

# Capstone Briefing

## Bush School of Government and Public Service

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# Game Structure – 3 Moves

Teams – 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

## Move Two

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

## SITUATION

President Karimov is gone. Uzbek Search and Rescue options. Appoint an interim President who will stand for election in 90 days.

## GOAL

Domestic stability was the immediate and only concern. Without it, nothing else matters.

## MEANS 1

Appoint a police personality to control people and elites. Col Gen Inoyatov fit the bill.  
Appoint a "front man" subservient to police power.

## MEANS 2

Appoint a known reformer who is trusted and liked.

## MIXED RESULTS

It worked on the US, but not on Russia or domestically. Russia assumed that they would have too much influence with Inoyatov.

Domestically, he was too well-known and too widely distrusted. Islamist forces would not respond to his olive branch.

**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

## SITUATION

President Karimov is gone. The Uzbeks will appoint an interim President who will stand for election in 90 days.

## GOAL

Protect US citizens and maintain stability in Uzbekistan.

## MEANS 1

Give UZ leeway to act. Cooperate with UZ. Offer SAR. Be carefully neutral about Inoyatov's power succession. Send Secretary of State.

## MEANS 2

Put pressure on Uzbekistan. Call for democratic elections in the country. Cooperate with Russians.

## POSITIVE RESULT

The US had a very positive response from the Uzbeks as they were ready to cooperate. The US position of non-pressure gave it influence over Uzbekistan.

**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

## SITUATION

President Karimov is gone. The Uzbeks will appoint an interim President who will stand for election in 90 days.

## GOAL

Seek information to clarify situation and maintain military and political cooperation with UZ.

## MEANS 1

Steamroll UZ and KG. Assume regional superiority with no collaboration. Keep US informed but no consultation.

## MEANS 2

Collaborate and cooperate.

## NEGATIVE RESULT

UZ refused extensive military assistance and other offers of assistance. Focus on military and strategy turned UZ off.

**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

## SITUATION

President Karimov has disappeared, uncertainty is creating the potential for chaos.

## GOAL

Secure the border, do not antagonize Uzbekistan in the process, find Karimov. Prevent any influx of refugees, promote stability

## MEANS 1

Treat as regional issue. Approach the Uzbeks, developing solidarity stance.

## MEANS 2

Treat as international issue. Utilize international help from the RF and US.

## NEGATIVE RESULT

Kyrgyzstan's solidarity with UZ defined much of the latitude available to US and RF. Without UZ approval, KG would not have allowed US to participate in search.

**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

## SITUATION

President Karimov is gone. Interim President appointed (Inoyatov).

## GOAL

Guard against potential crackdown. Survival.

## MEANS 1

Ask for help directly from Kyrgyz and Muslim Arab world.

## MEANS 2

Flee.  
Initiate Violence.

## MIXED RESULT

The Kyrgyz were willing to help in the interests of preventing a refugee crisis in Kyrgyzstan.

Arab nations were unwilling to help, citing the Palestinian situation as a higher priority.

**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

## SITUATION

Inoyatov elected with 92%, presents as a reformer. Clan rivalry divides elites. Islamic forces suspicious.

## GOAL

Maintain clan solidarity but Tashkent supremacy. Improve economy but protect territorial sovereignty from Russia.

## MEANS 1

America. Offered K2 access and 2002-style reform. Asked for mil-to-mil CT assistance, cash, and FDI. Threatened to fail and turn to Russia.

## MEANS 2

Russia. Offered to ensure trade. Asked for contract renegotiation. Refused extensive Russian military help.

## POSITIVE RESULT

US was willing to accept the elections. Clan divisions and fear of Russia drove the move. Tried to use US to satisfy people and clans, but only partly successful. US counter-offer was insufficient to buy clan loyalty. Russia could only offer military assistance, but economic was more important.

**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

## SITUATION

CENTCOM mentions that K2 is not critical US requirement.  
The US won't get involved in a KG-UZ crisis or give UZ any special treatment.

## GOAL

Political involvement is the key. Make Uzbekistan stable with zero military involvement and limited financial aid.

## MEANS 1

Accept UZ proposals and cooperate on Uzbek conditions. Propose to involve militarily. Demand improvements in human rights.

## MEANS 2

Add conditions to UZ proposals. Do not pressure UZ on the elections. No HR conditions. Offer some economic incentives.

## POSITIVE RESULT

UZ was strongly in favor of cooperation with the US. The Uzbeks made it very clear that they did not want to cooperate with the Russians. That gave the US even more leverage and enabled it to successfully influence UZ.

**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

## SITUATION

Russia felt shut out and wanted to regain regional influence. Decided to try cooperation.

## GOAL

Maintain/regain influence in region at any cost. "Even if we have to cooperate."

## MEANS 1

Protect economic interests: commercial cooperation, energy contracts, etc.

## MEANS 2

Offer expanding intelligence and security ties with UZ.

## MIXED RESULT

UZ mainly concerned with getting as much out of Russia as possible in exchange for Russia maintaining influence in the region. UZ content to play US and RF against each other.

**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

## SITUATION

Inoyatov's unsurprising election. Clan rivalry divides elites between Samarkand and Tashkent. Islamic forces suspicious.

## GOAL

Worried about crackdown. Determine strategic goals of other actors now important. UZ law and order paramount.

## MEANS 1

Support Tashkent. Keep RF from exerting influence via Samarkand. Push SCO collective security agreement.

## MEANS 2

Talk to influential Islamist leaders, find out where their support rests. Islamists are now important to strategic calculus.

## POSITIVE RESULT

Elections meant little compared to stability. Islamist support of Samarkand indicated good chance for crackdown, reinforced UZ/KG solidarity. SCO was the only framework for addressing bilateral security concerns. As UZ turned to Americans, KG entertained additional US involvement.

**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

## SITUATION

Islamists are suspicious of new government. Everyone waiting for someone else to make the 1<sup>st</sup> move.

## GOAL

Disputes about goals. Just survive? Become actors in the present system? Establish a new system?

## MEANS 1

Support calls for new election.  
Appeal for calm.  
Take responsibility for plane crash.  
Prepare for jihad against illegitimate government.

## MEANS 2

Work through the system – too dangerous.  
Ask for international support – little hope.

## NEGATIVE RESULT

Islamists have mutually exclusive goals. The Islamists and the new Uzbek government tried to communicate but failed. Fear of a crackdown drove Islamist aggression. Divisions within the Islamist groups resulted in contradictory behavior difficult for government to read.

**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

## SITUATION

Popular discontent boils over. Low to moderate levels of violence and low to moderate refugee flows. Critical fork in the road.

## GOAL

Restore stability in order to get economic reforms back on track.

## MEANS 1

Fight the causes of discontent. Increase religious freedom and beg US for economic and CT aid. Request Kyrgyz CT aid.

## MEANS 2

Fight the evidence of discontent. Russia is best for this purpose, but has heavy economic and sovereignty costs.

## MIXED RESULT

No one wants another Andijon, but Islamists wouldn't accept any concessions and kept causing trouble. Religious freedom only reduced controls on Islamists. Low US aid package was enough to shut out Russia. While the UZ president did not authorize broad violence, it was impossible to avoid using selective force.

**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

## SITUATION

Realized that RF was isolated. Thought Islamist threat was gone. Intensive US-UZ aid negotiations.

## GOAL

To seal the deal with UZ. To use US influence to make UZ take some concrete steps to prove their willingness to cooperate.

## MEANS 1

Offer a small economic assistance package. Try to regain presence in K2. Demand no major crackdowns by the government in UZ.

## MEANS 2

Offer military help and large economic package. Demand democratic reforms in UZ.

## MIXED RESULT

\$250 million from the US + \$150 million from the EU aid packages and 5 years at K2 but no counter terrorism assistance. Did not oppose “soft crackdown.” UZ did not sign broad crackdown order but did use some violence.

**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

## SITUATION

Shut out from UZ.

## GOAL

Regain influence.  
Maintain stability.  
Maintain contracts and commercial. Lose as little as possible.

## MEANS 1

Forced to cooperate with US. Joint economic assistance (along with security assistance) package with US for UZ benefit.

## MEANS 2

No other option.

## NEGATIVE RESULT

US was willing to accept joint work on assistance package, yet UZ did not want a package with conditions attached. At the last moment, the US offered a package deal to UZ with no conditions attached, shutting RF out of the game.

**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

## SITUATION

Popular discontent boils over. Low to moderate levels of violence  
refugee flows. KG Islamist brotherhood aiding refugees

## GOAL

Resolve conflict of interest between UZ/KG solidarity, refugee flows, and local Islamist influence.

## MEANS 1

Put pressure on UZ to curb domestic flow, utilize threat of failed state and Islamist KG as leverage.

## MEANS 2

International aid to UZ, stem flow of refugees.  
Fear of long term camps and empowering Islamists with international funds.

## MIXED RESULT

KG took an aggressive diplomatic stance for first time, no longer in the cross-hairs. Tied UZ interests to KG's stability, making the case for increased bilateral relations rather than a unilateral crackdown.

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

# Islamist Move 3

## SITUATION

Popular discontent boils over. Low to moderate levels of violence and low to moderate refugee flows.

## GOAL

Keep borders open. Political participation as a possibility. Freedom of religious expression.

## MEANS 1

Popular imams – vast public support, Friday prayers.

## MEANS 2

Civil disobedience and Hardliners chose violence.

## MIXED RESULT

The actions of the Islamist group become more fractured. Some choose violence while some attempt unsuccessfully to work with the existing government. Uzbek government did respond with more religious freedom, but also exercised some force. Never sure if increases in freedom are permanent because they don't trust the government.

**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