" serving the German ISAF-contingent's operation in Afghanistan).*⁶¹ Other NATO members also use the air base under ISAF – Afghanistan umbrella.

German Foreign Ministry characterizes the base, called in German as Lufttransportstützpunkt 3, as a major element of the ISAF operation. It is from there that ISAF deploys medical teams for the rapid evacuation of sick and injured from Afghanistan⁶². Germany uses the base for its air force combat wing of the Federal Armed Forces.⁶³

In March of 2008 the Uzbek government indicated American military personnel can use the base on a case-by-case basis and only within the NATO mission.

⁵⁹ For instance read "Uzbekistan: Pentagon Negotiating a Return to Uzbek Air Base – Source," Shahin Abbasov, March 24, 2009 at

<http://www.eurasianet.org/departments/insightb/articles/rp032409f.shtml>

⁶⁰ CCCS' interviews in Osh and Jalal- Abad in June-July of 2005.

⁶¹ See Appendix 5 for the location of Termez.

⁶² The German Federal Foreign Office, 'Germany's lead-nation role in northern Afghanistan,' available at: <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Aussenpolitik/RegionaleSchwerpunkte/AfghanistanZentralasien/Mandate.html>

⁶³ The German Federal Foreign Office, 'Uzbekistan: political relations,' available at: <http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/diplo/en/Laenderinformationen/01-Laender/Usbekistan.html>

Another strategic importance of Termez:

Located 5 km from Termez, the “Bridge of Friendship” across the Amu Daryo River is a strategic road and rail link between Uzbekistan and Afghanistan. The road is used by the Coalition Forces to transport cargo to Afghanistan from the Baltic via Russia and Kazakhstan.

The bridge was built by the Soviet Union in 1982 to supply the Red Army troops fighting the Mujahideen in Afghanistan. The bridge was closed in 1997 when the Taliban reached areas of northern Afghanistan in close proximity to Uzbekistan. The Friendship Bridge was re-opened on December 9, 2001 to deliver humanitarian aid to Afghanistan.⁶⁴

Norway stopped using the Termez air base in early May after professor and senior researcher at the Norwegian Institute for Foreign Policy Daniel Heradstveit criticized the government for cooperation with a totalitarian regime of President Karimov.⁶⁵ This move of the Norwegian Government was warmly welcomed by human rights defenders and opposition parties who viewed this decision of Norway as an example of firmness on the matter of human rights and democracy advancement in authoritarian countries.

Navoi City International Airport

(Latitude 40° 5' 4N; longitude 65° 22' 45E, at an altitude of 382 meters)

The airport located nearly 500 km from the Afghan border and connected by railroads and automobile freeways since May of 2009 and is used by the U.S. Air Force for transporting non-lethal cargo to Afghanistan. “Korean Air” which manages the Uzbek airport offered to transport the U.S. and NATO cargo for their military operations in Afghanistan and Seoul became involved in re-constructing the airport into a modern air hub which is able to accept Boeing 747-400s, Airbus 300-600s or Ilyushin-76s cargo aircrafts and provide cargo services from Europe and the United States to Afghanistan and other countries in Central and South-East Asia.

The airport built in the outskirts of capital of Navoi province⁶⁶ the city of Navoi in 1962 has been renovated in 2004-07 and the Cabinet of Ministers issued the decree on August 21, 2008 providing the airport international status. In December of 2008 the airport was handed over to the “Korean air” company to operate the airport which according to Koreans will become a large air logistic transcontinental center in Asia.

⁶⁴ See images of the “Friendship Bridge” at the following links:

<http://static.panoramio.com/photos/original/1222396.jpg> , <http://image.guardian.co.uk/sys-images/Guardian/Pix/gallery/2002/01/10/uzbekistan.jpg> .

⁶⁵ “Norway drops use of controversial air base,” The Norway Post, May 8, 2009. Available at: <http://www.norwaypost.no/content/view/21994/26/>

⁶⁶ Official web site of the Governor of Navoi province: <http://www.navoi.gov.uz/index.php>

By providing the airport for non-military airlifting operations the Government of Uzbekistan acquired a higher political leverage, financial gains from rent of the base and technical modernization of a provincial airport. The Navoi International Airport is declared a free industrial-economic zone which will receive, process, distribute and transport services that will bring significant revenue to the state budget, provide jobs to locals, and raise the prestige of the country.

SECURITY SITUATION

President Karimov has been able to eliminate all threats to his power and to preserve the stability of Uzbekistan. However, poverty is widespread; unemployment is high; wages are extremely low; torture is routine; police abuse and corruption are amongst the highest in the world.

High-level government officials benefit from the system and are not interested in change. Lower level officials who have no access to financial resources are unhappy with the regime. There are no pressure groups inside the country capable of toppling the regime and there are no legal ways to dismiss the government.

The only pressure group Karimov has been genuinely concerned about is the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), and to a lesser extent Hizb-ut-Tahrir. IMU had been significantly damaged by the Coalition Forces in November 2001 and later during the anti-Taliban offensive. It is difficult to assess whether the organization is capable of launching a vigorous incursion into Uzbekistan. The potential restoration of Taliban could lead to revival of IMU and IJU which scares the government of Uzbekistan and other states of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

The government realizes it currently holds a strategic position in the U.S. led war in Afghanistan. Karimov's willingness to cooperate with the west has become a shield from criticism and sanctions for authoritarian regimes.

Tense Relations with Tajikistan exacerbate:

The governments of neighboring countries surely fear extremist organizations and are willing to cooperate with Uzbekistan but they are also discontented with President Karimov. Karimov ordered land mines planted along the borders of Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in 1999. He then bombed the territory of Tajikistan in the same year and cut air communication with Tajik cities. Border travel and trade restrictions impoverished local populations on both sides of the border, but enriched the border customs and police officers on the Uzbek side.

Uzbekistan's energy and water use disagreements with Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, frequent conflicts with border guards and long standing informal

“cold war” against Tajikistan have led to a high level of tensions in the region. According to a Central Asian diplomat, Karimov is the main impediment for regional integration.⁶⁷

⁶⁷ For political reasons the diplomat wished to stay anonymous. Interview in Bishkek in June of 2005.

APPENDIX 1

The list of ISLAMIC JIHAD UNION in video:

- IJU web site:
http://www.sehadetzamani.com/haber_detay.php?haber_id=2039
- IJU Maddrassah:
<http://www.al-faloja.info/vb/showthread.php?t=46997>
http://www.dailymotion.com/search/islamic%252Bjihad%252Bunion/video/x87pbs_islamic-jihad-union-badr-altawheed_music
- Attacking a Coalition base:
<http://www.dailymotion.com/relevance/search/attacking%252BUS%252BBase>
- Islamic Jihad Union Commander Mohammed Fateh on Goals of IJU:
<http://www.youtube.com/watch?v=WckBFFgPzB0>
- Badr al-Tawheed for Lal Masjid (2008):
http://www.archive.org/details/Badr_al-Tawheed_for_Lal_Masjid
- IJU invites to join new members in Uzbek:
http://www.velfecr.com/haber_detay.php?haber_id=4738

APPENDIX 2

Links to news and resources on Uzbekistan/ Central Asia

News on Uzbekistan/ Central Asia in English, Russian and Uzbek:

Information Agency Ferghana.ru:

<http://www.ferghana.ru/>

Muslim Uzbekistan:

<http://www.muslimuzbekistan.com/>

Uznews.net:

<http://www.uznews.net/>

Portal of the State Authority of the Republic of Uzbekistan:

<http://www.gov.uz/>

Uzbekistan News National Agency:

<http://uza.uz/en/>

Press service of President of Uzbekistan:

<http://www.press-service.uz/#>

Business Informational Portal Uzreport:

<http://www.uzreport.com/>

News on Uzbekistan/Central Asia in English and Russian:

EurasiaNet:

<http://www.eurasianet.org/index.shtml>

Uzbekistan Today (official news):

<http://www.ut.uz/eng/>

CentralAsiaNews:

<http://en.ca-news.org/>

News on Uzbekistan/Central Asia in Russian:

Russian news web site Centrasia.ru:

<http://www.centrasia.ru/>

Uzmetronom:

<http://www.uzmetronom.com/>

Gazetu.uz:

<http://www.gazeta.uz/>

FreeDoilnanet, radio news in Russian, Uzbek and Kyrgyz:

<http://www.freedolina.net/>

Pravda Vostoka (official news in Uzbek):

<http://www.pv.uz/?inc=1>

News on Uzbekistan/Central Asia in English:

RFE/RL in English:

<http://www.rferl.org/section/Uzbekistan/165.html>

BBC Asia:

<http://news.bbc.co.uk/2/hi/asia-pacific/default.stm>

Institute for War & Peace Reporting:

http://www.iwpr.net/?p=rca&s=f&o=346738&apc_state=henprca

The Times of Central Asia:

<http://www.timesca.com/>

CentralasiaNews.net:

<http://www.centralasianews.net/>

Transitions On Line News:

<http://www.tol.cz/look/TOL/section.tpl?IdLanguage=1&IdPublication=4&tpid=16>

Turkish Weekly:

<http://www.turkishweekly.net/category/5/central-asia.html>

Central Asia - Caucasus Institute Analyst:

<http://www.cacianalyst.org/>

News on Uzbekistan in Uzbek only:

RFE/RL in Uzbek:

<http://www.ozodlik.org/>

Voice of America in Uzbek:

<http://www.amerikaovozi.org/>

BBC in Uzbek:

<http://www.bbc.co.uk/uzbek/index.shtml>

Analytical Reports:

International Crisis Group:

<http://www.crisisgroup.org/home/index.cfm?id=1251&l=1>

Russian and Eurasian Security Network:

<http://www.res.ethz.ch/news/sw/index.cfm>

National Bureau of Asian Research:

<http://www.nbr.org/>

RAND Center for Asia Pacific Policy:

http://www.rand.org/international_programs/capp/pubs/central.html

Official Web sites of ministries, international organization:

Regional International Organizations:

Shanghai Cooperation Organization:

<http://www.secsco.org/>

Eurasian Economic Community:

<http://www.evrazes.com/>

Collective Security Treaty Organization:

<http://www.dkb.gov.ru/>

Ministries/ State Companies:

Oliy Majlis (parliament):

<http://www.parliament.gov.uz/en/> and <http://www.senat.uz/>

Ministry of Foreign Affairs:

<http://mfa.uz/eng/>

State Committee on Statistics:

<http://stat.uz/STAT/index.php?lng=1>

Ministry of Labor and Social Security:

<http://www.mintrud.uz/default.php>

Ministry of Justice:

<http://www.minjust.uz/>

Ministry of Finance:

<http://www.mf.uz/eng/>

Ministry of Internal Affairs (police):

<http://www.mvd.uz/>

Ministry of Cultural and Sports Affairs:

<http://madaniyat.sport.uz/en/stars.htm>

Ministry of Higher and Secondary Special Education:

<http://www.edu.uz/index.php>

Ministry of Public Education:

<http://uzedu.uz/eng/>

Ministry of Health:

<http://www.minzdr.uz/>

Ministry of Emergency:

<http://mchs.uz/>

State Property Committee:

http://www.gki.uz/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1047&Itemid=15

National Bank for Foreign Economic Activity:

<http://new.nbu.com/en/>

Uzbekistan Airways:

<http://www.airways.uz/>

National Company «UZBEKTOURISM»:

<http://www.uzbektourism.uz/en/>

State Committee on De-monopolization and Competition and Business Support

<http://www.antimon.uz/rus/index.php>

Committee on Religious Affairs under the Cabinet of Ministers

<http://www.religions.uz/uzb/index.html>

Central Election Commission:

<http://elections.uz/uzb>

Official web sites of provinces and autonomous Republic of Qoraqalpakistan

Qoraqalpog'iston Respublikasi

www.sovminrk.gov.uz

Navoiy Viloyati

www.navoi.gov.uz

Buxoro Viloyati

www.bv.uz

Qashqadaryo Viloyati

www.qashqadaryo.uz

Surxondaryo Viloyati

www.termez.uzpak.uz

Jizzax Viloyati

www.jizzax.uz

Samarqand Viloyati

www.samarkand.uz

Toshkent Viloyati

www.tashvil.gov.uz

Namangan Viloyati

www.naman.uzpak.uz

Farg'ona Viloyati

www.ferghana.uz

Xorazm Viloyati

www.xorazm.uz

Sirdaryo Viloyati

www.sirdaryo.gov.uz

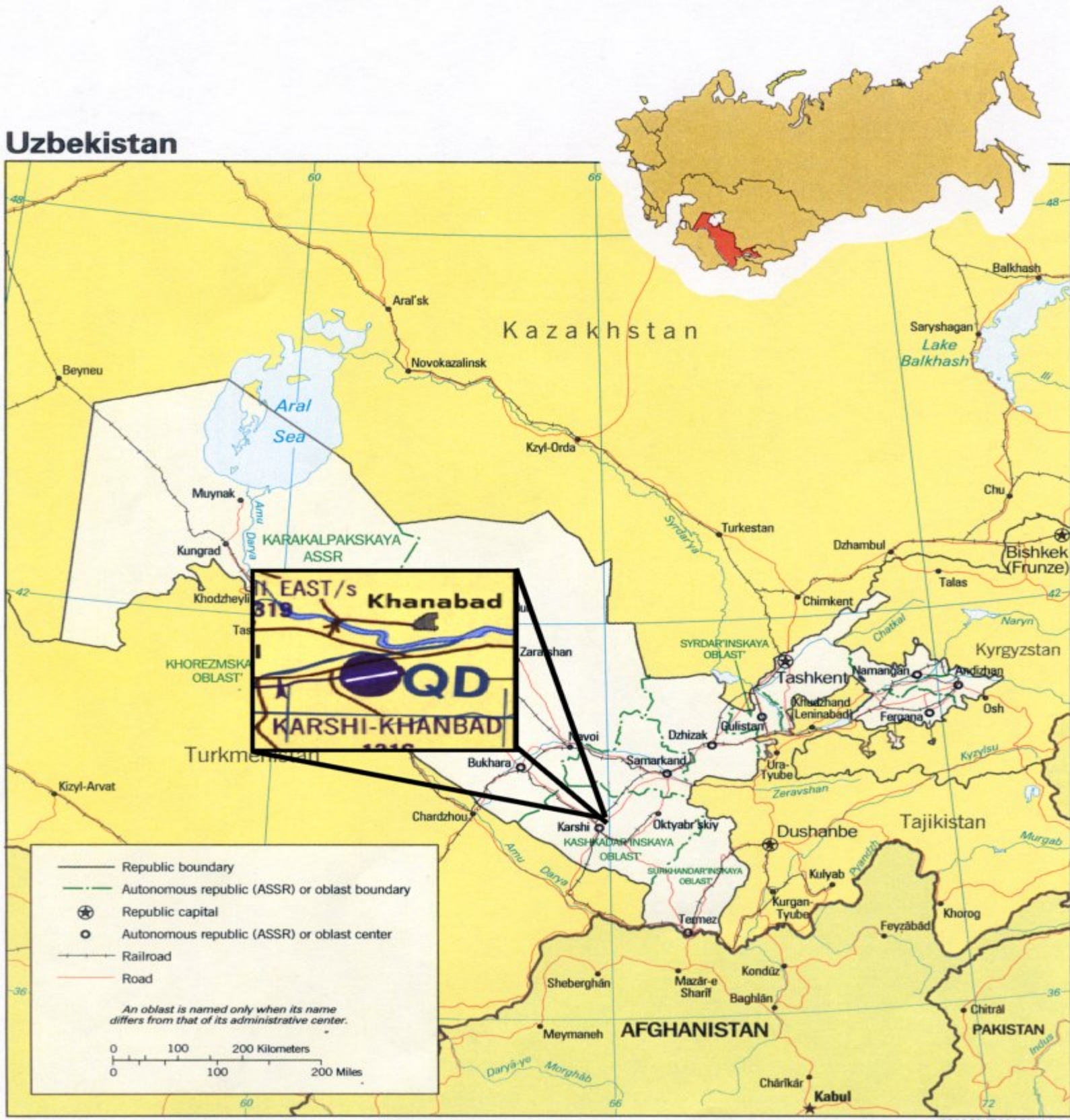
Andijon Viloyati

www.andijan.uz

Tashkent city

www.tashkent.uz

APPENDIX 3: Qarshi-Khanabad (K-2) air base Map



801961 (R00161) 11-91

Source: GlobalSecurity.org. The address on the Web: www.globalsecurity.org/.../khanbad_overview.jpg