### Capstone Briefing Bush School of Government and Public Service

May 10, 2007

# Game Structure – 3 Moves

<u>Teams</u> – United (US), Russia (RF), Uzbekistan (UZ), Kyrgyzstan (KG), and Islamists

#### Move One

Karimov's plane down in Kyrgyz territory Uzbeks appoint interim President US and Russia react

#### <u>Move Two</u>

Interim President confirmed by election Samarkand rejects election results Uzbek president receives foreign delegations at inaugural

#### Move Three

Unrest in Ferghana, religious ferment, and refugee exodus Uzbek government decides whether to crack down

# Game Play

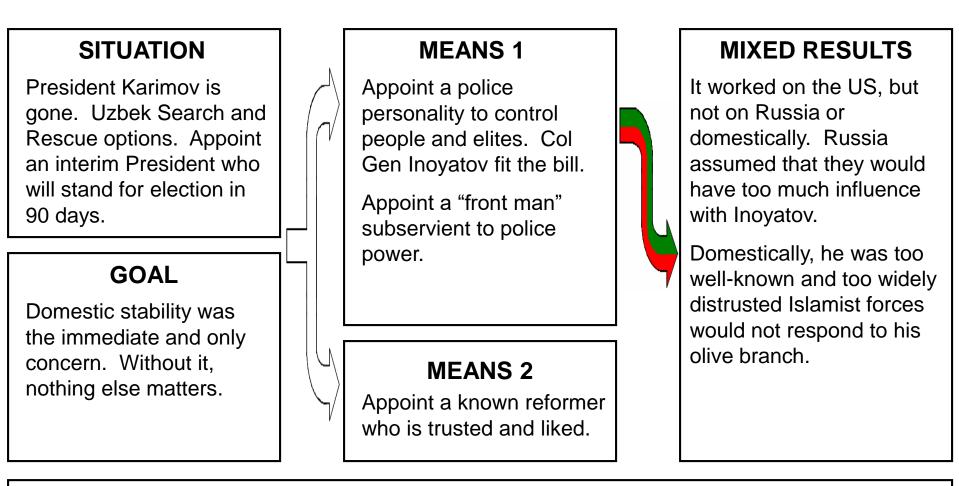
#### Multi-Level Dynamics

**International Dynamics** 

- Rationale behind selection of senior players
- Bush School graduate students as Game Controllers and Executive Staff
- One outside government modeled, others could be added

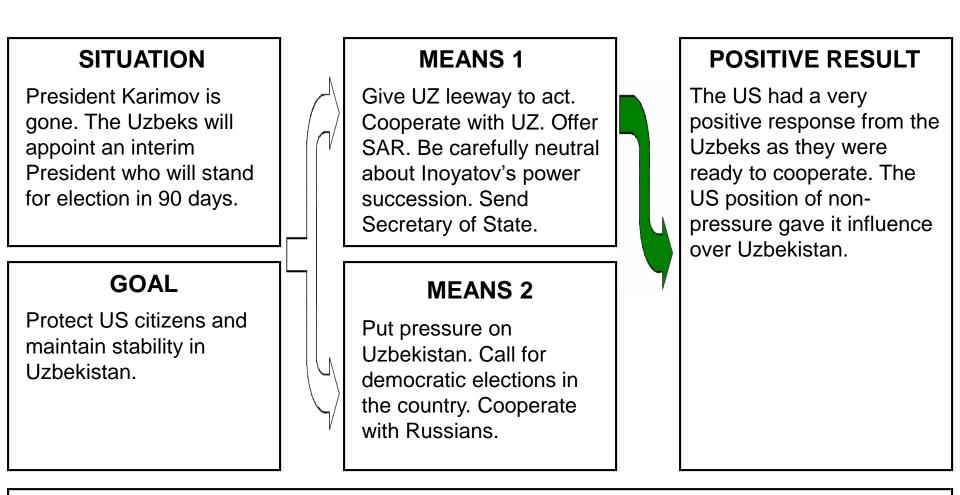
Interagency Dynamics – CENTCOM VTC

### **Uzbekistan Move 1**



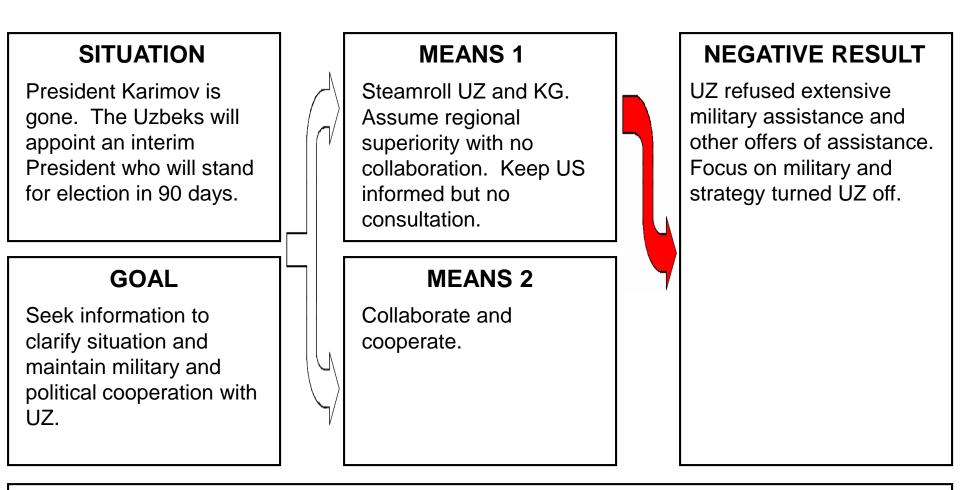
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Be prepared to ride out a tense period. Uzbeks want economic reform in the long-term, but must maintain near-term control to get it. Karimov's successor will be much like him, but eager to deal with America once his country is stable.

### US Move 1



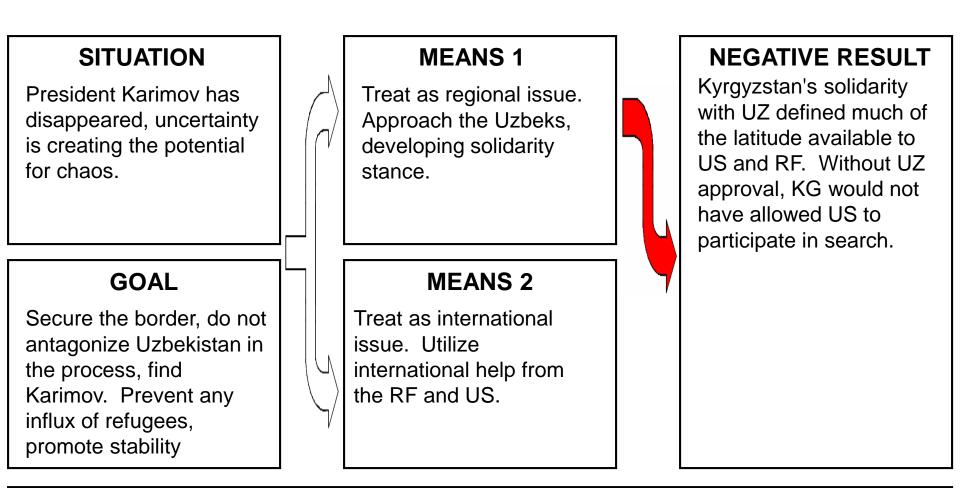
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Provide breathing space and Uzbekistan will appreciate it. Take opportunity to open channels of communication to all Uzbeks, not just government.

#### **Russia Move 1**



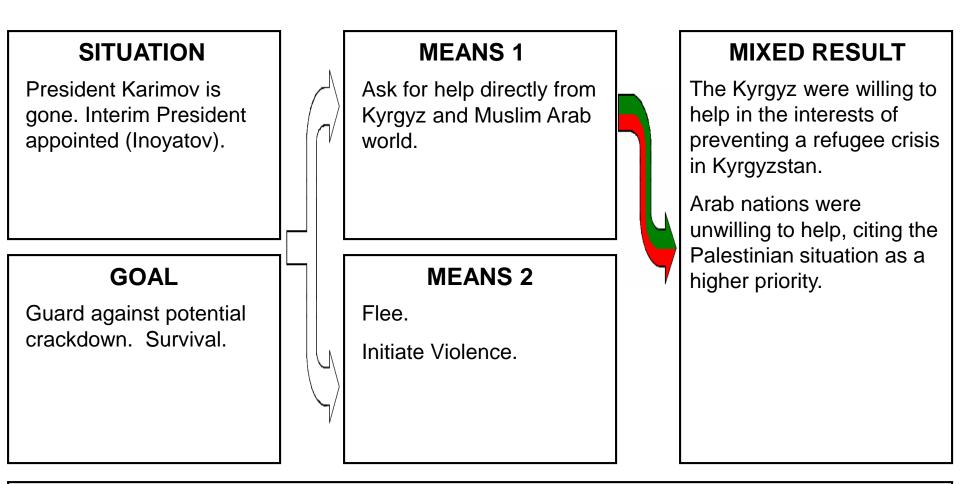
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Russia was very focused on their own goals and ends. It did not consider US, KG, or UZ strategies and needs until Move 2. Russia has a strong hand but can overplay it which may provide US with an opening.

# Kyrgyzstan Move 1



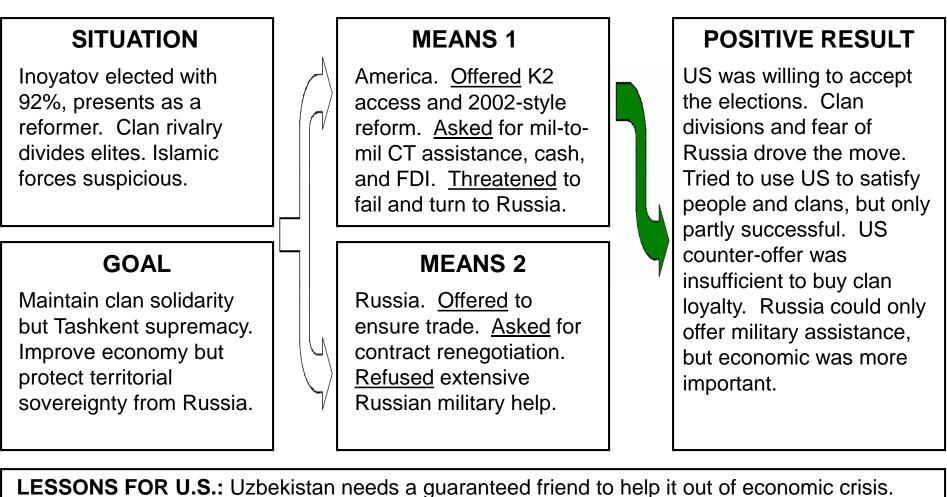
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Proximity matters. KG must worry about its immediate neighbor, and as such, regional relations will dictate international relations and diplomatic windows. In any case, US will be seen as a lesser threat to sovereignty than is Russia.

#### Islamist Move 1



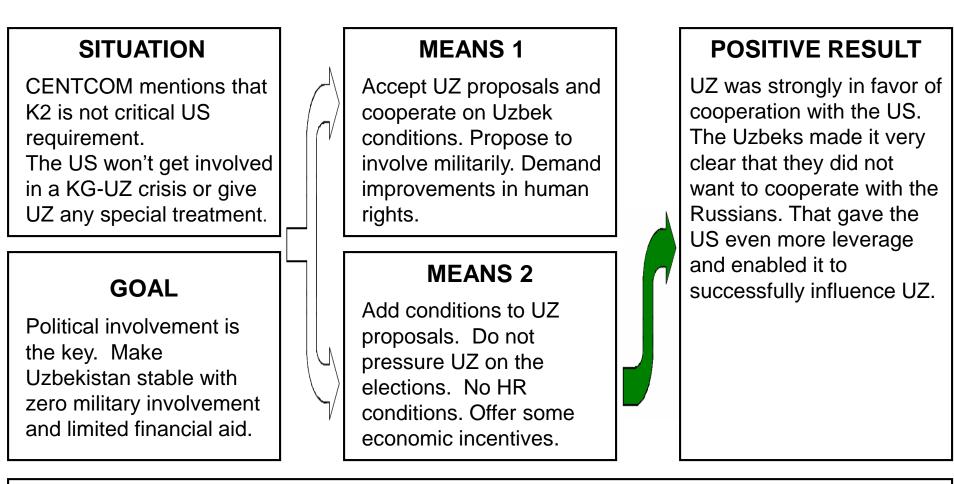
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Although the situation is bad now, Islamists see any change as a potential threat as well. Wait and see attitude.

### **Uzbekistan Move 2**



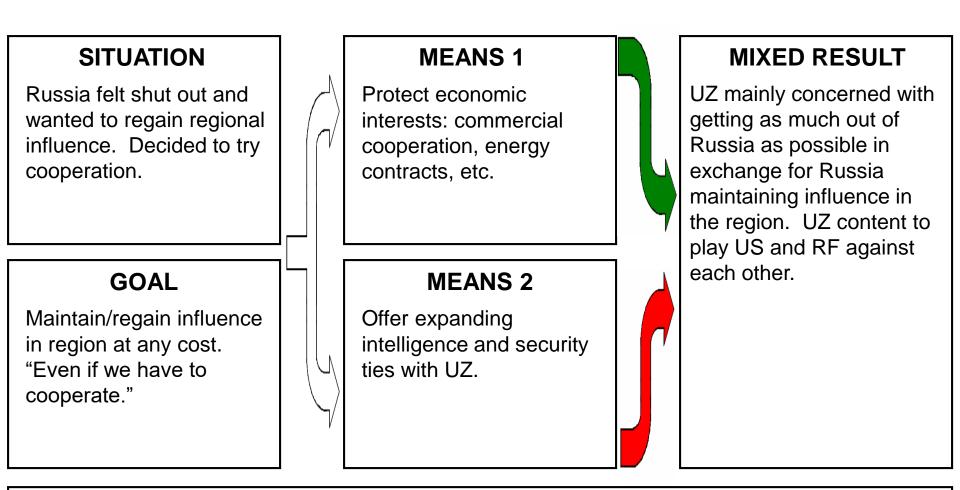
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Uzbekistan needs a guaranteed friend to help it out of economic crisis. Right of first refusal goes to US, but will turn to Russia if 1) US is too slow or 2) violence makes physical security more important than economics. Requests for US aid may be partly for the people and partly to keep the elites happy.

### US Move 2



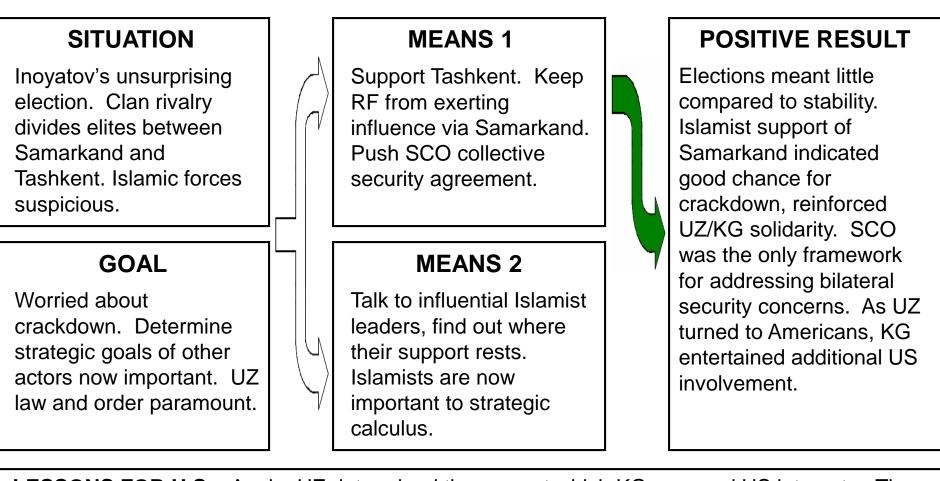
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** "UZ needs America more than America needs it." Russia will not want to cooperate with the US, but rather unilaterally try to put pressure upon Tashkent. "If Russia is not with us, then it's against us" – isolate Russia.

#### **Russia Move 2**



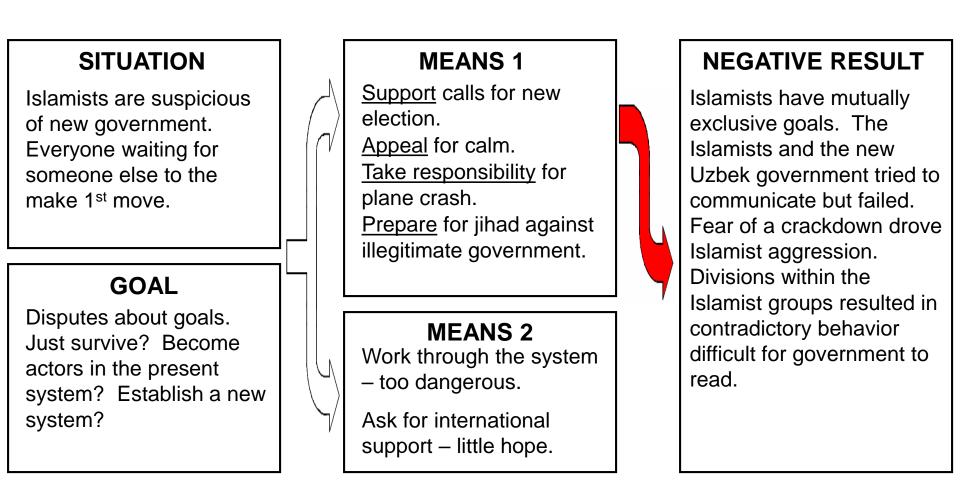
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** UZ has leverage and will use it. Do not worry about Russian security offers to Uzbekistan; read them as an Uzbek effort to assert leverage over America. UZ is going to get what it can from everyone but you still have more to offer.

# Kyrgyzstan Move 2



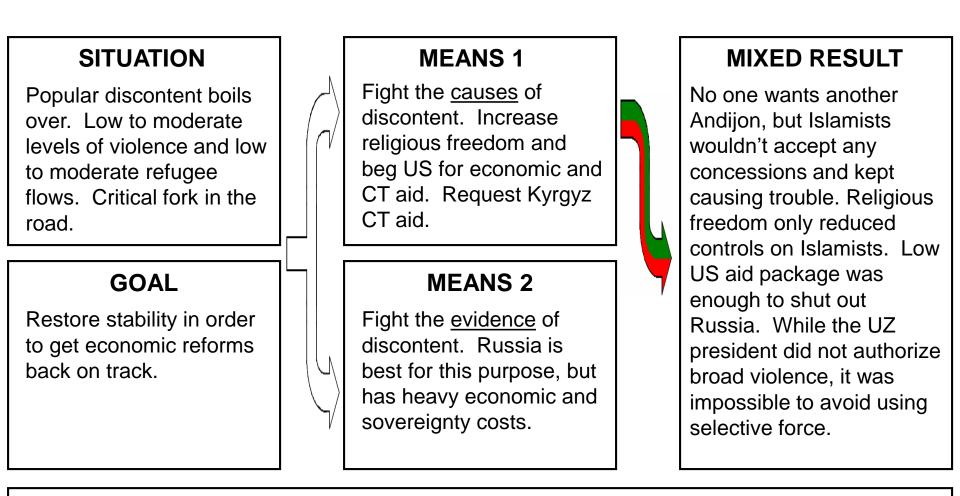
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Again, UZ determined the pace at which KG engaged US interests. The critical issues were border security training and aid.

### Islamist Move 2



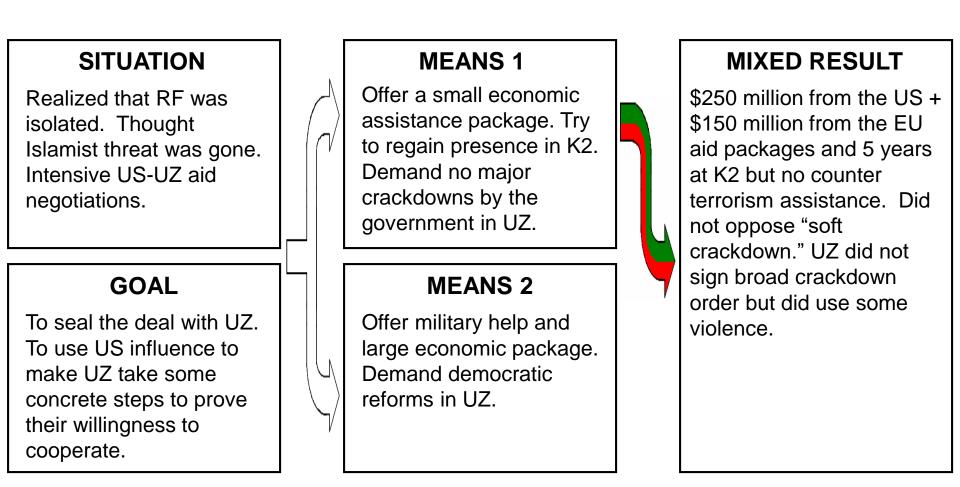
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Pressure deepened existing splits between Islamist interests. Different tactics become a disagreement on religious values. Contradictory behavior caused confusion among other actors and conflict between Islamist interests.

### **Uzbekistan Move 3**



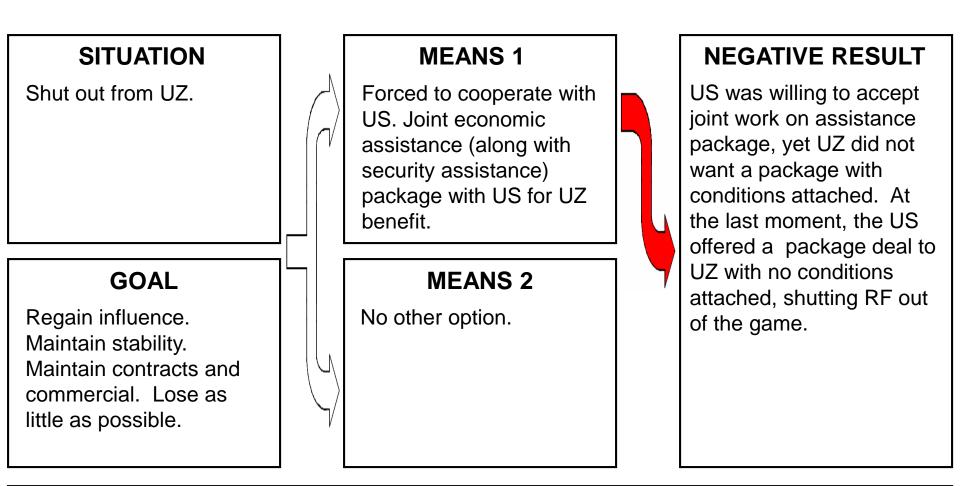
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** The Uzbek threat to become a failed state is not empty. They cannot wait out a period of instability – if they allow violence to go unanswered they fear turning into Iraq. Cash aid will go to corrupt activity, but it will also go to feed hungry people. America's greatest ally is Russia's bad reputation.

### US Move 3



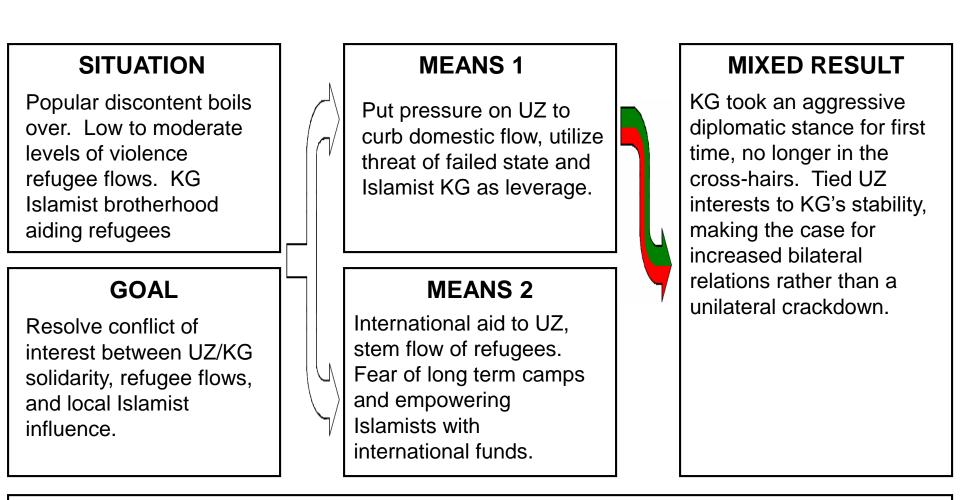
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** Modest aid package might be sufficient to bind UZ to the US. Need to consider UZ internal politics. The K2 issue is secondary for Uzbekistan to economic assistance. Financial aid might regain the US airbase.

#### **Russia Move 3**



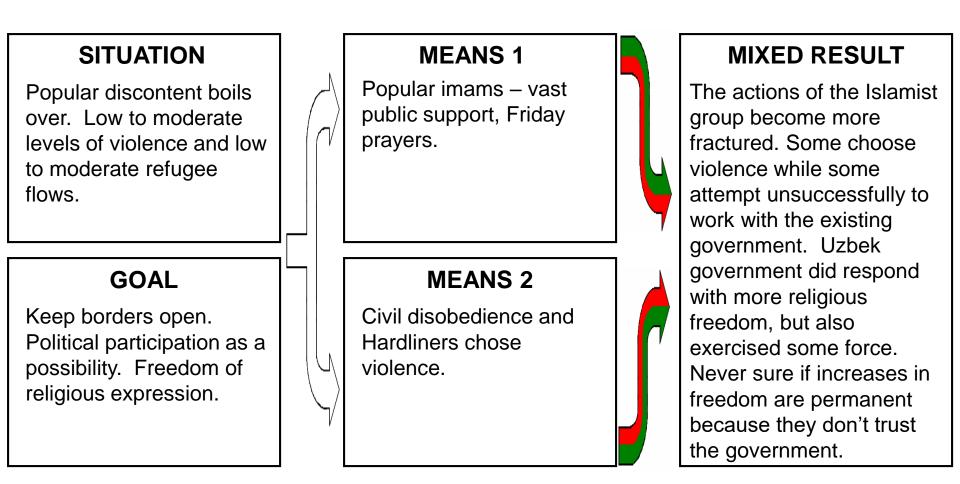
**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** If RF overplays its influence in UZ, it may shut itself out of negotiations. As a result, if RF wants to maintain a modicum of influence in UZ, it may view full cooperation with the US as an option.

# Kyrgyzstan Move 3



**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** "Do you want to be looking across the table at an Islamist or at me?"

### Islamist Move 3



**LESSONS FOR U.S.:** UZ actions, even those aimed at pacifying Islamists, are easily misread. The differing goals of Islamists and Muslims cause various interests to choose vastly different actions when under pressure. The UZ government may be able to co-opt a Muslim leader which may or may not increase stability, depending on his personal credibility.

## Conclusion

#### Summary of Rehearsal

- Variance from game play

#### AAR Comments

- Add additional Interagency play
- Specify the date on which Injects occur
- Two strategies for game time allocation
- Highlight legal limitations on US behavior
- Modeling Islamist player is difficult; the right human player is key