

**FOREIGN POLICY OF KYRGYZSTAN, 1991-2005**

*Dissertation submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University*

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**MASTER OF PHILOSOPHY**

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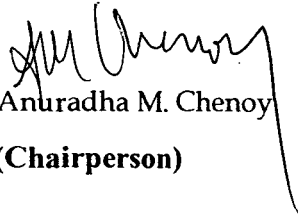
## DECLARATION


I declare that the dissertation entitled “**FOREIGN POLICY OF KYRGYZSTAN, 1991-2005**” submitted by me in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the award of the Degree of **Master of Philosophy** has not been previously submitted for the award of any degree of this university or any other university and this is my own work.

*Shiv Bhawan*  
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## CERTIFICATE

We recommend that this dissertation may be placed before the examiners for the evaluation.

  
Prof. Anuradha M. Chenoy  
(Chairperson)

  
Dr. Phool Badan  
(Supervisor)

*Dedicated*

*To*

*My Deceased Brother-Chandra Bhawan*

## CONTENT

<u>Content</u>	<u>Page No.</u>
ABBREVIATIONS	i
TABLES	ii
PREFACE	iii-vi
CHAPTER- I: Introduction: Theories of foreign Policy/International relations	1 - 21
CHAPTER- II: Foreign Policy of Kyrgyzstan: Determinants and Phases	22 - 49
CHAPTER- III: Kyrgyzstan's Relation with External and Regional Powers	50 - 85
CHAPTER- IV: Challenges to Foreign Policy of Kyrgyzstan	86 - 108
CHAPTER- V: Conclusion	109 - 115
BIBLIOGRAPHY	116 - 124

## ABBREVIATIONS

USSR	: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
CAEU	: Central Asian Economic Unit
CAR	: Central Asian Republics
CP	: Communist Party
CIS	: Commonwealth of Independent States
CST	: Collective Security Treaty
CSTO	: Collective Security Treaty Organization
CMEA	: Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CAREC	: Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation
DMK	: Democratic Movement of Kyrgyzstan
ECO	: Economic Co-operation Organization
EU	: European Union
GDP	: Gross Domestic Product
EEC	: Eurasian Economic Community
DCA	: Drug Control Agency
FDI	: Foreign Direct Investments
OSCE	: Organization for Security and Co-operation of Europe
IMF	: International Monetary Found
IOM	: International Organization for Migration
IMU	: Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
IRP	: Islamist Republic Party
MFA	: Ministry of Foreign Affairs
NATO	: North Atlantic Treaty Organization
PFE	: Partnership for Peace
PCA	: Partnership and Cooperation Agreement
OIC	: Organization of Islamic Conference
OPEC	: Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries
WTO	: World Trade Organization
GCC	: Gulf Cooperation Council

## TABLES

<u>Tables</u>		<u>Page No.</u>
<b>TABLE: II (A):</b>	Population by Ethnic Groups (1999 Census)	29
<b>TABLE: III (A):</b>	Kyrgyzstan-India Trade figure 2000-2005	68
<b>TABLE: IV (A):</b>	Foreign direct investments into Kyrgyzstan (Millions of US dollars)	92

## PREFACE

In the modern time, no state can avoid of its involvement in international sphere as it is more interdependent and interlinked. But this involvement must be systematic and based on some well defined principles. The principles and purpose of a state is reflected in its foreign policy. According to one source, 'The foreign policy of a country is an instrument of self-preservation and self-extension in a world when a country always seems to be fighting for dominance, resources and interests. Each state makes policies and decides upon actions according to its own internal processes, but its decision is shaped by the very presence of other states as well as by interaction with them.'

So for as the twentieth century is concerned, it is the most turbulent century witnessed two World Wars. Its dusk saw the end of Cold War, which led to the demise of the Soviet Union and resulted in the formation of commonwealth of independent states. After the disintegration of the erstwhile USSR, the manifestation of globalization and the democratic values in the international system appears in the scenario of world map. The world became unipolar and gave birth to the new world order to deal with the emergent states of Central Asia which is strategically important area.

The Soviet Union ceased to exist in December 1991. Soon after the dissolution of the former USSR, Kyrgyzstan emerged as an independent sovereign republic on the map of the world and became the independent member of the international system. At that time the young independent state had more concerned to form and carry forward its foreign policy, national security, and much more to be recognized in international political system of the world. After independence Kyrgyzstan government has formulated its foreign policy according to its need, whose main aim is to achieve national interest. Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy has many determinants, and it has been classified into internal and external determinants. While internal factors include geography, natural resources, government, politics and leadership, socio-cultural and historical tradition, economy, industry and military establishment, the external factors include regional and global powers, organization and other countries similarities and dissimilarities, world system etc.

The newly independent state, Kyrgyzstan is institutionally weak and surrounded by great regional powers. Foreign policies of the republic generally aim to maintain balance among great powers such as United States, Russia and China and to ensure security in the country. Russian and Chinese influence is strong and supportive of the latter, but the quest for balance spurs the development of ties to the United States, and other powers. Pressure for democratization accompanies these relations with the West, which need to be treated with care by United States policy makers.

By looking at all the aspects, the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan can be divided into three important phases which is based on the orientations and major shift in the foreign policy of the republic. These three important phases of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy are given below-

**The first phase** of Kyrgyz foreign policy covers the period from- 1991 to 2001, represented a period of institutional formation, maintains foreign relation with the major countries of the world and joining many international and regional organizations as well as specific declarations, such as the declaration of the sovereignty, the 1993 Constitution, the 1997 Presidential Decree confirming the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the foreign policy making process of the republic and the 1999 "Doctrine of the Silk Road Diplomacy." Through the Doctrine of the Silk Road Diplomacy, Kyrgyzstan wants to improve its economic condition and foreign relations with neighboring countries and other countries of the world.

**The second phase** of Kyrgyzstan foreign policy begins after 9/11 terrorist attack on New York and Washington in 2001. As a result of the shift in the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan in the post-9/11 period the establishment of US military airbase took place in Central Asia in general and Kyrgyzstan in particular. The Akaev regime saw fresh geopolitical situation in the reengagement of the US in Central Asia following the terrorist attacks in the US of 9/11. For the first time, the US looked the region not just a hydrocarbon repository or potential democracy experiment, but also as geo-strategically vital alternate base to the Persian Gulf and to control terrorist activities in Afghanistan.



**The third phase** starts after the Tulip Revolution of March 2005, and it has been reshaping the Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy. One feature that is true for the Tulip Revolution is the shift in leadership and also foreign policy concerns, it also gave Russia a chance to play a mediating role in foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan. In the aftermath of the Tulip Revolution, President Kurbanbek Bakiev has been searching for a way to consolidate the ruling elite and multidimensional and quite open foreign policy, economic integration and social networks in Kyrgyzstan and closer cooperation with Russia and Kazakhstan.

Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy has been facing several challenges and problems, and a number of unresolved problems producing a negative effect on the foreign policy in which the problem of resources securing is the most important. The problem comprises several interconnected factors, among them intellectual, financial, material, technical professional and human resources. Apart from it, other challenges and problems including border issues, water distribution problem, religious radicalism, small arms smuggling, narcotics and drug trafficking, child and woman, migration and confrontation among the great powers, etc. These problems need the special attention because these are the major hurdles in the strengthening of bilateral and multilateral relation of Kyrgyzstan with the countries of the world.

The study consists of five chapters including conclusion. The first chapter deals with the different approaches and basic determinants of foreign policy in theoretical prospective. Apart from this the chapter also highlights the evolution of foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan in historical context. The second chapter focuses on the basic determinants of the foreign policy of republic which influence the process of formulation of foreign policy of the country. It also highlights the formulation and shift in the foreign policy of the republic in the different phases. The third chapter analyzes the Kyrgyzstan's relations with the external powers of the world in the post-soviet period. The fourth chapter discusses the challenges which Kyrgyzstan has faced in the process of formulation of the foreign policy of the republic. Finally, conclusion is the findings of the study and the broad conclusions of the present study undertaken would be presented. The gaps in the present knowledge and futuristic approaches will be highlighted.

Every research needs help and support not only from various institutions but also from people who support as a supervisor and contribute directly or indirectly to bring a concrete research based on new findings and interpretations. Successfully I got positive response and all type of support and cooperation from various institutions and people.

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*ShivBhawan*  
**Shiv Bhawan**

## CHAPTER-I

### **INTRODUCTION: THEORIES OF FOREIGN POLICY/INTERNATIONAL RELATIONS**

It is a well known fact that the international system is complex, dynamic, interlinked as well as interdependent in the present age. Every nation should have a policy of its own towards other nations. It is an official policy or programme that is technically called "foreign policy" in international relations. Even large or small, powerful or weak states cannot sustain to live in isolation. Thus, foreign policy is the important key instrument of interaction with other nation-states. In the course of regular interaction, nations have changing nature and are influenced by each other in term of foreign policy. Every state initiate a lot of policies in order to maintains an environment in which they are promoting and protecting their national interests so that, foreign policy becomes a decisive instrument to legitimize and rationalize the interests or objectives of nation-states in the international milieu. It has become now days a socio-economic and political project and compulsion of the nation-states in international politics. Every state, keeping in view its national interests, tries to take maximum advantage of the actions of other states. Thus, the primary purpose of foreign policy is to seek adjustments in the behavior of other states in favour of oneself. The most important task of foreign policy must be to throw light on the ways in which states attempt to change, and succeed in changing, the behavior of other states.

So for the various scholars on foreign policy are concerned, they define foreign policy according to their understanding and compatibility.

**J.N. Rosenau** analyzes and identifies the factors which influence the foreign policy and hold that, "every aspect of a society, including its tradition, institutions, and capabilities becomes relevant when one sets out to explain nation's orientation and actions towards the world beyond its borders."

**George Modelski** (1962:6-7), define the foreign policy as "the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other state and adjusting their own activities to the international environment."

According to **Peter Calvert** (1986:1), the base of any foreign policy is a state mission to maximize its value synthesis once it make a place in the international scene and

generally interact with other states, each struggling for accomplishment of its own values derived goals.

**Huge Gibson** (1949:9) has defined foreign policy as “a well rounded, comprehensive plan, based on knowledge and experience, for conducting the business of government with the rest of the world. It is aimed at promoting and protecting the interests of the nation.”

Modelski has defined that foreign policy implies “changing the behavior of other states.” It means a desirable change in the behavior of other states is the end of foreign policy. Thus, the emphasis in every definition is on behavior of states to regulate their own actions and, if possible, change or regulate the behavior of other states, with the view of serving their national interests. Hans Morgenthau, the great realist scholar, who has been described as the twentieth century descendant of Kautilya, all politics is struggle for power and, “as long as the world is politically organized into nations, the national interest is indeed the last word in world politics.

It has been understood that the foreign policy is more important than other policy areas because of the close association with relation to the national interests, rather than special interests and elementary values. The second important aspect of foreign policy is the making process since it evokes a different political response which accepted political institutions function differently when once confront to foreign policy issues in addition to different institutions involved in the same governmental agencies are concerned exclusively with foreign policy (Sills1968:530).

### **Theories or approaches of foreign policy**

It is premised that any country’s foreign policy is a complex subject that can only be understood through analysis of the political, economic, psychological and other factors that are work at the domestic level and in the patterns of international relation. In international relations, numerous realities are taken place in different perspectives. On the empirical observation, largely differences can be seen. In the part of theory, it must be able to explain the relationships behaviors and outcomes pertaining to any social phenomenon. Such explanation does not exist in nature and rather depends upon the reasoning faculty of an individual. Therefore, these may vary from person to person. In international relations, the actors are mainly the nation-states and because of it the driving force for foreign policy is the national interest. It has three important components like; security, stability and status. Here security is the

prime importance in the unequal (anarchic for realists) international system. Stability is another most important concern for a weak country as well as hegemonic view is concerned. It is also true that an effective diplomacy is indispensable for a country to maintain its status; both for domestic and external settings.

Popper (1950: 44-53) in his consummation of explanation says that “the main function of theory is that, where there is no clear agreement on the question as to what should be explained and what can be explained and this is what the problem to theory of international politics. When the approach is used in the study of foreign policy, same theory emerges as an explanation to the foreign policy as it is formulated and implemented in each country. A theory emerging in such a condition could be called as a long theory of foreign policy and international politics as the interaction of foreign policies. This also regard as the theory of foreign policy as a theory of international politics”.

“The terms approach, method and technique are frequently treated as an approach, in fact, consists of criteria employed in selection to the problems or questions and the data for investigation. Method is an epistemological assumption on which search for knowledge is based, whereas the technique denotes operations and activities involved in the collection and interpretation of data. Some would strongly prefer to call the set of such operations and activities as an important tool in which the character of an approach determines the character of generalization, explanation, predication and prescription among the main function of theory. An approach is transformed into theory when its function extends beyond the selection of problems and data; about the subject under study and closely related to the word theory itself and is full of ambiguity.” (Thomas P. Jenkin 1955:7)

### **Idealist Approach**

So far as the idealist approach is concerned it basically regarded as the part of power politics and seen as only an abnormal or passing phase of history. Idealism on the other hand is based on the general idea of evolutionary progress in society. These ideas emerged in the eighteenth century and acknowledge as the major source of inspiration behind the American and French revolution. Condorcet wrote a treatise, which contained everything considered as the essential basis of idealism in international relations. He further envisaged a world order characterized by the absence of war inequality, and tyranny as well as marked by constant progress in

human welfare which brought about by the use of reason, education, and science respectively. Idealism presents an overall picture of the entire future international society based on the notion of reformed international system mainly free from power politics, immorality and violence. The idealist approach to international relations has always involved helping on the areas of education and international organization. The idealists mainly argue that political struggles in the past have not for power or influence, but between incompatible principles and ideals. Utopian in this regards offers three main ways out of the problems of survival in the world of archaic power politics.

- I. One is that moral nations should try to follow moral principles in their international behavior, abstain from all forms of traditional power politics and adopt politics of non partisanship.
  - a. The second way is that effort should be made to see that the totalitarian forces cease to exist because, as the Utopians world like us to believe the struggles so far have been between democratic and totalitarian states.
  - b. The third way is to abolish power politics trough instituting a world government. This in the ultimate analysis the Utopian approach is tied up with the ideal of “world federalism” or “one world”.
- II. The intellectual foundations of international idealism can be traced from the nineteenth century Benthamite rationalism which was based upon the idea of the supremacy of reason. Understanding of international society could be acquired through right reason, that the public opinion was prepared for being molded in accordance with the demand of reason, and that the international society could also be improved once the voice of reason is known. The reverberation of this agreement was heard in the exhortations of those who propounded the doctrine of harmony of interests. “In the contemporary period of international politics, idealism was given renewed emphasis after the First World War under the leadership of Woodrow Wilson.” (Arnold Wolfer 1951:40)

### **Realist and New Realist theory**

The ideas of realism suppose that conflict is unavoidable among states because of the anarchical state of the International world. Whether through a theory of empirical data found in history, realism says that the world and the people in it are not always good. If each nation is concerned about its own interests first, realists conclude that conflict can and will be used to satisfy those interests. If balance of power is the tool to ensure peace, then realists speculate that without a perfect balance of power, conflict will result. This concept of inevitable conflict drives many away from political realism as a suitable theory for international relations. Realism in international politics does not mean either the platonic doctrine which attributes reality to the abstract ideas or the political doctrine of expediency in which Machiavelli is often associated with the philosophic doctrine of empiricism propounded by John Locke. Power optimization is essential to the theory of realism. It is the mode of realism by which international relations should be managed. This idea of power politics leads a nation to focus primarily upon its own interests. Thus, national interest takes precedence over interdependence among nations. As a result of this, morality is either set aside as a hindrance to obtaining power or used as a guide to obtain the national interest. As Burchill states in the second edition of *Theories of International Relations*, "There is no room for moral or ethical concerns, prejudice, political philosophy or individual preference in the determination of foreign policy because actions are constrained by the relative power of the state. Thus, the national interest ought to be the sole pursuit of statesmen" (Scott Burchill, 2001:79). This struggle for power and pursuit of the national interest is brought to equilibrium through a balance of power among nations.

In E.H. Carr's, *The Twenty Years' Crisis*, utopianism and liberalism are attacked and Realism is praised. He argued that the principles of the utopian society were an illusion. "...Peace, harmony of interests, collective security, and free trade were not principles at all, but the unconscious reflections of national policy based on a particular interpretation of national interest at a particular time" (Scott Burchill, 2001: 73). So, while liberals thought their goal was to ensure peace for the sake of peace, realism says that the goal was instead to continue to have the predominance of power through some type of freeze of international relations. Carr would argue that harmony of interests only occurs during transition periods and collective security is power in the hands of victorious states. His ultimate conclusion, however, is that as much as

realism battles with liberalism, a “blending” of both forms of thought will limit the “bareness of realism” and the naivety of liberalism” (ibid, pp:76)

Therefore, the prime objective of the foreign policy is to check the contest for power by diplomacy and statesmanship. On the other hand realism accepts for its guide, permanence and struggle for power. Thus, it is indifferent to the question of the relationship between means and ends in international politics. George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau are among the leading contemporary realists believe that the conviction on national interest is more reliable guide to intelligent policy. Thus on the question of relationship between the national interest and morality, Kennan project the idea of what Robert Good calls “moral relativism.” Morgenthau in his books, “Politics among Nations” highlights the content of national interest was determine by political tradition and total cultural context within which a nation formulates its foreign policy. (Hans J. Morgenthau, 1966:36-52)

The essence of Morgenthau’s theory is contained in the six principles of political realism are –

1. Political Realism believes that politics like society in general is governed by objectives of laws that have their root in human nature.
2. The main sign post that helps. Political realism to find its way through the land scope of international politics is the concept of interest defined as power.
3. Realism assumes that its key concept of interest defined as power is an objective category which is universally volt but
4. Political realism, though not indifferent to morality, implies that universal moral principles cannot be applied to the action of state their abstract formulations, but those they must be modified in accordance with the requirements of concrete circumstances of time and place.
5. Political Realism Refuses to accept any identification between the moral aspirations of particular nation and moral law which govern the universe, political Realism maintained the autonomy of political spheres.

This pessimistic view of how the world works can be derived from realisms five assumptions about the inter–state relations;

1. The first is that the international system is anarchic. Sovereignty in states, there is no higher ruling body in the international system. There is no “government over government”.



2. The second assumption is that states military power is usually identified with the particular weaponry at its disposal although even if there were no weapons, the individuals of states could still use their feet and hands do attack the population of another state.
3. State can have be certain about the intentions of other states, specifically, no state coon be certain another state will not use its offensive military capability against the first.
4. The most basic motive driving state is survival states want to maintain their sovereignty.
5. States think strategically about how to survive in the international system. States are instrumentally rational. One of three assumption alone mandates that states will behave competitive the fundamental assumption dealing with motives say that states merely to survive, which is a defensive goal.
6. Whatever the statesman knows about the world of reality with which he has to deal is only a partial awareness of reality. Eroticism of historicism as being a deterministic theory about the nature and future of world also applies to the realist theory of international politics in general and to Morgenthau theory in particular (Waltz, 1979:88-93).

Neorealist or structural realists emphasize human nature, as the starting point for their explanation of world politics. Because of the anarchy, states it compelled to be constantly vigilant, watching out for impositions on their autonomy. The best way to protect a state's autonomy and thus, ensure its survival is to amass power resources that can be used to deter or defend against other states. All states as a whole are similarly motivated and thus can be expected to do what is necessary to survive sometimes resorting to the use of armed violence against others to capture additional power resources that can be harnessed for the protection of the state. The approach he took in *Theory of International Politics* became known as Neorealism. While classical Realists saw international politics in terms of the characteristics of states and their interaction with each other, Waltz believed that there was a level above this. According to Waltz, "The idea that international politics can be thought of as a system with a precisely defined structure is Neorealist's fundamental departure from traditional realism." The conditions of the system as a whole influenced state-behavior, not just state level factors. By concentrating on the nature of the system-level structure, Waltz avoided the need to make assumptions about human nature

morality, power and interest. Neorealists were thus able to see power in a different way. For the classical Realists power is both a means and an end, and rational state behavior was simply accumulating the most power. Neorealists are of the opinion that the ultimate goal/interest of the state is security, and gathering power, in some cases, it merely provoked an arms race. Yet while power was no longer the prime motivator, its distribution was the major factor determining the nature of the structure.

### **System Theory**

System Theory is a result of behavioral revolution in social science. The system approach is based on the belief that it is possible to find out certain regular modes of behavior within the structure of political organism. Each small system can affect the working of a system larger than itself. For example, the foreign policy of Russia affects the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan and is in turn also affected by the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan. This mutual relationship between the systems is called feedback which may be both negative and positive. International system means such an agreement of international actors in which interaction are identifiable. (Goodman, 1966:257-268)

According to Rosenau (1961:77), a system is considered to exist in an environment and to be composed of parts which, through interaction, are in relation to each other”

Kaplan (1957) believes that a System is most inclusive if it has such recognizable necessarily opposed to each other. Kaplan holds that physical force is necessary, as last resort to keep the political system intact. He does not regard international system as political system because the role of decision makers in the field of international affairs is always governed by the basic consideration of national interest. He divides the set of international actors into two categories; national actors and supranational actors. The international system of international actors serves as a parameter in the international system can also be treated as a parameter for the national system of action.

There are six models of major international system:

- I. Balance of power system.
- II. The loose system bipolar system.
- III. The Tight bipolar system
- IV. The universal actor system.
- V. The hierarchical international system.

## VI. The unit of veto system.

The balance of power system was popular in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries which is seen as an absolute system and appeared as a rule of universal applicability. The conditions which make the balance of power system unstable are mainly existence of the essential national actor who does not play according to the rules of the game. The existence of the national actor essentially oriented toward the establishment of supranational organization, and failure in the decision-making system of national actors. When essential actor aspires to some form of supranational hegemony then the balance of power system tends to change. Because of the supra nationality would be inconsistent with the exclusive values of nationalism and such, national actors do not exploit their opportunities to the fullest possible extent. For example Germany imposed heavy penalties on France after the France-Prussian war of 1870, but did not incorporate France as a part of Germany.

So far Kaplan is concerned; he is of the opinion that the most likely transformation of the balance of power system is into a bipolar system which conceives of two type of bipolar system. In loose bipolar System, two super powers are surrounded by a group of smaller powers and non-aligned state in which the existence of non-aligned states makes the power of the two manger actors loose. The Tight bipolar system is one in which non-aligned states will have disappeared and the system will operate around the two super powers. But its stability will be granted only when both bloc actors are hierarchically organized; otherwise the system will again tend to develop in to a loose bipolar system.

The universal international system; could develop the extension of the functions of essential actors in a loose bipolar system. In this system the universal actor like United States (US) is enough powerful to prevent war among national actors but on the other hand national actors retain their individuality and get more and more power. It will possess integrated meanings and would be an integrated system. A national actor mainly tries to achieve their objectives only witching the framework of the universal actors. In this system national actors would attempt to increase their rewards and resource and widen the productive base of the national system. The fifth model of Kaplan is the hierarchical international system in which a universal actor absorbs the whole world and only one nation is left. This hierarchical international System can be either directive or non directive. It will be directive if it is formed as a consequence of world conquest by a national actor system like Nazi system and it will

be non-directive if it is based upon political rules which generally operative in democracies.

Lastly, the international is the unit veto system in which the existence of weapons and of such a nature that any national actor can destroy any other before being destroyed itself. The essence of this system would be that each state becomes equally able to destroy the others. The condition in which such a system is possible is the possession by all actors of the weapons of such a nature in the view that any actor is able to destroy any other actor, even though at the risk of their own destruction.

It is an undeniable fact of international life of today, that the development of interest in the study of international politics through the system approach is a reflection of changing character of national sovereignty and of the growing awareness that nations today can no longer behave as individual nations in an absolute arena. However, concept of international system raises certain strong methodological problems like whether all Nations of the world should be regarded as constituting single international system or they should better be treated as participating units in various systems simultaneously. And another problem is identification of the units or actor of international system (Cohen and Hilsman 1959:361-82).

### **Game theory**

Game theory offers ways to compactly describe situations with strategic interaction. The resulting games are often fascinating, highlighting key aspects of interesting situations. Economists, psychologist, sociologists, and neuroscientists increasingly use such games to learn about human nature through experiments. This helps evaluate theories of, for example bounded rationality, various emotions, or brain activity, or may inspire new theories. Such insights square well with game theory as the framework is flexible enough to allow many ways to model various psychological considerations. In International Politics the Game theory approach represents an attempt at applying the art of model building to international Politics. The Theory of game has been developed mainly mathematicians and economists over a period of time. Shubik, Margen to recognize the importance of the game theory in international Politics. The purpose of the game theory was to formulate principles which could analyze social situations and identify the basis and the general characteristics of that behavior of actors. Rational behavior implies that each actor in international politics which has certain well-defined set of values and objectives and would decide his or

her policy accordingly without any mistake. Thus, the game theory is a method of analysis and also guide to selecting the best course of action or *payoff*. In the framework of the game theory, three principals have been identified. The first is called games with identical interest (positive sum game); the second is called games with opposite interests (zero-sum games), and the third is called game with mixed interest (Zero-sum-sum games). Games with identical interests are those which are played by rational players on the basis of full co-operation. The game of opposite interests is those which are played in a situation where no co-operation is mixed. The game theory has five important concepts like Strategy, opponent, pay off, Rules and information,

The two most important kinds of game that have been suggested are “Chicken” and the “Prisoners dilemma”. In both the cases, it is presumed that there are two players who have available to them two different types of actions; both leading to unwelcome result and are not able to decide which are would yield less and undesirable consequences.

The major weakness of the game theory is that it can be applied with some success only to cases of two people, zero sum games. But in international politics there are few such situations. Most often we have mixed games in international politics. Thomas Schelling has questioned the validity of the game theory in its zero-sum form. According to Schilling, the essence of international politics lies in the presence of conflict and mutual dependence which demands some kind of co-operation or accommodation between the contending parties. (Thomas Schelling, 1968:263-264)

### **Marxist Approach**

Marxism a theory of International Relations has to deal with social forces (including class relations), states and world order if it is to understand the nature of global hegemony and identify ‘counter-hegemonic’ movements which are working to promote realizable visions of a better form of world order. In this approach, the question of what is most important in world politics is not answered by providing a list of the most powerful actors and relationships with other countries. Marxism has broad grip on the most fundamental realities of international politics. In the International Relation the Marxist approach is analyzed and determined by the manner in which states are internally organized. In word of Marx and Angeles “the

relation of deferent nations among themselves depend upon the extent to which has developed its productive force, the division of labor and internal intercourse” (B. S. Chimani, 2004:123) The foreign policy of states is integrally linked to its domestic policy and is articulated and executed in the matrix of a specific socio-economic formation based on a definite and dominant mode of production (Gramsci, 1971:182). International relation intertwines with international relation of the nation states, creating new, unique and historically concrete combination.

The Marxist view was established before the founding of the Soviet Union as a critique and response to capitalism in which the foundation view was about the economic organization of a society which determines the political and social system. A society founded on capitalism, with its free market and private ownership of wealth and property, is a society divided into economic/social classes. Essentially, there are two classes’ owners and workers. The societal norms and political system built on a capitalist-based economy are designed to maintain the continued profit taking of the owner class. Politics will be dominated by elite interests, and the institutions of government will be designed and directed to keeping the workers in an exploited, dependent position in order to preserve and increase the wealth of the owners. International system based on capitalism is also a system divided into the owners, or the “haves,” and the workers, or the “have-nots.” The institutions of the rich states such as their militaries are used to maintain the world capitalist system, which serves elite interests. International institutions, similarly, are used to maintain the system in favor of the wealthy class/states. Marxists look at foreign policy from the system and state levels. At the system level, the asymmetrical relations between states are important. At the state level, Marxists study the common interests of economic elites in one state with the elites in another. Or they study how military capitalist industrial interests push a state into war. Group politics is important to Marxists, so we can find such explanations of foreign policy posed at the state and system levels (B.S. Chimani, 2004:123). The foreign policy of states is integrally linked to its domestic’s policy and is articulated and executed in the environment of a specific socio-economic formation based on a definite and dominant mode of production.

### **Bargaining theory**

Thomas Schelling, Joseph Nye, Fredrick, Ernst Haas did systematic work on bargaining theory. Bargaining theory is extension of the orthodox game theory. It

methodology is same as game theory. But it seeks its application mainly in the field of international negotiations. In view of the fact that international negotiations have come to assume great importance in order to ensure a successful means of the peaceful resolution of international conflicts. The greatest interest in the bargaining theory has been shown by the economist in the context of bilateral monopoly.

The concept of zero-sum game is valid only in the case of the game of war. But the study of international Politics, war is not the only phenomenon to be studied. A situation other than war, there are elements of co-operation and accommodation also. These situation are mostly “bargaining situations”. In which conflict and co-operation both are found (Thomas C. Schelling in S. Verba, eds, 1961:50)

There have been some approaches adopted in developing theories of negotiations. First one is the orthodox approach which requires that the preference schedules. This kind of bargaining theory presupposes that it is never rational during a negotiation to change one’s own preference respect of the substance under negotiation. But some writers have suggested that in negotiation there is always band to be a possibility of such a change (Arthur Burns, in K Kneon and Sidney 1969:41). The abortive negotiations on disarmament in 1960 have been studied on the basis of this model. The manipulative bargaining aspect of strategic bargaining is relevant particularly to coercive objective in shaping due decision making process of others. The bargaining theory can be applied in the study of some of those processes generated by the interaction of nations. The decision making theory is helpful in an analysis of foreign policy of an individual country, whereas game theory and bargaining theory can be helpful in an analysis of the interaction of foreign policies of two or more countries.

### **Decision-making theory**

The view that foreign policy consists of the making of decision is well on the way to becoming part of conventional wisdom. The concept of “decision” in the analysis of foreign policy is tool of thought is based on the insight that a chosen course of action is only one of several alternatives and that the choice should be guided by ends and means. Decision-making need not be a description of actual decisions, but it does suggest how decisions should, ideally, be arrived at. It promotes rationality in course of action of foreign-policy formation (Modelski 1962:11-12). In 1738, Bernoulli produced formulations of the decision-making theory. In the

twentieth century, the inspiration for this theory came from the formulations of the theories of games developed by John Neumann and Oskar Morgenstern. During 1950s several writers like Riker, Robinsons Simon sought enrichment in the decision making approach, which acts as a major determinant in defining the relations between the states. They undertook a theoretical exploration of the behavior of the actors in international relations. But they sought to provide a full description of the factors that shape and influence the actions of nation in International Politics. Richard C Snyder and others (1954), They chose a focus of decision-making for the study of the processes of Policy formulation and approach two fundamental purposes in the identification of '*Crucial Structures*' and in the political realm where change takes place and decisions made actions are largely initiated and claimed out. The decision making approach proceeds with the assumption that the key to political action lies in the way in which foreign policy decisions are made is the one which is perceived by the decision maker. There were several different angles of decision making approach. Harold and Sprout emphasis on the environment factor, which has a psychological as well as an operational aspect.

Their concern is not to justify a particular foreign policy action in the light of decision-makers; perception of the environment but to see how for a better action could be taken. Alexander and Julietue have brought Study in which they have portrayed the personality factor. Cohen and Hilsman believe that a systematic analysis of foreign policy should be made in accordance with the interaction between official and non-official actors who participate in the formulation of foreign policy. Decision making approach is based upon the principle of indetermination but it fails to suggest as to which of the elements is really relevant. Instead of this defect Decision making approach contribute to foreign policy analysis. The focus of this approaches can be taken as right as far as foreign policy analysis is concerned because the adoption of this approach may help us in a comparative study of various foreign policy also. But a general study of international relation cannot be fruitfully made with the exclusive help of the decision making approach. Therefore, this approach is, though, useful as a tool of foreign policy analysis falls short of the requirements of a general theory of international relations.



## **Determinants of foreign policy**

The Foreign policy making is a dynamic process which normally changes but it does not change the fundamentals of foreign policy of a state. Though, a revolution brings drastic change in a political set up. Thus, foreign policy of a state is determined by a number of factors, many of them are static. There are some factors that do change, but their impact in shaping foreign policy of a country is accompanied out of many factors and forces. All of them interact and determine the foreign policy. "Fundamentally foreign policy has its roots in the unequal historical background, political institutions, traditions, economic needs power factors, aspirations, peculiar geographical circumstances, and basic set of values held by a nation." James Rosenau includes geography, size economic development, culture and history, great power structure, alliances, technology, social structure, public opinion and government structure, as inputs of foreign policy. Brecher refers to geography, external environment, personalities, economic and military position and public opinion as the determinants of foreign policy.

Those who would like to examine countries foreign policy must study the domestic and international environment in which the policy makers operate relevant variables in which it could be permanent in nature. These variables are the part and parcel of the foreign policy process of any country. They are more responsive to change because of the human manipulation involvement in them at the same time relatively permanent in nature such as geography and natural resources. There are also human factors which in one way or the other determine the whole process largely quantitative in the case of population, and qualitative as regards national character social structure, national morale, political institutions, experience, affective and sound tradition of diplomacy. From these determinants and the instrumentalities of the policy making process, the substance of foreign policy derives major historic policies in the vital interests of countries emergence (Waltz and C. Macridision, 1967).

The basic determinants of foreign policy include geography, economic development, political traditions, domestic and international milieu, military strength and national character. The basic determinants of foreign policy are –

### **1. Geography**

Morgenthau (1976:110) has analyzed the importance of geography. He was of the view that: "The most stable factor upon which the power of nation depends is obviously geography". Geography is plays a significant role in the formulation of

foreign policy of a country. The important components of geography are Location, Size, Climate and Topography, Natural Resource, etc. Geography and terrain were very important assets before the development of modern military machinery. The size of the state is large enough to support a population. A climate that is neither excessively cold nor very hot topography offering boundaries with natural barrier such as mountains, rivers seas and a compact territory enable a country to implement independent foreign policy. The Indian philosopher Kautilya in his famous treatise "Arthshastra" has developed a theory of state behavior partially based on a geopolitical situation of a country. He was the view that a circle of states forming a kind of solar system and tending to gravitate towards one another as friends or come into collision as enemies according to their respective positions in the circle. (Quoted in Reasel, 1936:45)

**(a) Size**

The size of the state is an important factor of a foreign policy. Size influences the psychological and operational environments within which the foreign policy-makers and public respond. As Rosenau says, both human and non-human resources. Nation with large human and non-human resources always tries to be big powers and they have better chances of being big power in international relations. Role of size of the territory in determining the foreign policy is significant variable because it is closely related to geopolitical situation of country; it gives a state's army to retreat without surrender and has an advantage. Its importance lies in the location and disposal of critical population, economic, military and governmental facilities size as factor has its bearing on population military installations transportations routes and so on. But it may be a liability because at the same time it adds to difficulty of achieving notional unity effective administration and cultural integration (D. Palmer and Perkins 1970:38).

**(b) Location**

The location is also an important for a nation state in a dual sense; geographically in terms of the moderate zones, and strategically in terms of its, neighbors and vulnerability to invasion location consequently a primary geography influence upon foreign policy. The connection between location and foreign policy as it has given birth to geopolitics. Founded as field of study by Sir Mackinder who first set forth his theory in 1904, of the marriage of geographic and political concepts at its best contributed have many insights (Frederick H. Hartman, 1967:47-48)? British and

Japan, though small in size, become great nations because of their ability to use the oceans as highways of trade.

### **(c) Economic Efficiency and Natural Resources**

The possession of raw materials and natural resources and compulsions of economic development also determine the course of a country's foreign policy, The modern industrialized economy is totally dependent on critical resources like coal, iron and petroleum as well as wide variety of minerals. The policy-maker must keep in mind a number of important factors in formulating any foreign policy issue. It is very important that one must see whether the resources are actually tapped and put to use in an effective manner. Whether a state is having a political control over the territory rich in natural resources; then it receive maximum benefits from it. Natural resources reflect not only potentials but also limitations because it is a backbone of a countries foreign policy process. The technological progress has seriously lowered the geopolitical hypothesis that natural resources constitute an important element of national power and hence should be given due weight age as one of the significant determinant of foreign policy. (Morgenthau, 1976:115) is of the view that with the increasing mechanization of warfare; ...national power has become more and more dependent upon the control of raw materials in peace and war.

The natural resources are important for economic development, international trade, national security, war making power and large number of other variables having close relationship with domestic and international consequences in which the policy makers utilize the natural resources for effective and success foreign policy. The fair distribution of raw material is another important aspect of this issue and no state is self sufficient in the world in the case of essential raw material and heavily dependent on the foreign sources of supply. This dependency in the fact raise number of vital questions concerning the accessibility of their materials, control over the sea lanes or their routes from the source of supply, exchange and balance of payments problems, relation between states heeding the materials and states possessing, trade restriction and other barriers to international commercial significant security and political. The national capability of a country, "the factors of raw materials resources, critical and material shortage, production rates of basic materials, all help to furnish a rough index of power" (Fredrick H. Hartman, 1967:73).

In the present day, circumstances the natural resources are the main source of materials need for the manufacturing of a gun, and seen as a ready international

market. So the possession of raw material and natural resources and compulsions of economic foreign policy is significantly important in all respect. The political strength of a country is often measured in terms of economic strength. Hence, this factor cannot be ignored while shaping the foreign policy.

#### **(d) Climate**

As the human being are directly involved in the foreign policy making process, it is quite certain that the climatic conditions of a state have an indirect bearings and their mind in one way or other if a country is not in a position to produce enough food grains and other essential commodities for its people as a result of drought crop failure; it pure a psychological effect on foreign policy makers.

Climate of a country are also significant in the context of geopolitical situation of a country. The term climate denotes the patterns which derived by averaging records of a country in a given place over periods of time. The climatic conditions of a state should have sufficient heat and a long enough growing season sufficient to rain fall to feed the population. There should be the soil of minimum quality in order to produce enough food grains to save the population from starving in a country. Human organ functions more effectively in certain climatic conditions that in others. These factors are helpful in strengthening the capability factor which is main plank of country is foreign policy. It is true that great power cannot its outside of the temperate zones (Wendzel, 1977:93).

#### **(e) Topography**

Topography offering boundaries with natural barriers such as mountains, rivers, seas and a compact territory enable a country to make and implement independent foreign policy. Topography has had a significant role in modern political system, islands and physical barriers and communication sources have to own significance in the affairs of states although rivers, mountains Jungles and desserts are less significant obstacles in the modern world than in the past. The rivers would be helpful in strengthening the ports of a country and transportation system thorough a state. On the contrary the international boundary sometimes creates commercial problems with another state. The fall of rivers is helpful for the production of energy and for the good irrigation facilities. They may foster natural calamity. They may create obstacles in its way-also. As a prime determinant of climate and rainfall, the topography has an obvious and significant impact and the economy and cultural values of a state (D. Palmer and Perkins, 1970:39-40).

## **2. History, Cultural and Social traditions**

History, cultural heritage and social traditions have significant influence for the making of foreign policy of a country. The foreign policy makers of the nation, during the process of interpreting and formulating the objectives of national interest, are always governed by their cultural links, social traditions and historical experiences. In which the “traditional values may be described as those principles embodied in beliefs and practices which have been transmitted through successive generation and have been regarded as worthy of esteem and adaptation” Appadorai say, High national moral makes a successful conduct of foreign policy. A homogeneous society requires strong national unity and high moral sharp divisions in society between rich and poor, between different class, communities and castes, have always adverse impact on foreign policy. Social cohesion, therefore, is another factor in shaping of successful foreign Policy. Rosenau say, “Effectiveness in foreign policy depends on a multitude of variables, but one of them is surely the support which officials enjoy from the people for whom they are conducting external operations and extent of this support is significantly affected by the degree to which basic values are shared in the society.” Indeed, the weaknesses of the foreign policies of most of the Asian and African states are due largely to the presence of internal dissensions and conflicts among their people.

## **3. International milieu**

International milieu is one of the most important determinants of foreign policy. In any case foreign policy is the sum total of decisions taken by a country to regulate the behaviors of other states therefore the international system at any given point of time has direct impact on foreign policies. Appadorai says “The complexity of foreign policy arises from the interaction of the desire of state within the international community to achieve their own national interests and their consequent attitudes to international issues”.

So far as the shaping of foreign policy is concerned, the role of international situation cannot be denied. During the balance of power system in the nineteenth century, conclusion of alliances, policy of buffer states and race of armament were guided by the place of a state in the international system. Every weak state sought the help of an unattached power, known as balancer. The cold war system did not leave any country's foreign policy unaffected. The fear of US atom bomb made the communist leader of Eastern Europe, and all of the countries in the region adopted

socialism and come under Russian wings. India's propagation and adaptation of non-alignment was a clear response to the global setting represented by a bipolar world and the cold war by not ignoring number of variables.

The understanding nature and scope of international milieu is valuable and closely related with the foreign policy process. The complex environment of international politics has transformed the making and execution of foreign policy more of an uncertain art than an exact science. The foreign policy maker takes usually calculated risks in formulating their objectives and action programme while striving to maintain flexibility to react to actual circumstances as they unfold. The success of a country's foreign policy depends on the accurate assessment of interests, intentions and capabilities of both domestic and external environment (Padelford, A. Lincon, Olvey 1976:220-221)

#### **4. Government, leadership and Political Traditions**

Political organizations, traditions, government and enlightened leadership contribute to the shaping of an effective foreign policy. The political party which is related with foreign policy is a part of government. Several types of parties have different models of foreign policy in which only one political party is allowed to work in all foreign policy decisions virtually made by the party organs. If a coalition government is in power, then it would be more difficult to pursue a particular line of thinking because of the different attitudes to the various factions of the coalition and make difficult to take policy decision in such institution ultimately issue which is more debated and finalized for public interest.

It seems that the quality of leadership is an important factor. In this regard Nehru believed that in democracy, an idealist Wilson, who wanted to end of all future wars acted as an important determinant in the formulation of foreign policies. On the other hand, leaders like Hitler, Mussolini or Saddam Husain Promise a glorious future for their countries, but their policies often lead to disaster. A democratic regime is in the long run more effective than despotic system which shows only short term gains which influence the foreign policy. The perception of ruling elites, the imperatives of state building and ideologies of political parties are important variables also influence foreign policy. As far as the role of political elites is concerned most of the societies give due importance to the security of the national state.

Thus, the major factors which is popularly known as the determinants of foreign policy, playing significant role in the shaping of foreign policy of a country.

One has to understand that all the factors are highly inter-dependent and interconnected. It work together and largely influence in the making as well as implementation of foreign policy. The foreign policy must be analyzed and understood together, because, it is not independent determinants.

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## CHAPTER-II

### **FOREIGN POLICY OF KYRGYZSTAN: DETERMINANTS AND PHASES**

In the aftermath of unexpected dissolution of the Soviet Union in December 1991, the fifteen former Soviet republics found themselves in a struggle of survival as independent states, including Central Asian republics. In this complex environment, Kyrgyzstan emerged as an independent sovereign state on the map of the world and become the independent member of the international system, by joining many international organizations such as United Nations, the world bank, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States, Shanghai Cooperation Organization and numerous other regional groups and local organizations have been established in Kyrgyzstan. The foreign policy of Kyrgyz republic is based on the provisions of the Constitution, declaration of sovereignty, the regulations of international law, in accordance to the goals and principles of the United Nations and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe. The Presidential Decree confirming the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and in the 1999 **Doctrine of Silk Road Diplomacy** is other sources of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy.

*"We, the People of the Kyrgyz Republic, aspiring to secure the national revival of the Kyrgyz, the protection and development of interests of representatives of all nationalities,...desiring to establish ourselves among peoples of the world as a free and democratic civil society; through our authorized representatives, hereby adopt this Constitution." (Preamble of Constitution)*

The principle of multi-vector foreign policy is an important feature of the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan. After independence, Kyrgyz Government has formulated its foreign policy which is based on democratic thinking and tradition of Kyrgyz people. Multi-vector, which is a derivative of pragmatism and realism, seeks to bring a fine balance between the aspirations and possibilities of Kyrgyzstan in the international arena. During the period of 1990s, the foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan was based on three priorities. First, maintaining cooperation, coordination, and sustainable multilateral relations with the former Soviet Republic especially with adjacent neighboring countries



Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Second, achieving national interests and building security architecture, third, establishing international political and economic relation with the Western countries including the United States and Western Europe.

So far as the process of foreign policy making in Kyrgyzstan during the period of 1990s is concerned it needs to assess several major variables. The determinants of foreign policy have been classified by Rosenau, size of the country, state of the economy, political accountability, penetration or non-penetration and issue area that shape the environment of the decision-making. Second, Organizational structures of foreign policy-making as they form frameworks for decision-making, formal and informal input from various participants. Third, major factors that have capacity to influence foreign policy and that contribute to foreign policy process. Here it has focused on the following groups: the government bureaucracy, political parties, military and security services, private business and private interests and foreign actors. Forth, perceptions of foreign policy issues that are common among the leading actors are also important (Rafis Abazov, 2004:7).

It is supportable view that the decision-making process is largely affected by the view and belief systems that these actors share. It assumes that a foreign policy-making process is a group action, which takes place in a particular political, social and economic environment. In defining their policies, policy makers in Kyrgyzstan need to achieve some level of consensus between the most influential actors, because the leaders of the country cannot totally ignore the opinions, interests and views of major actors. Thus, policy makers need to maneuvers between these actors, and attempt to build coalitions with both institutionalized and non-institutionalized actors capable of ensuring broad support from various groups of society (ibid).

The foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan has been influenced by numerous factors. Some of the important factors which influence the foreign policy of the republic or constitute the inputs of the foreign policy are given below.

## **Geography**

Halford Mackinder is known as one of the founders of modern geopolitical/heartland theory. He holds the view that this is not the geographical environment that determines the objectives or strategies of the foreign or internal policies of a particular state, but the geography and geographical configurations present opportunities for policy makers and politicians. Geopolitics is somehow more relevant with international relation, though it is still a part of political geography. It deals with foreign policies international relations and international conflicts. Geopolitics studies the value of segments of earth space and the consequences of powers gaining or losing control of territory (Blouet, B.W.2001:8). Geopolitics also can predict that geographical conditions such as distance, direction, location and distribution of natural and human recourses, which have an influence on international relations (Braden & Shelley, 2000:5-6).

Thus, political and strategic importance are attached to geographical configurations and geographical factors which influence politics and policy makers, selecting particular objective and attempting to realize them by the conscious formulation of strategies. This is known as the game of "Geopolitics." The competition to establish superiority over the Central Asian region is known as the Great Game. Central Asia becomes a political center of the world because it enclosed more frontiers than any other region. Mackinder described, "Whoever controlled Central Asia would wield enormous power. It is the greatest natural fortress in the world, Defended by polar ice caps, deserts, arid land and mountain ranges." In the heart of the ongoing geopolitical struggle in the region lies a long-standing Russian-American rivalry over dominance in this region that involves many interested regional actors on both sides. The struggle of leading world powers for geopolitical and geo-economic domination in Central Asia as well as Caspian region is explained first of all by their geo-strategic aspirations for leadership in the post-Cold War world order.

Geography is more or less a permanent variable and in rare extraordinary cases, the changes occur in country's geo-strategic or geopolitical situation and it is most important factor in foreign policy formulation process of a country. Kyrgyzstan is situated in the heartland of Eurasia, according to Machinder, those who controlled the

heartland would influence the whole world. So the powers like United State, Russia and China are trying to influence Kyrgyzstan. First, United States in the name of “war on terrorism” has established its Military air base at Manas in Kyrgyzstan. It is a democratic country and United State is trying to promote the idea of democracy and civil society in Kyrgyzstan. In 2003, Russia has also established its Military airbase at Kant. The main purpose of establishing Russian airbase is to check the increasing influence of United States in the region in general and Kyrgyzstan in particular. Besides, United States, Russia, China are also trying to create their influence in Kyrgyzstan. Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region bordering to Kyrgyzstan is a trouble-prone Area. That is why China is trying to maintain good relation with Kyrgyzstan so that it can stop the separatist movement in Xinjiang province.

Similarly according to the Oxford Dictionary of Politics, “Geopolitics is an approach to politics that stressed the constraints imposed on foreign policy by location and environment.” In the past a “nation’s sphere of influence” has been determined primarily by geographical factors. Such factors have, however, become relatively less significant in the foreign policies of states. The opening of new sea-lanes to Africa, Asia and America rapidly changed the importance of Central Asia, reducing the traffic on the Silk Route to a trickle, because of the improvements in science and technology as well as transportation and communication technology that have enabled states to overcome the limitations imposed on them by geographical location or barriers.

### **Location**

Kyrgyzstan is a small landlocked and mountainous country in eastern Central Asia, bordering Kazakhstan to the north, Uzbekistan to the west, Tajikistan to the south and west and China to the east. Kyrgyzstan is located at the heart of the Asian continent which comes under Mackinder’s inner Asia. The connection between location and foreign policy has given birth to new version of geopolitics or great game in Kyrgyzstan. Therefore, United State, Russia and China have become major External factors in the formulation process of foreign policy of the republic. Landlocked countries, nations in the tropics and those bordering superpower are less self- sufficient in comparison to the countries which have access to warm water ports or which are located in the temperate

zones and far removed from superpowers. However the geographical location of a country has a deep impact on the determination of its foreign policy.

The location of Kyrgyzstan has important geopolitical and geo-economic significance as a bridge connecting west and east, because the role of location in determining the foreign policy of the republic is another significant variable as well as it is closely related to geopolitical situation of the republic. The dispute over Ferghana valley and Isfara valley with Tajikistan and Uzbekistan is a source of potential conflict. The Xinjiang Uyghur Autonomous region and its separatist movement create instability in bordering Kyrgyzstan and it has been affecting its foreign policy with China as well as with adjacent neighboring countries. Kyrgyzstan's geographical location and its weak economy make it peculiarly vulnerable to geopolitical shifts. The presence of international coalition forces at the Manas airbase has merely added to the strategic competition around the country. These geopolitical factors could play an important role in either escalating or defusing the present crisis. Kyrgyzstan is a place where three world religions Islam, Buddhism and Christianity meet. Therefore, correct development strategies will turn the country into a link between the West and the East. Drug trafficking in Kyrgyzstan is exacerbated by the fact that it is sharing a long poorly guarded border with Tajikistan, which is the main entrance hub for Afghan drugs. Drug trafficking through Tajikistan towards Kyrgyzstan occurs via both the East and West of the country.

### **Topography and Climate**

The topography is dominated by sharp mountain peaks and valleys, and considerable areas are covered by glaciers. The elevation of about 94 percent of the land is 1,000 meters or more above sea level, and 30 percent of the land is higher than 3,000 meters above sea level. The only comparatively plane regions are the Kyrgyzstani part of the Fergana Valley, in southwestern Kyrgyzstan, and in the Chu and Talas valleys along the northern border. To the west, it shares a winding and rugged border, again with Tajikistan, as well as with Uzbekistan. These two countries also have three small enclaves in Kyrgyz territory, Uzbek Sokh and Shakhimardan, and the Tajik Vorukh-Isfara Valley are the most important factors for ethnic conflict, as well as foreign relation

of the republic. Topography divides the population into two main segments, the north and the south. Each has differing cultural and economic patterns and different predominant ethnic groups. Ninety-four percent of the territory of the country is covered with eighty-eight mountains including the Tien Shan covering the largest portion of the nation. Issyk-Kul in the north-western is the largest lake in Kyrgyzstan and the second largest mountain lake in the world after Titicaca. The principal river is the Naryn, flowing west through the Ferghana Valley into Uzbekistan, where it meets other major rivers of Kyrgyzstan. The Kara Darya which forms the Syr Darya, flow into the Aral sea. The Chui River also flows through Kyrgyzstan before entering Kazakhstan. Water resources are strategic, vital natural resources having interstate importance. Kyrgyzstan has huge resources of ground and surface waters, the significant stocks of which are in the rivers, eternal ice-houses and snow massifs. The geography and topography of the Kyrgyz Republic makes it a highly hazard prone country. Natural disasters have been frequent and varied. Overgrazing and deforestation of steep mountain slopes have increased the occurrence of mudslides and avalanches, which occasionally have swallowed entire villages. In August 1992, a severe earthquake left several thousand people homeless in the southwestern city of Jalal-Abad.

The presidential decree "On foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic in the sphere of water resources generated in Kyrgyzstan and flowing into neighboring countries" in June 1997, mandates the solution of interstate water problems, water allocation, and the use of economic instruments for promoting water conservation and efficient use of water and energy resources. The law "On interstate use of water objects, water resources and water facilities of the Kyrgyz Republic" in July 2001, confirmed the principles of cooperation of Kyrgyzstan with other countries in the field of water resources. (Daniel L. Burghart and Theresa Sabonis-Helf, 2004:203-205).

The climate is typically continental, with stark differences between the mountains and the irrigated valleys, where the temperature rises to 28°C in July and drops to -20°C in winter. The temperature range is important, the climate of any country is a determining factor, it provide suitable environment for work. Annual precipitation ranges from 180 millimeters in the Tian Shan mountain range or some of the country's arid areas, to almost 1000 millimeters in the Fergana basin. The system of its relations with other states

depends on its climate and the state course. The country's climate is influenced chiefly by the mountains, Kyrgyzstan's position near the middle of the Eurasian landmass, and the absence of any body of water large enough to influence weather patterns. Those factors create a distinctly continental climate that has significant local variations. The Kyrgyzstan's economy heavily depends on its agricultural sector, where almost 64% of the population is employed. The term climate denotes weather patterns derived by averaging records of a country in a given place over periods of time. The climatic condition of a country influences the foreign policy of a state. There should be sufficient heat, and rain fall to feed the population. The country should produce enough food grains. Food security and suitable condition give more independency as well as prosperity to country. Approximately half of Kyrgyzstan's GDP is weather and climate sensitive and would benefit from more reliable hydro-meteorological and climate information to improve day-to-day operations and planning. Current economic losses are estimated to vary between 1.0 - 1.5% of GDP. (Disaster Risk Management Notes for Priority Countries 2009-2015 Europe and Central Asia p: 48).

### **Size**

In the first place the size of a state's territory as well as its population greatly influence its foreign policy. As role of size in determining the foreign policy is another significant variable because it is closely related to geopolitical situation as well as geo-strategic location of a country. Kyrgyzstan has an area of 198,500 square kilometer of which 7,100 square kilometer is water. Kyrgyzstan is a small republic with population of 5.2 million inhabitants (in 2006, Estimate). The ethnic composition of Kyrgyzstan is Kyrgyz, Russians, Uzbeks and others. Its importance lies in the location and disposal of critical population, economic, military and governmental facilities, size as factor has its bearing a population military installations, transportations routes, human capital and so on. However, in other hand it may be adds to difficulty of achieving national unity, effective administration and cultural integration.

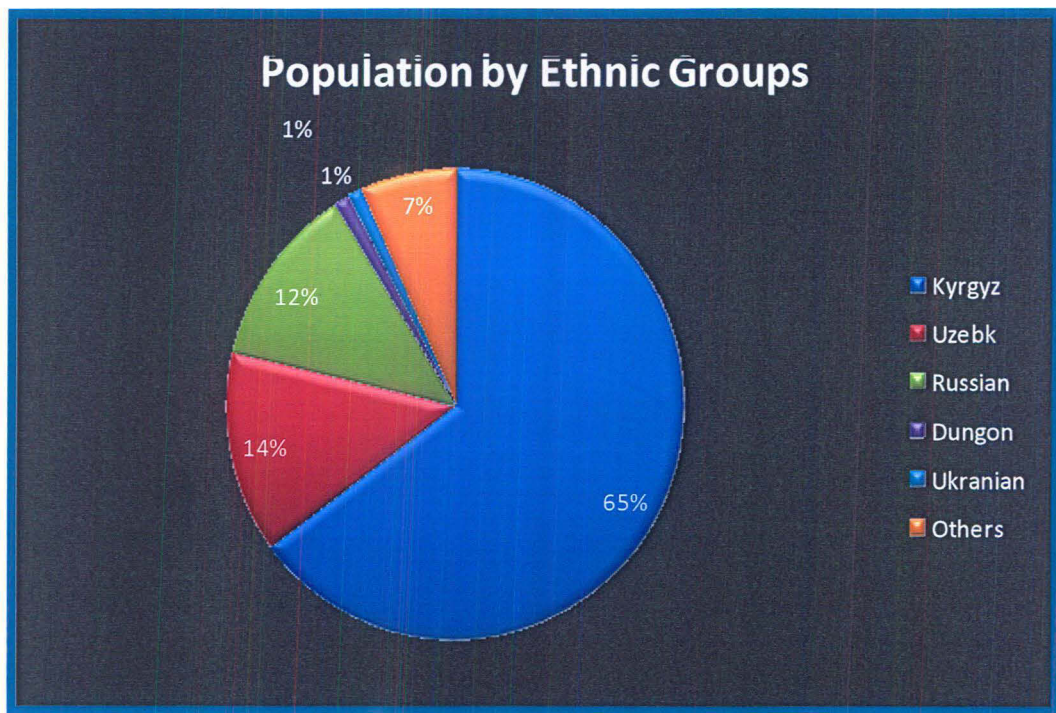
**Table: II (A)**

Population by Ethnic Groups (1999 Census)

<b>Ethnicity</b>	<b>Numbers</b>	<b>%</b>
Kyrgyz	3,124,147	64.86
Uzbek	664,950	13.79
Russian	603,201	12.51
Dungan	51,766	1.07
Ukrainian	50,442	1.05
Others	324,432	6.73
<b>Total</b>	<b>4,822,938</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: The Europa World Yearbook, 2008

**CHART: II (A)**



Domestically, Kyrgyzstan suffers the same problems as the other Central Asian countries. Ethnic Kyrgyz constitute a little more than 50 percent of the population, with Russians the next largest group at 22 percent. Uzbeks constitute 12 percent of the

population, making them the largest Central Asian ethnic minority outside of their home territory and a concern for the Kyrgyz government, which has several disputed border areas with its more powerful Uzbek neighbor. Although the country suffered a severe economic downturn tied with the collapse of the ruble in 1998. Kyrgyzstan is a one of the poorer countries in Central Asia with 40 percent of its population living below the poverty line. The fact is that a large number of people still owe their existence to subsistence agriculture meant they did not starve. (Daniel L. Burghart 2004:11). Small state or small power is a category. Their specific position in international relation with big power may make them behave in a different way, because the leaders and people of republic with small territory and population do not expect their country to carry great weight in international affairs.

### **History and Socio-Cultural Traditions**

The cultural legacy and the history of Kyrgyzstan are again important and valuable factors of its foreign policy. Social norms and traditions that characterize the relations of the people are highly influential factors. Historical experiences and cultural links further help them to analyse and assess the nature and scope of relations with other nations. History and traditions have significant influence on foreign policy making process. "Traditional values may be described as those principles embodied in beliefs and practices which have been transmitted through successive generation and have been regarded as worthy of esteem and adaptation" (Appadorai, 1986:37).

Kyrgyzstan is a new nation but old civilization, culture and traditions. Historically, Central Asia was a gateway between China and the Mediterranean, between East Europe and Persia. The Sarmathia nomads with their Siberian tradition and culture moved south from Siberia and dominated the region from around 500 BC onwards. Sarmathians contributed to the Central Asia milieu by developing new trade and travel routes through which Central Asia got an access to Texila (Old Indian Takshaçila), Sinkiang, Mongolia, China, Korea, Japan, Greece, and Egypt etc. In 100 BC Chinese princes started their first raid into Central Asia, and captured the farghana valley. At that time both the Sarmathians and Chinese were pressed from the East by the Huns, the forefather of the Mongols, who came out of the Gobi desert to occupy the Kasghar in



Xingiang around 200 BC, crossed Central Asia and reached the Volga River in Russia by AD 400 (<http://ppr.hec.gov.pk/chapters/658-3.pdf>).

Bactria and Sogdiana were conquered by nomads from the north east, whose forces continued southwards and had created the Kushan Empire. They extended their rule to India by taking Punjab, Kashmir, Sind, and Utter Pradesh. The most famous of the Kushan king was Kanishka who converted to Buddhism. Over Sogdiana the empire maintained only a form of suzerainty. In the Kushan Empire, three important civilizations the Chinese, Iranian and Indian met. Sogdiana developed into great commercial center for Chinese trade with the west. Extensive finds of Roman coins and products bear witness to the economic exchange that took place between East and west along the Silk Road. The arrival of the Turks set in motion a demographic and ethnolinguistic shift in the region. The Iranian culture and language continued to play a dominant role to control Asia. (Soucek, 2000:37).

During 19th Century the region was captured and colonized by the Tsarist Government of Russia. In October 1917 the Socialist Revolution took place in Russia. After October Revolution, Central Asia become the part of Soviet State. On 14 October 1924 the Soviet government issued a decree on establishment of the Kara-Kyrgyz Autonomous Oblast as part of the Russian Federation. This became a turning point in Turkistan's history as the region was divided not on the basis of cultural, religious, or political realities but exclusively on ethnic considerations. In 1936, Kyrgyzstan became a Soviet Republic. The cultural and social changes introduced by the Soviet government had two major dimensions that were intended to further strengthen the "Soviet Kyrgyz nation" and, gradually, to make it an inseparable part of the Soviet nation. First, during the seven decades of Soviet rule, the Soviet authorities carefully crafted the educational system, the new Kyrgyz cultural setting and the new social organization of society. Second, the policy of Russification was aimed to decrease social differences between Kyrgyz and Russians as these differences were perceived to be an obstacle on the way to consolidate the Soviet state system and create a new man, i.e. Soviet man. "The socialist values which were forcibly imposed by Russian Communist are now being changed by replacing the old ones. Since 1985, when Gorbachev introduced radical reforms the

Central Asian people have been trying to revive their native culture in the region (Badan Phool, 2001:73).

The Soviet Union disintegrated in December 1991. During the period of 1990s, Akayev then President published a foreign policy doctrine entitled *Diplomacy of the Silk Road*, which details his vision for the relationship between Kyrgyzstan and the neighboring Silk Road countries. In his speeches and documents, he stressed that the mix of Asian and European makes Kyrgyzstan unique. History has arranged for us to be an amazing amalgam of the Asian and the European in our thinking, in our emotional makeup, in our behavior. Akayev's embrace of images like the "Switzerland of Central Asia" and the "Silk Road" was designed to appeal to all interests the West, the international community in general, regional organizations, its Central Asian neighbors, Russia, and China.

The Great Silk Road is known as a Road of Peace and Dialogue. The history of the Silk Road is a history of friendly exchange and mutual prosperity between China and the Central Asian countries. Definitely, attractive to a common regional heritage by invoking the glories of the ancient Silk Road seem more likely to motivate and conciliate her near neighbors than appeals to other commonalities such as their Soviet, Islamic or Turco-Persian heritage. Simultaneously it also conveniently allowed for the inclusion of non-Soviet neighbors who were also more-or-less part of the ancient trade route; China, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and India.

Muslim Arabs first appeared in Maverannahr (Arabic name for the southern part of Central Asia) in the middle of the 7th century. However, only in the 9<sup>th</sup> century they were able to expel the Persian dynasties and to establish Islam as one of the major religions in the region. Eventually the Turks and Mongols, who remained in Central Asia, absorbed some features of the Arabian and Persian culture and embraced Islam. In the southern settled territories of the region, Islam has the deep historical tradition of more than 1000 years. However, the penetration of Islam lasted until the 17th-18th centuries among the nomadic tribes, such as the Kazakhs, Kyrgyz, and Karakalpaks. The Muslim clergy (Ulema) played an important role in the political affairs along with the representatives of very influential Sufi orders and their leaders. The clergy and Sufis

significantly contributed to the balance among competing groups within the ruling elite in Bukhara, Khiva, and Kokand Khanates.

### **Constitutional provision**

Constitutional provision is a constant and significant factor of foreign policy making process of the Kyrgyzstan. So far as Constitutional basis of foreign policy of the republic is concerned; we can see it in the preamble of the Constitution of the country.

*“We, the People of the Kyrgyz Republic, aspiring to secure the national revival of the Kyrgyz, the protection and development of interests of representatives of all nationalities, who together with the Kyrgyz form the people of Kyrgyzstan, following our ancestors precepts to live in unity, peace and concord; confirming our adherence to human rights and freedoms and the idea of national statehood; filled with a determination to develop an economy, political and legal institutions and a culture which provide appropriate living standards for everyone; proclaiming our adherence to national ethnic traditions and to moral principles common to all mankind; desiring to establish ourselves among peoples of the world as a free and democratic civil society; through our authorized representatives, hereby adopt this Constitution.”* **(Preamble of Constitution)** The Kyrgyz Republic strives toward universal and just peace, mutually beneficial cooperation, resolution of global and regional problems by peaceful means, and shall observe the universally recognized principles of international law. Activities directed at disturbing the peaceful communal life of the people, propagandizing and igniting international strife is unconstitutional. **(Article-9(4))** The President of the Kyrgyz Republic defines the fundamental directions of internal and external policy of the state, represents the Kyrgyz Republic within the country and in international relations, adopts measures to protect the sovereignty and territorial integrity of the Kyrgyz Republic, and ensures the unity and continuity of state power and the coordinated functioning and interaction of state bodies and their responsibility to the people. **(Article-42(3))** The President of the Kyrgyz Republic: Directs the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic; conducts negotiations and signs international treaties of the Kyrgyz Republic; signs instruments of ratification; appoints and recalls diplomatic representatives of the Kyrgyz Republic in foreign states and international organizations; accepts the credentials

and letters of recall of the heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states and representatives of international organizations accredited to the President of the Kyrgyz Republic; decides questions of acceptance and forfeiture of citizenship in the Kyrgyz Republic and of granting political asylum (**Article-46(3)**).

### **Government, Politics and Leadership**

It has been identified that the foreign policy mainly determined by the nature of the government and politics. It assigned the responsibility to formulate a framework for making foreign policy. The government has also focused the inter-agency to Co-ordinate the technique to rationalize the continuous unwieldy process of foreign policy formulation and agreement with the government. The democratic government cannot, hide its foreign policy objectives from its people. It has to decide everything openly but a non-democratic government can avoid this procedure. Every government has its own method of conducting its foreign policy affairs, in order to carry out normal and independent relations with foreign countries.

As in so many areas of domestic political development, Kyrgyzstan's route in foreign affairs mirrored that of Russia in the first years of independence. Both countries adopted a noticeably pro-western posture in international affairs until 1994, when they began a gradual retreat from the west. After 1994, the development of a foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan is known as "multivectorism" (Huskey Eugene, 2008:9).

The domestic determinants of foreign policy in Kyrgyzstan are linked to the nature of government of the republic. The most salient characteristic of the republic is their institutional weakness, which stems from the immense economic and social problems that accompanied the transition from Soviet rule. The Kyrgyz Government remains suspicious of Russian intentions and motives. Most fear that any move to shore up relations with Russia alone might result in a loss of independence. Instead, these governments see the advantages of close ties with both Russia and the United States. If security cooperation with America is tolerated by Russia, then this is indeed the better path. Kyrgyzstan needs stability, for with stability and regional security improved financial and economic outlooks. Russian interests are similar, but are complicated by the war in Chechnya.

The quality of leadership, the perception of ruling elite, the imperatives of state-building and ideologies of political parties are important variables that influence foreign policy making process. The various political parties are closely related with the foreign policy making procedure. Each party have different model of foreign policy. All the foreign policy decisions are virtually made by one dominant political party. It also finds that, the characteristics of foreign policy ought to change over a period of time. The fundamental principles are all-pervasive, whereas the foreign policy changes as per the situation and circumstances.

Though, the 1993 Constitution gave parliament the right to determine the general direction of foreign policy. President Akayev played a key role, in the establishment of good relations with Russia and the search for foreign partners to aid the rebuilding process. At the same time there was discussion during the early 1990s about the possibility of 'peoples' diplomacy, with a somewhat visionary hope that in the new order there might be some scope for popular movements to get involved in shaping Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy priorities. Central to these hopes was the Issyk Kul movement organized by Chingiz Aitmatov which held its first meetings on the shores of lake Issyk Kul in 1986 and subsequently met in Switzerland, Spain, Mexico and then again in Kyrgyzstan in 1997(John Anderson, 1999:86).

Yet though well meaning organizations of this type may have shaped the rhetoric of President Akayev and other officials, foreign policy retained its traditional dependence upon priorities determined by the political elite. In developing his foreign policy Akayev was supported by the foreign minister, always a personal choice regardless of Constitutional niceties. For most of this period the office was held by two individuals, Muratbek Imanaliev and Roza Otunbaeva (ibid).

### **Economy and natural Resources**

The influence of economic factor on foreign policy is another important factor. The so called 'dependency' is related to and affected by the quantity and availability of natural resources, the commodity composition of exports, the range of markets for them. The political implications of these economic considerations influence the formation of foreign policy. In this context we can cite the example of 'politics of aid'

and the position of underdeveloped countries in this situation. Their foreign policies have to be formulated in order to gain sufficient support for their economic development. Thus, a country's foreign policy is influenced by its state of economy in terms of capital, technical skills and finance and its overall industrial position.

After the disintegration of Soviet Union the newly independent states were simultaneously exposed to globalization by the international markets from above and interference by criminal groups from below, which intensified their activities against the background of socio-political disarray. Kyrgyzstan is one of the weakest Central Asian economies, formerly largely dependent on the centralized Soviet budget redistribution and assistance. It had to let international financial institutions and human rights organizations, as well as various non-governmental organizations and religious groups, into its domestic market and public domain. Within the first five years of economic reform guided by the International Monetary Fund, the country accumulated an excessive external debt. The population of Kyrgyzstan went through the shock therapy of price liberalization, hyper-inflation and a drastic fall in living standards (Irina Morozova, 2009:87).

Western countries mainly invest in mines, other states, like Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey, China and South Korea choose various processing industries, transportation, construction, trade and for the last four years finance and property. In 2007-2008 Kyrgyzstan was very active in attracting investors, mainly from Kazakhstan, Russia and China, to its energy sector, using different bargaining tactics. Right after the overthrow of Akayev's rule in March 2005 the external powers were awaiting the signals from the new President Bakiev on his future policy towards foreign capital. Kazakhstan was quick to demonstrate to Bishkek the importance of economic ties by stopping the delivery of diesel fuel on the former quotas. The new Kyrgyz government had to suggest certain guarantees on the security of Kazakh investments and joint exploitation of water and energy resources (ibid, p: 88).

Kyrgyzstan is the smallest and most remote of the Soviet successor states. Its history and geography have dealt the leaders an especially difficult hand. The country has an unenviable location, limited natural resources, an ethnically divided society, and no national liberation movement or modern state tradition on which to build. Lacking natural

resources and an industrial base, Kyrgyzstan is one of the poorer countries within the Central Asian region, with 40 per cent of its population living below the poverty line. It does, however, possess significant hydroelectric power potential and has also been extremely active in carrying out market reforms and stabilization policies (Banerjee Indranil, 2004:25).

Kyrgyzstan has also introduced its own currency, the som, in 1993 and this led to deterioration its relations with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, who suspended all trade and closed the border fearing an influx of the old currency, the rouble. Relations improved after talks between leaders of the three countries and in Jan 1994, Kyrgyzstan joined the new economic zone established by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In May 1998, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan formally constituted the Central Asian Economic Union, later renamed the Central Asian Economic Community in July 1998(ibid, p:27)

During the Soviet era Kyrgyzstan's international trade was limited and tightly controlled by Moscow-based companies and ministries. Since, 1991 Kyrgyzstan has been trading directly with the outside world and has significantly increased its international trade, although the trade volumes have fluctuated considerably, experiencing a dramatic decline in the first half of the 1990s but recovering in the early 2000s. In international markets Kyrgyzstan sells its primary natural resources (such as gold, electric energy, gemstones, etc.) and agricultural products (such as cotton, leather, tobacco, etc.), as well as products of its manufacturing sector (such as textile, footwear, garments, etc.). It buys mainly manufactured products, machinery, medical supplies, petroleum, gas, and some others. (Rafis Abazov, 2004:141)

Beginning in 1995, to improve the problems and reduce the waste, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan signed interstate protocols and agreements on the use of water and energy resources in the Syr Darya Basin. These specified the amount of compensatory deliveries of fuel and energy resources and releases from Toktogul reservoir. Based on these agreements, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan receive excess energy from Kyrgyzstan generated by Toktogul reservoir in the summer, and in winter, they provide Kyrgyzstan with energy, respectively, by deliveries of natural gas and coal. To monitor this delicate arrangement, the Heads of State of the countries involved turned to

their regional integration and development organization, the Executive Committee of the Interstate Council of the Central Asian Economic Community. In 1996, the Executive Committee of the Interstate Council of the Central Asian Economic Community formed a Water and Energy Uses Round Table to develop a framework agreement addressing the Syr Darya Basin riparian republics competing uses for water. The work of the Round Table resulted in an agreement that created a framework addressing trade-offs between the competing uses of water for energy and agricultural production in the Basin (Quoted in Daene C. McKinney, 2004:199).

The government planned that macroeconomic stability would help to achieve GDP growth of 5 % (as in previous years). However, a weak point of the government's plans was that the increase in this basic economic indicator was to have been achieved largely through growth in agriculture and the service sector. Total GDP was projected at KGS 100.1 billion (about \$2.5 billion), with these two sectors of the economy accounting for over 72% of the total. Industrial production was expected to fall by 3.6% compared to 2004, mostly as the result of a decline in the production and processing of gold from the Kumtor mine. In agriculture, it was planned to achieve real production growth of 5.3%, mostly owing to crop production (Alymbek Biialiev, 2005:212-213).

Bakiyev seeks to bolster Kyrgyz-Russian relations to ensure economic and trade benefits, to receive security assistance to combat terrorism, and to balance ties with the United States and China. In early 2006, Kyrgyz President Bakiyev reportedly requested that lease payments for use of the Manas airbase be increased to more than \$200 million per year but at the same time re-affirmed Russia's free use of its nearby base. By mid-July 2006, however, the United States and Kyrgyzstan announced that they had reached a settlement for the continued U.S. use of the airbase. Although not specifically mentioning U.S. basing payments, it was announced that the United States would provide \$150 million (Jim Nichol, 2009:3).

This use of territory as a bargaining chip in foreign affairs was on full display in Moscow in early February 2009, when Russian President Dmitrii Medvedev and Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Bakiev signed an agreement promising 2 billion dollars in assistance to Kyrgyz economy. After signing the agreement Bakiev said that Kyrgyzstan would permanently close the Western base near Bishkek (Eugene Huskey, 2008:18).



### **International Factors**

International factors also exercise considerable influence on the foreign policy of a country. In our time the world has become so interlinked that incident in one country have their immediate impact on other countries. They are further influenced by the policies and actions of other international organizations like the United Nations, Commonwealth of Independent State, Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe, Shanghai Cooperation Organization etc. But the major influence from the international environment comes from the decisions, and actions of government of other states. Hence, foreign policies are formulated in relation to the existing international situation and likely implications of it. "The complexity of foreign policy arises from the interaction of the desire of states within the international community to achieve their own national interests, and their consequent attitudes to international issues" (A. Appadorai, 1981:7).

The first two years of his presidency, Askar Akaev managed to prevent ethnic conflict, minimize tensions with Russia and Uzbekistan, and embark on dramatic economic reforms. He used bargaining and negotiating to forge compromises amenable to some extent to both the north and the south, and created stories for international audiences to attract foreign aid and balance neighboring interests. Akaev confronted many challenges over the economy, foreign policy, and domestic politics. While many of the policies have been touted as significant positive steps or successes a closer look reveals obstacles that would later constrain Akaev's options and the course of the country. New Presidents were elected in Russia and the United States, Kosovo gained independence, there was a conflict over South Ossetia, and the global crisis began. All these international factors have influenced the implementation of foreign policy.

- Concerning the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Kyrgyz Government tried to carry out the foreign policy concept. The Kyrgyz Government tried to formulate balanced policy based on pragmatic protection of national interests. Akaev wanted to use Kyrgyzstan as an example of a country that embarked on a liberal reform program which failed due to its geography and lack of capacity to attract sufficient Western attention to help it overcome from the pressure of its immediate international environment.

Kyrgyzstan developed into a military entrepot between the Great Powers and to assess the prospects for its relations with regional and world powers. Where Berlin served as a barometer of tension between East and West during the Cold War, Kyrgyzstan is emerging as an indicator of relations among the four great power centers in the early 21st century, Europe, the United States, Russia, and China. Kyrgyzstan spent the second half of the 1990s trying to maneuver between the competing pressures of regional and world powers (Eugene Huskey, 2008:6). Because of the economic, geographical, and political vulnerabilities of the republic, the impression is reinforced that Kyrgyzstan does not have a well-defined national interest or foreign policy that informs its international behavior; indeed that its foreign policy consists of randomly inviting various states to meddle in its internal affairs of Kyrgyzstan entirely through the prism of the political economy of foreign aid dependency.

Further complicating the situation was the establishment of U.S. and international forces base at Manas airport outside Bishkek. While drawing criticism from Russia and China, neither country outright vetoed the development. However, in December 2002 Russia signed an agreement with Kyrgyzstan to open its own military base at Kant, also outside Bishkek. In addition, Kyrgyzstan, along with other Central Asian countries, Russia, and China, is a member of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, founded in June 2001.

### **International Terrorism**

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, Kyrgyzstan has suffered incursions by terrorist groups notably the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, from hotbeds of Islamic insurgent activity in nearby Tajikistan and the Fergana Valley. After September 9/11 the United States administration, not hiding its interest in promoting democracy and human rights in the region, gave priority to the fight against international terrorism. Russia's interest in Shanghai Cooperation Organization is to represent itself as Asia's interlocutor with the United States. Indeed, the Ljubljana meeting between Putin and Bush, their first, took place only two days after the end of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization founding conference. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization also intended to create a joint rapid deployment force at an "anti-terrorism center" in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Such an

antiterrorist center was planned to function as a joint coordinating center for the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and the Commonwealth of Independent States.

In 1999 Islamic terrorists took a group of Japanese and Kyrgyzstani hostages in Kyrgyzstan, and an Islamic insurgency continued in Batken and Osh in 2000. In 2003 a series of minor incidents in Osh were attributed to terrorists. Those events showed that Kyrgyzstan did not have sufficient security forces to prevent a major terrorist incursion. Domestic forces have been upgraded somewhat in the early 2000s, but Kyrgyzstan likely would need assistance from Russia or Uzbekistan to counter a serious insurgency. In 2006 Kyrgyzstan received US\$2 million from the United States to combat domestic terrorism as part of the new Manas rental agreement. The money was earmarked for the purchase of border-patrol helicopters.

### **Drug trafficking and Islamic Radicalism**

Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy is based on several factors, threat perceptions with regard to each other, great powers, or transnational threats such as Islamic radicalism and drug trafficking. There are two factors have, however, contributed to the sustained instability in the republic's international affairs. The first factor is the interplay of small states with regional powers, as well as the impact on the region of the inter-relationships among these powers. A second factor is Western states' growing insistence on freedom and democracy which, given the authoritarian environment of the republic's setting, has upset the predominantly real political character of the Kyrgyzstan's international affairs. Today Kyrgyzstan actually presents a perfect alternative to Tajikistan in terms of drug trafficking, although currently it does not compare with the latter in scale. Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are in many ways similar, they are small, weak, mountainous, and contain sections of the Ferghana Valley. These states also face similar security challenges of Islamic radicalism, internal turmoil between stark regional divisions, and the rapidly growing problem of drug trafficking from Afghanistan that both strengthens violent non-state actors and criminalizes the state apparatus.

Although consistent figures are difficult to come by, all Central Asian governments have expressed serious concern about the growing involvement of women in drug trafficking, particularly as couriers, or so-called camels. In Kyrgyzstan, for example, an estimated 30 percent of drug addicts and drug traffickers are women; in

Tajikistan, the proportion of women traffickers is estimated to be even higher and rising. Most of these women, and especially rural women, are enticed into the drug trade because of rampant poverty, discrimination and despair (Quoted in Nancy Lubin, 2004:366-67).

While there is some disagreement over the actual volume of narcotics transported through Central Asia today, the role of Central Asia as a transit point has grown significantly. Until the turn of the twenty-first century, most of the drugs grown in Afghanistan reached Western consumers through Pakistan and Iran, but a clampdown on drug trafficking in Iran, and the increasingly porous borders of Central Asia, have shifted that balance. By the turn of the century, the United Nations and others reported that as much as half to two thirds of all narcotics trafficked from Afghanistan passed through the Central Asian states of Tajikistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan on their way to European and Russian markets as well as sometimes the United States and Canada (ibid, p:363-64).

Some experts have estimated that by 2000, the opium cultivated in Afghanistan, sold in the form of heroin at retail prices, was worth roughly \$100 billion. In Afghanistan, one kilogram of opium cost about \$30; in Moscow, one kilogram of heroin (made from 10 kilograms of opium) cost up to \$30,000; and in Western Europe, the same kilogram of heroin, sold at the retail level in gram units or smaller, cost as much as \$150,000 (ibid, p: 364).

A possible partnership between the United States and Russia may result in opportunities for cooperation, not confrontation, in Central Asia. There are a number of threats to the entire world, as well as to the United States and Russia. These are international terrorism, religious extremism, drug trafficking, the threat of neighboring countries acquiring nuclear weapons, could initiate the coalescing of their interests in the Eurasian region.

The relationship between Islam and Central Asia again entered a new phase with President Mikhail Gorbachev's rise to power in the Soviet Union in the mid-1980s. The introduction of Gorbachev's policies of glasnost (openness) and perestroika (restructuring) resulted into greater religious freedom in the region. Gorbachev's reforms led to a religious revival and many Central Asian Muslims were allowed to go to

pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca, Saudi Arabia for the first time. The reforms also allowed outside Islamic influences to begin filtering into Central Asia. Foreign Islamic governments, organizations, and individuals began sending money to Central Asia to fund the construction of new mosques and reinvigorate Islamic practices. These influences played an important role in the development of radical Islam in Central Asia in the 1990s (Quoted in Tiffany Petros, 2004,:142-43).

Central Asian leaders offered varying degrees of assistance to the United States led Operation Enduring Freedom in an effort to enhance ties with the United States and further their fight against “Islamic terrorists” whom they blamed for anti-government activities at home. Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan were particularly active in this effort, offering the U.S. military airbase in support of the anti-terrorist operation. Although, United States led action in Afghanistan ultimately disrupted Taliban sponsorship of radical Islamic activity in Central Asia, But Islamic radical forces have managed to draw support from Central Asian populations (ibid, p: 140).

By 2003, decimated by Kyrgyz and Uzbek troops, the Islamic radicals have no units which could threaten the Kyrgyz authorities but in a predominantly Islamic country the authorities still consider three groups of extremists to be particularly dangerous: Hizb al-Tahrir (Party of Liberation), The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, which according to head of the Imankulov has been transformed into the Islamic Movement of Central Asia, and the East Turkestan Islamic Movement, an Uighur radical movement operating mainly in Eastern China and only sporadically active in Kyrgyzstan(Quoted in Henry Plater-Zyberk, 2003:7).

#### **Phases of Kyrgyzstan’s foreign policy:**

Kyrgyzstan got its independence in December 1991. Kyrgyzstan had no experience of foreign policy formulation because before independence it was part of the Soviet Union. But after independence, Kyrgyz government started to establish institutions and joined various international and regional organizations. As a result, Kyrgyzstan becomes the members of several international and regional organizations. The foreign policy of Kyrgyzstan can be divided into three important phases. These three phases have

focused on significant turning point and major shifts in foreign policy of the republic. These three phases of Kyrgyz foreign policy are:

**1. The first phase of Kyrgyz foreign policy covers the initial period of independence from- 1991 to about 2001.**

Kyrgyzstan became the member of United Nation in 1992. Kyrgyzstan has developed closer relationship with International Monetary Fund, World Bank, Asian Development Bank, and other international organization of the world. Besides Kyrgyzstan is member of Central Asian Regional Economic Cooperation, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Collective Security Treaty Organization, Organization of Islamic Conference, Organization for Security and Cooperation of Europe, Commonwealth of Independent States, North Atlantic cooperation council and partnership for peace of North Atlantic Treaty Organization, as well as specific declarations and sources were frequently referred by Akayev's foreign policy, such as the declaration of the sovereignty, the 1993 constitution, the 1997 presidential Decree confirming the coordinating role of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in the foreign policy and the 1999 "Diplomacy of the Silk Road Doctrine".

After independence, the Kyrgyz Government started systematic thinking on foreign policy in a more strategic manner. The Kyrgyz Government also made efforts to maintain the Soviet Era international agreement effective. Since its independence, Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy has focused on two main tasks, institutions building and confidence upon breathing life into regional institution where it could manage the challenges of rebuilding a regional state system and securing international assistance for maintenance of national security and its overall development.

In December 1991, Kyrgyzstan became a signatory to the Almaty declarations, signed by eleven former Soviet republics that formally established the Commonwealth of Independent States. Kyrgyzstan joined the new economic zone established by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. In May 1998, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan formally constituted the Central Asian Economic Union, later renamed the Central Asian Economic Community in July 1998. The official rhetoric of Kyrgyzstan foreign policy emphasizes the role of institutions and agreements in enhancing cooperation between

Kyrgyzstan and its neighbors in Eurasia. Kyrgyzstan is a member of the Eurasian Economic Community but this organization, like many other supranational bodies designed to enhanced ties between former Soviet republics, has not lived up to the expectations. Due to its high speed economic growth and huge financial resources, Kazakhstan is now seeking a new market for its goods and investment. Kazakhstan is ready to start investing in Kyrgyzstan's economy, provided there is a stable situation in the country, an improved legislations guarantying the protection of investment.

The Doctrine of the Silk Road is much remembered outside of Kyrgyzstan as a key foreign policy document as well as a series of guiding principles around which Kyrgyz foreign policy is conducted. It represented an effort by Akayev regime try to articulate the broader philosophical framework behind a foreign policy. Broadly speaking this brief statement argued for the restoration of the Silk Road as a mechanism to bind Kyrgyzstan regionally to other parts of Eurasia and the former Soviet Union. It also committed the country to a multilateral foreign policy based on regional cooperation and collective action. Doctrine argued, due to its peaceful multi-ethnic character, Kyrgyzstan is a microcosm of the Silk Road for European and Asian region. Kyrgyzstan's commitment to collective action, the Doctrine further advocated, was necessitated by the common cultural heritage with its immediate neighbors, but also by a shared stance against "extremism" narcotics trafficking and terrorism. It certainly, appealing to a common regional heritage by invoking the glories of the ancient silk road seem more likely to motivate and conciliate its near neighbors then appeals to other commonalities such as their Soviet, Islamic or Turco-Persian heritage. Simultaneously it also conveniently allowed for the inclusion of non-Soviet neighbors who were also more or less part of the ancient trade route, China, Iran, Turkey, Pakistan and India.

**2. The second phase of Kyrgyz foreign policy begin with 9/11 terrorist strike in United States 2001, and the significant shift took place in the foreign policy of the republic.**

The second phase was affected by the fact that after September 11, the United States administration, not hiding its interest in promoting democracy and human rights in the region, gave priority to the fight against international terrorism. As a result,

Kyrgyzstan, along with other countries in the region, became one of the priority areas for United States foreign policy. The developments after 9/11 brought new scenario for economic assistance and potential partnership with foreign governments and International Organizations. Kyrgyzstan developed relations with Western Country and also provided an opportunity to United States for its engagement in Central Asia in general and Kyrgyzstan in particular. The United States is pursuing several objectives through Kyrgyzstan. First, with the help of a military base in Kyrgyzstan, it enabled a prospect to fight terrorism in Afghanistan. Again Kyrgyzstan is obviously one of the democratic states where the United States, through promotion of ideas: democracy and civil society, can keep the country loyal, which is important in the big geopolitical game. After 9/11 attacks the launching of the “war on terror” by United States dramatically enhanced Kyrgyzstan’s strategic position and its value to the west. It was no longer a failed experiment in democratization but a partner in the anti-terrorist struggle, a struggle that was centered in Afghanistan, only two hundred miles from the borders of Kyrgyzstan.

The Akayev regime saw fresh geopolitical vistas in the re-engagement of the United States in Central Asia following the terrorist attacks in the United States of September 2001. For the first time, the United States viewed the region not just as a hydrocarbon repository or potential democracy experiment, but also as geo- strategically vital alternate base to the Persian Gulf and to Control event in Afghanistan. The United State has assisted Kyrgyzstan for constructing an airbase at Manas. After 9/11, they have broad based relationship, cooperating in areas as narcotics, drug trafficking and smuggling, counter-terrorism, non proliferation, regional growth, energy and stability. United State ensured Kyrgyzstan to develop closer relation with International Monetary Fund, World Bank and other financial institutions that could help in rebuilding process. United States is also interested to develop cooperation in hydrocarbon as well as hydroelectric power sector.

During a brief stopover in Bishkek, the Kyrgyz capital, on December 4, 2002, President Putin endorsed the recent Russian deployment of fighter jets, bombers and other aircraft in Kyrgyzstan. Speaking to journalists, Putin said that Russia’s new military presence was very important and brought a new quality to security arrangements in the region. Kyrgyz President Askar Akaev has urged Russia to become a “main strategic



cornerstone of Central Asia. At the same time, officials also signed a defense protocol called the Bishkek Declaration, pledging closer security and economic ties between the two countries. While some believe the move may be designed to reassert Russia's military influence in a region where the United States now has its own semi-permanent military presence. Putin reassured the press that the agreement was not directed against any third country. Both presidents emphasized that the new relationship was multi-faceted, including a deal to write off some \$40 million of Kyrgyz debt to Moscow. Along with Putin, Russian Defense Minister Sergei Ivanov also visited Kyrgyzstan to inspect the new facilities. He announced that the Russian task force would provide air support for a contingent of ground forces. Known as a Rapid Reaction Force, the group has total more than 5,000 troops from Russia, Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan and Tajikistan, as members of an alliance of former Soviet republics known as the Collective Security Treaty Organization (Quoted in Robert Brannon, 2004:432-33).

The Russian deployment at Kant Air Base now means that Kyrgyzstan is host to two foreign air bases, the other being the United States facility at Manas. The United States base, which was established in the aftermath of September 11, is designed to provide air support for regional operations by the anti-terrorism coalition in Afghanistan. This force may help Kyrgyz authorities in dealing with terrorist threats. Coalition troops are unlikely to back the government in disputes with political opposition forces, without additional security protocols. On one hand, the security deal between Moscow and Bishkek could indicate that the United States had failed to provide sufficient commitment to the Akaev administration in terms of security needs and domestic political problems. Therefore, Akaev turned the country to Russian backing in military, political and financial spheres. On the other hand, the new arrangements with Russia may be the harbinger of re-emerging Russian interests in a sphere of influence and a desire for enhanced credibility (ibid).

### **3. The third phase starts after the Tulip Revolution of March 2005 and ended with the popular uprising of April 2010.**

The events of March 24, 2005 Tulip revolution uncovered number of problems, including those which were brewing under the old regime. There is a clash of interests

between world powers on the territory of the country, which further complicates the issue of Kyrgyzstan's position in the world arena. Tulip Revolution was the result of domestic discontent, most notably the political and economic marginalization of the southern half of the country during the 15 years of Akaev's rules. Bakiev began to chart a course in foreign policy that aligned Kyrgyzstan more closely with Moscow, Beijing and the neighboring countries of Central Asia.

The first shift of foreign policy came as early as July 2005. Soon after a meeting of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization which passed a resolution that the United States set a deadline for the closing of its base in Kyrgyzstan. In international affairs, Russia's multi-vector foreign policy had been increasing pressure for years on Kyrgyzstan and other Central Asian countries to adopt a more univector approach towards Moscow. In a changed geopolitical situation of the world, the role of the United States is a decline while that of Russia and China is growing. After Tulip Revolution, Kyrgyzstan felt a need of developing a new foreign policy that could serve its national interests. Thus, Bakiev approved new foreign policy concept in January 2007. According to this new concept, Kyrgyzstan conducted a multi-vectored, balanced and pragmatic foreign policy based on its national interests.

Kyrgyz crisis also gave Russia a chance to play a mediating role. The present leadership, which was in opposition then, has invoked Russian mediation before and after the election. The legitimacy of transfer of power was maintained with both previous leadership and present one relying on Russia's good offices which was more neutral in case of Kyrgyzstan. The damage to the infrastructure and the disruption caused by mob violence gives Russia another opportunity to continue its influential role in the republic. The Bakiyev leadership, requested for agricultural equipment, fertilizers, fuel and bank loans were acceded to by Russia.

The sudden and unforeseen change of power in Kyrgyzstan on March 24, 2005 resulted in the ousting of President Askar Akayev, who had good relations with China. For a period of more than a decade, Akayev's regime fruitfully cooperated with Beijing on issues of border delimitation, military training, and the fight against the three evils of terrorism, separatism, extremism, and trade (Zamir Charynov, 2006:32-33).

Analysts and government officials in China feared the western orientation of the new Kyrgyz regime, not least because of recent similar popular revolts in Georgia and Ukraine that were believed to have been influenced by western interests. China was especially concerned because the Kyrgyz revolt was instigated by people widely and publicly critical of Akayev's lands transfer agreement with Beijing in 2001 (ibid).

These concerns were finally allayed as the new Kyrgyz leadership pledged adherence to and continuation of the former regime's foreign policy. China was the second country after Uzbekistan to which an official delegation under the Acting Foreign Minister Roza Otunbaeva made its visit. In her meetings with top Chinese officials, Otunbaeva, whom many saw as pro-western, assured Beijing of the new Kyrgyz leadership's commitment to the preservation of good and friendly relations with China. She also stated that the new leadership regards China as an important friend and economic partner (ibid).

After Tulip Revolution, growth in intensity of relations between Russia and China and Kyrgyzstan is only a trend at the moment. Political instability in Kyrgyzstan is an obstacle for realization of large economic projects. It does not give an opportunity to the Kyrgyz government to change the social and economic situation and to strengthen its position. The crisis phenomenon inside the country is being used by the new pro-American opposition to encourage political instability. The major result of the events which have occurred in Kyrgyzstan became the high dynamism of political life and unpredictability of the ongoing processes. Kyrgyzstan is in a state of strategic uncertainty, and this adds to the complexities of defining its policy with its foreign policy partners. In April 2010, an event took place in the republic. As a result, the Kyrgyz President Kurmanbek Bakiyev was thrown out from the power and interim government, under the leadership of Roza Otunbaeva has come into power. The interim government of the republic has showed its commitment not to bring any change in the foreign policy of the country.

### CHAPTER-III

#### **KYRGYZSTAN'S RELATION WITH EXTERNAL AND REGIONAL POWERS**

The Soviet Union disintegrated into 15 republics in December 1991. In the aftermath of the collapse of the Soviet state the government of Kyrgyzstan launched processes of nation building as well as established relationship with other countries of the world. The foreign relations of Kyrgyzstan with great powers based on the formation and development of mutual beneficial cooperation as well as providing multi-vectored foreign policy toward different states. This direction of Kyrgyz foreign policy has its significant implementation in the relations with China, Russia, and Central Asian neighbors. So far as Western Countries are concerned, United States was given an important place in the foreign policy of the republic. Islam is one of the major sources of national identity and a factor facilitating the relation of Central Asia with other Islamic countries and make efforts to promote relations and actively participate in regional cooperation.

What enable a small power to change its foreign policy course? Although, literally small in size may be a contributing factor for its relationship with the dominant power like Russia. Small state or small power is a special category since their specific position in relation to big power may make them behave in a special way. There are two approaches for a weak state choosing to compensate for its weakness- 'policies to isolate itself from power conflicts or policies in which a country can choose to draw on the strength of other to insure its own security (Rothstein, 1968:23).

Kyrgyzstan was recognized almost immediately by most nations, including the United States, whose secretary of state, James Baker, made an official visit in January 1992. An embassy of United States was opened in the capital in February 1992. By early 1993, the new country had been recognized by 120 nations and had diplomatic relations with sixty-one of them. It has followed the economic prescriptions of the International Monetary Fund more faithfully than any of the other countries of the region. Still, the republic is not necessarily on its way to becoming an oasis of democracy and capitalism in the heart of landlocked region. Its location is a liability: Kyrgyzstan is wedged between a powerful and suspicious China, a Tajikistan in chaos, Kazakhstan whose capital is less

than 50 miles from their common border, and Uzbekistan which has claims on its territory.

The leaders of the Central Asian states consider the region as a link between the East and the West, between the Asia Pacific and Europe. They continually promote the concept of the *Eurasian Bridge* or *the Great Silk Road*. Presently this idea is the key element in the process of self-identification of the Central Asian region in the international arena. "Historically Central Asia played a special role in the mutual relationships of the East and the West, being a sort of link between them. All major trade roads went through Central Asia and were a source of interaction and the mutual spread of European and Asian culture", said former President of Kyrgyzstan Askar Akaev (Quoted in Rafis Abazov, 1998:10).

Ideology has had very little influence on the region especially during the 1990s, but also in the first years following the events of September 11. Emphasizing domestic governance, human rights, and democratic reforms in their relationships with the region, Western powers, especially the United States, have always balanced such factors with national interests in security, energy, or other issues. The West had limited interests and influences in the region during this period, however, the emphasis on democracy and governance did not upset international relations in the region. Central Asian regimes did not perceive these policies as a threat to either stability or regime security. As a result, democratization was neither an asset nor a liability for the United States in its relationship with Central Asia.

This study views the preliminary attempts to establish an ideology of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy as an outgrowth of the country's circumstances, political leadership, and developing relations with the outside world, specifically Turkey and the Middle East, Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States, the United States and the West, China, and Kyrgyzstan's neighbors in Central Asia (Rick Fawn, 2005:109).

## **Kyrgyzstan and United States**

The United States with both the largest economy and military establishment in the world has become very active in regional affairs of Central Asian Republics. The United States embassy opened in Bishkek in February 1992, and a Kyrgyzstani embassy was established in Washington in 1993. Accordingly, it has become one of the top priorities of Kyrgyz foreign policy. The Development of mutually beneficial relations with the United States can contribute to the furtherance of social-economic and democratic reforms in Kyrgyzstan. An important objective is to maintain balance between the political and economic components of bilateral relations through activating trade cooperation with the United States.

The Government of United States provides humanitarian assistance, non-lethal military assistance, and assistance to support economic and political reforms. It also has supported the Kyrgyz Republic's requests for assistance from international organizations. The United States helped the Kyrgyz Republic accede to the World Trade Organization in December 1998. United States also provided assistance aids to the Kyrgyz Republic in implementing necessary economic, health sector, and educational reforms, and supports economic development and conflict resolution in the Ferghana Valley.

The relations between Kyrgyzstan and United States of America can be divided into two phases. First was the period of cooperation to ensure sovereignty, independence and territorial integrity of the Kyrgyz Republic. It should be noted that the United States was the first among who recognized the independence of Kyrgyzstan and established its diplomatic mission in the republic. During the period of the first phase, special attention was paid to the political development of Kyrgyzstan and democratization and human rights in the republic. During the first phase, the United States constantly put pressure on Kyrgyzstan and other Central Asian countries to accelerate their democratic transformation. Among the tasks in this direction, the United States administration named the development of independent media in the country, the establishment of political pluralism and the emergence of active civil society.

The second phase was affected by the fact that after September 11, the United States administration stopped talking about democracy and human right and gave priority to the fight against international terrorism. As a result, Kyrgyzstan, along with other

countries in the region, became one of the priority areas for United States foreign policy. The negotiations for establishing the base began in October 2001. Soon after the 11 September 2001 terrorist attacks on the World Trade Center President Askar Akayev expressed his condolences to the American people and his full support of United States actions against “international terrorism and extremism.” In October 2001 the United States’s government officially asked the government of Kyrgyzstan about the possible use of Kyrgyzstan’s territory to station U.S. troops. After intensive consultations with the members of the Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty, officials in Bishkek agreed to host the U.S. military personnel and U.S. aircraft. In June 2002 the agreement was extended for another year with an option to extend the lease on an annual basis (Rafis Abazov, 2004:249).

The trade and economic relation between Kyrgyzstan and United States, Particularly in the field of the development of trade and economic ties has its own difficulties. One of these is the long distance between two countries and the lack of access to the seaports from the Kyrgyzstan. But, at the same time, we should take into account that there are good conditions in the aspect of law. For example, the agreement on investment promotion and protection between the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic and the United States Government came into force on 12 December 1994. One example is the KATEL Company. They took advantage of this agreement. Another significant development in the bilateral relations was the adoption of a law in 1998, ensuring normal trade relations (NTR). This amendment has been long discussed by Russia, Kazakhstan, and other CIS countries; but they still cannot cancel this amendment. This is an amendment about joining the World Trade Organization.

Regarding attracting foreign direct investment, at first the American side tried to do it. They organized conferences both in the U.S. and in the Central Asian region, inviting officials and businessmen. A special center called BISNIS in the Ministry of Trade had been established; which for over a decade had contributed to the spread of business and investment information on the CIS countries among companies of United States. It was closed two or three years ago. Some countries took greater advantage of this opportunity, while the other countries could not even provide normal projects. In 1995-1996 the Asian Fund for the Support of Entrepreneurship was opened in the region

with an investment collection of 150 million U.S. dollars. Unfortunately, this project from its outset was accompanied by scandals, including corruption scandals. In 1997, the fund was closed.

The Akayev regime saw fresh geopolitical vistas in the re-engagement of the US in Central Asia following the terrorist attacks in the US of September 2001. For the first time, the US viewed the region not just as a hydrocarbon repository or potential democracy experiment, but also as geo-strategically vital alternate base to the Persian Gulf and to control events in Afghanistan. It was perceived potential role as an incubator for radical Islamic movements also underscored Washington's new-found fascination with the area. Kyrgyzstan is an excellent example of a small state response to the Great Game paradigm of superpower competition in the region via proxy states (Tom Wood, 2006:9).

Cooperation in the bilateral military cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and the United States has reached a higher level. Undoubtedly, the disposition of coalition forces in the international airport Manas to conduct operations in Afghanistan greatly contributed to it. The United States has a special interest in expanding military cooperation with the Kyrgyz Republic and considers it as an important link in the fight against international terrorism. In this context, the American side is extremely interested in the further use of the territory of the Kyrgyz Republic as a bridgehead for its mission in Afghanistan. At the same time, it is necessary to take into account that new directions in the ongoing operation in Afghanistan will emerge in the near future; shifting from the military phase of operations to the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Cooperation in the military field is also developing within the program "Partnership for Peace," which focuses on the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and ensuring the border security in Kyrgyzstan.

It has focused a little on the mission and the activities of the airbase Manas. It is the main air-mobile center for the International Security Assistance Force and the military operations in Afghanistan. This mission has a United Nations mandate; its purpose is to assist the Government of Afghanistan. The impact of the airbase on the economy of Kyrgyzstan, the operations at the airbase bring more than 80 million U.S. dollars income for Kyrgyzstan. According to the estimates, this includes landing and



parking of aircrafts, issuance of passes in total, 24 million U.S. dollars annually. 550 Kyrgyz citizens are working at this airbase, and their earnings amounted to 2.64 million U.S. dollars over the past year. Also this year, Kyrgyz contractors have provided their services amounting to 18 millions of dollars. Recently, our contractors won a supply tender for 90 million. In addition, the rent, which our Governments agreed on in 2006, is 17 million 400 thousand. Total around 80 million US dollars (<http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/756/>).<sup>1</sup>

Akaev wanted to reverse a deteriorating United States-Kyrgyz relationship and to do so without modifying his domestic policies. Akayev's domestic policies had become a point of distress to U.S. policy makers, who were frustrated by restrictions on the role of opposition and independent political groups in Kyrgyzstan introduced in the late 1990s. Akayev's interest in cooperating with the United States was heightened by Uzbekistan's rapid support for the U.S. war effort (Martha Brill Olcott, 2007:6)

Kyrgyzstan is strategically important to Washington; it houses a United States military base at Manas now a transit center vital to its operations in Afghanistan. Feigenbaum says the base has served as a "political football in Kyrgyz politics for quite some time," but doubts the new government will close it. On Russia's role in the recent events, he says, "whatever influence external powers may or may not have, let's not forget that ultimately this is about the Kyrgyz people and about Kyrgyz politics"(Evan A. Feigenbaum Interview, 9<sup>th</sup> April, 2010).

In December 1992 Kyrgyzstan joined the North Atlantic Cooperation Council, a mechanism for countries that are not members of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization. The Partnership for Peace Program of North Atlantic Treaty Organization is the most enduring framework for cooperation and has concentrated command staff and field training for peacemaking. There has been an increasing emphasis on counterterrorism training since armed radical Islamist groups first began coordinated activity in 1999. Although the demands on Kyrgyzstan's military have grown considerably over the past decade, their growth in effective capacity has been constrained partly by budgetary concerns. Russia's sponsored Collective Security Treaty Organization has increased the

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<sup>1</sup> The main results of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy, available at: <http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/756/>.

involvement of Kyrgyzstan's military in regional exercises that included at least one other Central Asian country in recent years. August 2007 marked both the first time that China has been able to include Kyrgyzstan in a military exercise with another Central Asian country within the Shanghai Cooperation Organization framework and at a new level of engagement.

Kyrgyz demands in late 2005 for an exorbitant price for air base rights led to protracted negotiations that placed the price within the context of a broader aid package. That fueled charges in the Russian dominated local press that there were secret deals and led several members of parliament to demand that the United States become more open in its accounting. The expulsion of two United States diplomats because of "inappropriate contacts between United States embassy personnel and nongovernmental organizations" in July 2005 was shocking not only in its audacity but in its emphasis of a theme that Russia's controlled media have been echoing in their criticism of "color revolutions" as being essentially managed by the United States.

While Manas air base was becoming a fulcrum for criticism of the United States. Russia was able to return to Kyrgyzstan in the late Akayev period and establish its own base at Kant. Kulov even offered Russia an additional base in the south, in the more crowded and ethnically contentious Farghana Valley portion of Kyrgyzstan. The offer has not been acted on. Russia's presence is currently very strong in Kyrgyzstan because Russians now have money to invest. The comment by Russia's deputy foreign minister in January that the United States base should stay in Kyrgyzstan as long as it is necessary for Afghanistan's stability can be interpreted as an attempt on the part of Russia to negotiate Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy through Moscow; at least as far as United States interests are concerned. An alternative suggestion would be for the United States to engage through Astana, the capital of Kazakhstan, as it would be better for Kyrgyzstan to be a junior partner using Astana rather than watch as the Kremlin exercised control.

A prominent intellectual and organizer of both the March 2005 and November 2006 demonstrations emphasized that the ease with which the United States diplomats were ejected as well as the relative acquiescence of the United States government in this behavior, was quite a shock to many in Kyrgyzstan. This happened, he thought, because the United States has not adapted to changes in Central Asia in recent years. Since the

Iraq war began, the United States has been increasingly portrayed as weak and impotent in the media, and working with the United States is no longer seen as necessary or important to Kyrgyzstan. It has further explained that for the overwhelming majority of the Kyrgyz political class, the media that are prominent and readily available to them are Russian or Russian dominated. The United States foreign policy establishment is seen by some as too dependent on Kyrgyz think tanks whose output is mainly directed to the West.

Relations with Kyrgyzstan, which once presented the greatest hope for democratic change in the region, have become more complicated after recent political developments. Following President Akayev's ouster, Uzbekistan's decision to terminate the U.S. lease at K2 and pressure by the SCO for the United States to leave all of its bases in Central Asia, the Bakiyev government demanded \$200 million—instead of the \$2 million Washington had paid previously, to renew the lease for the Manas airbase. In part this reflected Bakiyev's effort to distinguish himself from the corruption of the previous government, since Akayev's family benefited from lucrative contracts associated with the U.S. base, and corruption in the country limited any benefits to the population as a whole. In the end, Washington and Bishkek agreed to up the base leasing fee to \$20 million with an additional pledge of \$150 million in aid, thus ending up with a total figure close to the \$200 million requested and enabling Bakiyev to claim that he had held firm in his demands with the Americans (Elizabeth Wishnick, 2009:12).

Many Kyrgyz view the problems of the United States in maintaining its presence in Kyrgyzstan as symptomatic of its failure to engage with Central Asia seriously. Russia and China are attempting to fill the void that a comprehensive U.S. policy for the region might have averted.

### **Kyrgyzstan and Russia**

The Soviet Union ceased to exist in December 1991. In the aftermath of the dissolution of the erstwhile USSR, the Kyrgyz President Akaev highlighted the importance of strengthening relationship with Russia. According to him '*relation with Russia has been given to Kyrgyz by God*' on 10 June 1992, both countries signed the "Friendship and Bilateral Cooperation and a Bilateral Assistance Treaty." The Kyrgyz Republic maintains close relations with other former Soviet countries, particularly with Kazakhstan and Russia. Recognizing Russia's concerns about the Russian-speaking

minority in the Kyrgyz Republic, President Akayev was sensitive to potential perceptions of discrimination. For example, although the 1993 Constitution designates Kyrgyz as the state language, an amendment to the Constitution in 2001 granted official status to the Russian language.

The amended December 30, 2006 constitution reaffirmed the status of the two languages. Kyrgyzstan is a part of the "Eurasian Civilization" that was formed around Russia that has geopolitical, economic, cultural, spiritual and linguistic dimensions. The interlocking interests of Kyrgyzstan and Russia predestine a high level of political partnership. Strengthening military-political cooperation with the Russian Federation is an important element of Kyrgyzstan's security. Vital economic interests connect the country with Russia as well. All of this underlines the need to build a strategic partnership with Russia.

Russia is concerned with preserving its influence in Central Asia which was its sphere of influence beginning in the 19th century, when these territories were part of the Russian empire and after October Revolution they became constituent parts of the Soviet Union. At stake are not only Central Asia's mineral resources but also Russia's political prestige in the world. Today, there are several other reasons for Russia's close involvement in Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan.

First, Russia cannot afford the establishment of unfriendly regimes in its "underbelly" the Central Asian republics located near the Ural and Volga regions of the Russian Federation. The danger for Russia lies not only in the emergence of new trouble spots and the financial resources that would have to be spent on protecting its southern borders. This danger has the so-called Islamic dimension: Any aggressive regime on Russia's southern borders poses the danger of the Islamization of the Muslim regions of Russian federation, particularly in the north Caucasus region. This would be a nightmare scenario: Islamic fundamentalism and Muslim radicalism penetrating the Russian heartland would jeopardize not only Russia's statehood but the prospects for the Christian-Muslim dialogue on the global scale. This is not only a matter of Russia's security but the beginning of the end of Europe which Russia has by virtue of its geopolitical position and its historical destiny been protecting throughout the past millennium.

Second, Central Asia is a kind of an entry gate for Russia to the dynamic Chinese economy. Central Asia could become an infrastructure corridor for raw materials and energy shipments to China or alternatively it could become a closed door to the giant, fast-growing economy. Obviously, control over this corridor is crucial for Russia.

Russia is located north of the Kyrgyz Republic and separated from Kyrgyzstan by Kazakhstan's territory. Russia and Kyrgyzstan have maintained close political relations since 1991, as Akaev joined the Russia-led Commonwealth of Independent States, Collective Security Treaty Organization, Customs Union, Eurasian Economic Community, and some other organizations. Nevertheless, Russia expressed its concern about the treatment of the Russian population in Kyrgyzstan in the early 1990s.

Since 1991 Russia has remained Kyrgyzstan's largest trading partner. Kyrgyzstan's trade with Russia was estimated at 20 percent of its total foreign trade or at about US\$140 million in 2001, down from about US\$210 million in 2000. Kyrgyzstan exported about US\$70 million in goods and services, mainly products of its agriculture and light industry, natural resources, and machinery, and imported about US\$170 million in goods and services, including petroleum, machinery, and consumer goods. In 1999 and 2000 Russia provided substantial military and financial assistance and political support to Kyrgyzstan, when the latter experienced the militant incursions from Tajikistan into Batken oblast (Rafis Abazov, 2004:218-19).

In 2001 and 2002 Kyrgyz-Russian relations were strained, as Kyrgyzstan agreed to lease its territory for the U.S. military airbase. In order to reduce the tensions, in June 2002 the government agreed to host the Russian military base and leased to Russia the facilities of the former Soviet airbase in the city of Kant. In 2003 Kyrgyz government supported the Russian criticism of the U.S.-led war in Iraq (ibid).

Russia's presence goes far beyond its political interests in Kyrgyzstan. Russians are returning with a great deal of money to be invested in mineral resources. Russia's regional approach in Central Asia under Putin has been not only to seek control of mineral resources but energy resources as well, which are represented by the United Energy System's monopoly interests in developing large hydroelectric stations in oil- and gas-poor but water-rich Kyrgyzstan. Russia's Ministry of Internal Affairs (MVD) became

the training center where Kyrgyzstan's own MVD officers will be sent for training, mirroring the relationship in the Soviet period.

Russia has a great deal of leverage in Kyrgyzstan because nearly 400,000 Kyrgyz, mostly male, are estimated to be working in Russia. Kazakhstan is estimated to have fewer than one hundred thousand, but both countries account for nearly half a million or close to 10 percent of the population in a country of 5.2 million. Remittances are thought to be at least twice the budget. Whereas one opposition member characterized this large labor migration "as a means for Russia to rule," another put it more pragmatically: "the economic situation is such that we need a direct connection with some country, for better or worse Kyrgyz work in Russia but now whole families are leaving" (Peter Sinnott, 2007:435).

Russia has had a declining population for decades because of low birth rates and outmigration. Its labor force need in the past decade has led to the influx of about 10 million labor migrants from Central Asian and South Caucasus countries. President Putin had not failed to use this labor force need to Russia's advantage in foreign policy, as displayed by threat of sending Georgia's labor migrants home when a dispute arose with President Saakashvili. The failure of so many states to Russia's south to build their economies to provide employment for people living there has led to this strange balance of power in labor migration.

Russian control of the media, especially television broadcasts, was seen by many as heavily influencing Kyrgyz public opinion. Even intellectuals turn to Russia's Komsomolskaya Pravda primarily because there is no alternative newspaper that is well financed enough to compete with it. One overt display of Russia's involvement in actively isolating Kyrgyzstan was the blocking of Internet communications recently: "Kyrgyz providers and Websites were attacked four times in 2006 because Kyrgyzstan is more politically active than other Central Asian countries," claimed one media analyst. Although independent media are seen as shrinking and only a few newspapers remain independent, it was noted that the opposition has done nothing to create an alternative television channel.

In the era of multi-lateral diplomacy, on the one hand Kyrgyzstan has opened up its relations with other countries, and on the other hand, it is still equally keen to deepen

its ties with Russia. Kyrgyzstan very well understands that the involvement of powers like China and United States are interest-drive and are there for temporary benefits. But as far as Russia is concerned the republic is aware that it is its permanent friend, irrespective of the global changes.

### **Kyrgyzstan and China**

China is one of the major external players in Kyrgyz state. It is located east of the Kyrgyz Republic, and the two states share a border of 858 kilometers. During the 18th and 19th centuries the Kyrgyz tribes had uneasy relations with the Chinese Empire, as they vigorously resisted Chinese attempts to colonize the Kyrgyz land, though representatives of some Kyrgyz tribes expressed readiness to accept a Chinese protectorate. However, those attempts failed, and the powerful Russian Empire acquired the Kyrgyz land by the middle of the 19th century.

After the Revolution of 1917 the Bolsheviks imposed the Iron Curtain on the Soviet border, including the Kyrgyz-Chinese border. In the 1940s and the 1950s Kyrgyzstan developed active trade and cultural exchanges with China, as the Soviet Union had positive relations with the Chinese leadership during this era. However, the Chinese-Soviet dispute in the 1960s and 1970s negatively affected the relations between Kyrgyzstan and China. This was complicated by the territorial disputes over the Kyrgyz-China borders. The relations significantly improved in the middle of the 1980s. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 Kyrgyzstan and China established direct diplomatic relations, and China was among the first countries that opened an embassy in Bishkek (Rafis Abazov, 2004:102-2).

Kyrgyzstan's relation with the People's Republic of China is a very important aspect of the foreign policy of the republic. The priority given to China is determined by its growing influence in world and regional affairs, its significant economic and demographic potential, as well as its geographical proximity to Kyrgyzstan. Development of good-neighbor relations with China is an essential component of Kyrgyzstan's security, an important condition for development of communication to the South and East, as well as development of a mutually beneficial trading partnership. The role of Kyrgyzstan in the formation of China geopolitical and regional strategy depends to the

great extent on a number of important conditions and factors. First of all, three status positions of Kyrgyzstan influence its role. Kyrgyzstan is as a political, economic, and military partner.

The fundamental status is, of course, that of the economic partner. In this regard, Kyrgyzstan will be attractive to China not as a producer of goods, services, technologies, etc., but rather as a small transitional infrastructure. It is necessary to emphasize here that the economy of China is oriented primarily to the West and the Asian-Pacific region in terms of integration into the world economic relations. At the present time military partnership, inter department contacts are carried out mainly through the participation of Kyrgyzstan and China in the "Shanghai five" and on the bilateral basis.

In the international structure of relations, Kyrgyzstan can become an important partner of China in ensuring regional security. The mechanism of relations in the spheres where interests of countries are common was established in 1996 in Shanghai and now it favors complete revelation of the potential for multilateral cooperation. Views of two countries on many important positions are not simply close to each other, but rather identical issues of separatism, religious extremism, organized crime, etc. We can say that political partnership will determine the entire system of China relations with Kyrgyzstan.

It is necessary to mention the factors that can either promote or hold back the cooperation of China and Kyrgyzstan:

The boundary issues were completely settled. When the agreement on Kyrgyz-Kazakh-Chinese border and agreement on Kyrgyz-Chinese state border were signed during the Bishkek summit; Kyrgyzstan completed major negotiations by 2001 and signed an agreement with China on settling all territorial disputes. According to the agreement, Bishkek agreed to cede to China around 100,000 hectares of its land, or around three-quarters of the disputed territories. This included some land close to Khan-Tengri Mountain, which is sacred to the Kyrgyzs. However, the Kyrgyz government completed these negotiations in secrecy, without constitutionally required consultations with the Jogorku Kenesh. In response, the Kyrgyz public and opposition organizations organized a series of mass protests throughout Kyrgyzstan in 2001 and 2002, which led to the resignation of the Kyrgyz government in May 2002. After intensive debates the Kyrgyz parliament agreed to approve the agreement in 2002 (Rafis Abazov, 2004:102-2).



At a session of the upper house of Kyrgyz parliament yesterday, the legislators refused to ratify a decision to cede disputed territory to China. The demonstrators were demanding the nullification of an agreement between Kyrgyzstan and China that would cede 30% of a border sector near the Uzengi-Kuush River to China. Just a few days ago, it may be recalled, the lower house did ratify the agreement on demarcation of the border between Kyrgyzstan and China that was signed by President Askar Akayev and Chinese President Jiang Zemin in 1999. Under that document, approximately 95,000 hectares of Kyrgyz territory was to be ceded to China. Meanwhile, the government, despite public protests, had demarcated the border between the two states. The first agreement, ceding 30,000 hectares to China, was signed by President Akaev in 1996 (CDPSP, 2002:16).

Lack of serious investment, and trade economic niches in Kyrgyzstan; The main problematic issues, existing after the change of power in 2005, was resolved in 2006-2007, and therefore, no problematic issues in the Kyrgyz-Chinese relations have been observed since then. The trade turnover is steadily growing, although there are different estimates. A trade representative of China formally announced that the turnover in 2008 exceeded 6 billion U.S. dollars. This is a Chinese estimate. The Kyrgyz customs and statistical committees speak about the figure, which is dozens of times smaller. There is a question of calculation; it may give error of 10-20 percent, but not dozens of times. Since 2005, Chinese small and medium-sized businesses have been active. Today, according to different estimates, Chinese businessmen have invested more than 500 million dollars in the development of their businesses in the country (<http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/756/>)<sup>2</sup>.

China is implementing major investment projects in Kyrgyzstan. For example, the Kyzylkiya cement plant received a credit of about 100 million dollars. Infrastructure projects are also actively promoted particularly, road to Osh. An agreement was reached on the reconstruction of the second road Turugart-Balykchy-Bishkek. China, as well as the ADB, will provide certain funding. The net assistance, provided annually by China to Kyrgyzstan, is about 70 million yuan. About 50 million yuan are provided within the framework of assistance through the Ministry of Commerce to implement projects at the

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<sup>2</sup> The main results of Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy, available at: <http://www.ipp.kg/en/analysis/756>.

request of the Kyrgyz government, and about 20 million are provided to support our special agencies and the Ministry of Defense (ibid)<sup>3</sup>.

Activities of Uigur separatists are the problematic issues: The problem of Xinjiang separatism and extremism remains painful for China (not only with respect to Kyrgyzstan, but also to other Central Asian states), and there have been attempts to solve it at the bilateral level with the press-services and law enforcement agencies of Kyrgyzstan; as well as within the framework of SCO. Kyrgyzstan borders on the Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, a restless, which is strategically important region for China. The region known for its separatist movements and stability in bordering Kyrgyzstan is in the best interests of China.

Religious extremism, terrorism and organized crime; A Kyrgyz analyst Orozbek Omuraliev argues that Hizb ut-Tahrir takes advantage of Kyrgyzstan's relatively liberal system. Kyrgyz security authorities also expressed some concern about the activities of the Islamic Party of East Turkestan, a militant and separatist Muslim organization in China's Western Xinjiang province. The Kyrgyz defense minister said at a press conference in 2003 that "the situation in the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China was affecting the situation in the region, where the extremist Islamic Party of East Turkestan adds to the complicated security situation ([http://www.eurasia21.com/cgi-data/document/files/Islamist\\_extremism](http://www.eurasia21.com/cgi-data/document/files/Islamist_extremism))<sup>4</sup>.

Similarity of economic basis overcoming poverty by implementation of economic reforms with the introduction and functioning of market mechanisms; Kyrgyzstan supports Chinese views on Taiwan and Tibet issues, human rights problems and China support of Kyrgyzstan in strengthening its independence, territorial integrity, etc.

The problem, recently highlighted, is the airbase Manas. We know the position of China. If the base is limited and operates in accordance with its mandate of Afghanistan problems there would no problem. If it goes beyond that framework, it presents problems for China. And, of course, they say that it would be well to define the time frame. But, as the situation in Afghanistan deteriorates, the Chinese party also

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<sup>3</sup> ibid

<sup>4</sup> [http://www.eurasia21.com/cgi-data/document/files/Islamist\\_extremism](http://www.eurasia21.com/cgi-data/document/files/Islamist_extremism).

understands that abolishment of the base on the territory of Kyrgyzstan will not contribute to solving the Afghan problem.

Chinese immigration to Kyrgyzstan, border delimitation in the 1990s, and activities of Uigur separatist groups on Kyrgyzstan's territory were the three key issues in the relations between these two neighbors in the 1990s. In 1996 and 1997 Beijing and Bishkek negotiated and resolved their territorial disputes within the framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Chinese diplomatic relations became tense due to assassination of Chinese diplomat in Bishkek, allegedly by members of Uigur separatist groups, and the killing of more than 20 citizens of China in March 2003 (Rafis Abazov, 2004:102-2).

In 1999 and 2000 China provided substantial logistic and political support to Kyrgyzstan when the latter experienced the militant incursions from Tajikistan into Batken *oblast*. In exchange, Kyrgyzstan's government blocked activities of some Uigur groups on its territory. In 2001-02 Chinese policymakers expressed their disappointment with Kyrgyzstan's decision to host the U.S. military airbase at Manas airport, about 300 kilometers from the Chinese border. However, in 2003 security relations improved and the two countries agreed to conduct joint military and antiterrorist exercises (ibid).

China, like Russia, sees the region as a cheap source of mineral resources for its industry. As a result, China is buying mines and resource sites. But it has also promised to build a railroad connecting Kyrgyzstan to China to be used for exports. Could China be on the brink of implementing a regional policy for exporting factories to Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and possibly Uzbekistan where the male labor outmigration is highest? Migration plays a role in China's policy as well, but the presence of a diaspora community, largely illegal, is estimated by some Kyrgyz to be close to 100,000, a number greater than in neighboring, wealthy Kazakhstan. -

China's selection of Bishkek to host the 2006 Shanghai Cooperation Organization summit could be the springboard for a new large-scale Chinese initiative for Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia. Kyrgyzstan's Deputy Foreign Minister Kadyrbek Sabaev spoke of the necessity for Kyrgyzstan to build a new conceptual basis for its international relations, which is being worked on now, and Nurdin Abdyldaev, MP and head of the Committee on International Relations, spoke of how the SCO could solve the region's problems on a

government-to-government basis. The necessity of a “neutral Central Asia” was emphasized in this context. It is possible that a neutral Central Asia under the SCO umbrella and promised new investments and jobs will increasingly become the centerpiece of China’s new policies in Central Asia.

The U.S. may still be able to win a battle for influence with Russia, a country which continues to suffer from a weak economy, a gamut of political, social and economic problems, and a shrinking population. But Russia is not the richest and most powerful competitor of the U.S. in Kyrgyzstan. For the last few years Russia and the U.S. have battled for influence in Kyrgyzstan and the winner was China. Besides the U.S. and Russia, China is also increasing its influence in Kyrgyzstan. So far this is happening mainly in economics, but may potentially involve politics.

### **Kyrgyzstan and India**

India is not an Islamic state and it has no common frontiers with the Central Asian republics. The territories of Pakistan and Afghanistan intervene. Despite this, Central Asia has played an important role in Indian history, culture, music and ultimately even politics. India and the Kyrgyzstan share common values of democracy, secularism and opposition to fundamentalism and terrorism. There is also the mutual recognition that national security concerns of Kyrgyz Republic and India are closely inter-linked. Bilateral political relations with these countries are marked by close understanding. In the economic sphere, abundant natural resources of Kyrgyzstan and India’s technological and scientific capabilities provide the rationale for collaboration, notwithstanding the current problems of transitional economies in these states. Efforts are being made to overcome these temporary difficulties. The centrality of Central Asian republics in current geo-political scenario there is no doubt that this region has emerged-as significant center of gravity of Asia. Central Asia, including Kyrgyzstan which lies as a bridge between Asia and Europe, rich in natural resources and the shortest transit route to Europe, occupies a special place in India’s foreign relation priorities.

India was one of the first few countries to establish diplomatic relations with Kyrgyzstan in 1992. An Indo-Kyrgyz Joint Commission on Trade, Economic, Scientific and Technological Cooperation set up in 1992. Traditional relations with Kyrgyzstan

progressed well. Foreign Office consultations were held in July 1998. India gifted a 'mini dairy plant' to Kyrgyzstan under the Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation programme. Days of Kyrgyz Culture in India were held in March 1999. Kyrgyz Defense Minister visited India in February 1999 on the invitation of the Indian Defense Minister Shri George Fernandes (<http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Foreign>)<sup>5</sup>.

Despite these excellent underpinning that India-Central Asia as well as Kyrgyzstan possess in terms of the historical, cultural, affinities and strong and political ties, somehow India has not been able to achieve the kind of substantive content in its interactions which probably were designed by both. Therefore, need is to redefine Kyrgyzstan-India relationship in the context of new challenges, common interests, common concerns and the economic opportunities, on which Kyrgyzstan-India can build partnership.

Since the disintegration of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1991, Central Asian region including Kyrgyzstan has witnessed the mushrooming of the forces of religious extremism threatening the internal stability of the five states in the region. With the coming of Taliban to power in Afghanistan in 1996, the threat to their security grew manifold: Mounting cross border terrorism supported by the Afghan government, backed by international terrorist groups and sustained by drug money became the biggest challenge to their external security and internal stability.

The same forces and similar challenges confronted India since the beginning of the 1990s. However, given the fact that the situation in Afghanistan is still quite volatile and the Taliban threat is not yet over, has that of cross border terrorism, the need for continued cooperation between Kyrgyzstan-India is very critical. S.D Muni notes, "Central Asia's geo-strategic location and its rich mineral and hydro-carbon resources." He further and says that India focuses on three major areas of mutual interests namely: economic cooperation, tourism and challenge of political stability, and issues of regional security and strategic order.

Since the establishments of diplomatic relations between Kyrgyzstan and India, warm relationships have been kept up between two countries. Former President of the Kyrgyz republic Askar Akaev paid a state visit to India in April 1999, an agreement on

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<sup>5</sup> <http://www.indianembassy.org/policy/Foreign>.

avoidance of double taxation, treaty on mutual legal assistance in criminal matters, cultural exchange programme for the years 1998-2004 and Memorandum of Understanding on civil aviation matters were signed during the visit.

Indian Vice-President Krishna Kant visited Kyrgyzstan in Aug-Sept 1999. President Akaev again visited India on August 7, 2002 and discussed a wide range of bilateral and international issues, including political relations, trade and economic cooperation and the issue of Indian Technical Assistance. Kyrgyzstan and India are keen to increase the level of trade and economic cooperation and need to devise new sphere of beneficial cooperation in Information Technology, mining, fruit-processing and engineering sectors.

Kyrgyzstan is attaching over-riding significance to boosting cooperation with India in various directions. According to the Kyrgyz side, the priorities fields of cooperation with India are tourism, training of specialists, developing small and medium size businesses, the processing and mining industries and Information Technology. To strengthen and support bilateral trade and economic relations, the Kyrgyzstan India Joint Commission on trade and economic, science and technical cooperation and the Joint Business Council have been formed. They have had several meetings. There are several potential areas for Kyrgyz-Indian joint cooperation food-processing, information technology, tourism, pharmaceuticals, chemicals, cosmetics, engineering goods, electronics, and banking service, mining, etc.

**Table:III (A)**

Kyrgyzstan-India Trade figure 2000-2005

February 10, 2006 in US \$ Million						
S.No	Year	2000-01	2001-02	2002-03	2003-04	2004-05
1.	Export to Kyrgyzstan	17.59	10.97	14.67	38.2	49.1
2.	Import to Kyrgyzstan	4.43	0.56	0.47	0.54	0.62
3.	Total Trade	22.02	11.52	15.13	38.74	49.7

**Source:** Department of Commerce, Ministry of Commerce and Industries, Government of India.

Exchanges at the business level have taken place regularly. The third meeting of the Joint Business Council took place in May 2002 in New Delhi. The Kyrgyz delegation held a large numbers of one to one meetings with Indian businessmen and decided to cooperate in various fields of trade and economy including machinery-building, information technology, food-processing, etc.

The 4th session of Kyrgyz-Indo Joint Business Councils was held in Bishkek on September 7-8, 2004. FICCI and the Kyrgyz chamber of commerce and industry participated in the Joint Business Councils. In July 2004, a Federation of Indian Export Organizations delegation comprising of Indian companies with interests in agro-productions, tea, exports of jewellery, gold and diamond mining, cotton processing etc, visited Kyrgyzstan and met high level officials in the Kyrgyzstan government and various agencies (Ibrokhim R. Mavlonov, 2006:232).

In March, 2006 a Kyrgyz delegation led by the Minister of Agriculture, Water Resources and Processing Industry of the Kyrgyz Republic took part in India-Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Agro summit, organized by the FICCI during the 5th meeting of the Joint Business Council held in New Delhi on 10 March 2006, the Indian side expressed its keen interest to explore opportunities for collaboration in the areas of chemicals, pharmaceuticals, textiles, agriculture product, mining, engineering goods, tourism, information technology, telecom and infrastructure development (ibid).

The stable, independent and democratic Republic of Kyrgyzstan is in the interests of India. Central Asia including Kyrgyz Republic with its geo-strategic location provides India a security belt of friendly and cooperative states. In Kyrgyzstan, India had the unquestionable advantage of starting with a great amount of good will than other countries, due to its linkages with erstwhile Soviet Union. But the results have so far been rather unsatisfactory especially in the field of the trade and economic relations. This is due to the daunting conditions prevalent in the republic.

One of the main impediments is the non-availability of hard currency and lack of conversion facility service. The lack of proper surface route and banking channels hamper expanding trade and economic cooperation with Kyrgyzstan, India has no dispute with any of the Central Asian republics, it rather has broad convergence of interests.

## **Kyrgyzstan and Central Asian Neighbors**

Kyrgyzstan is bordered by four nations, three of which Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Tajikistan are former Soviet republics. China's Xinjiang Uygur Autonomous Region, where a substantial separatist movement has been active, also adjoins the republic. Reasonably, the relations of Central Asian states with one another should be primary, but in general they are poor. The reasons are multifaceted. The borders that the Bolsheviks drew intentionally built nationally oriented states that owed their loyalty to Moscow while purposefully ensuring that many people would find themselves straddling two states. The Ferghana Valley is the best example. There Soviet machinations not only produced three states, including Kyrgyzstan's South, but the Soviets' self-proclaimed attention to detail also produced ethnic enclaves that were well within one state's borders but were separated from administrative control, which the Soviets had designated to another state. Kyrgyzstan has a "Soghd region" within its borders. It is an ethnic Tajik enclave administered by Uzbekistan.

Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan convened two summits, one in Bishkek in April and a second in Ashkhabad in May 1992. During April meeting in Bishkek, they discussed the creation of common economic space, banking issues, and transportation proposals. They were also careful to assure outsiders that the meeting did not signify the Central Asian withdrawal from the CIS. The final resolution of the conference called for the mutual renunciation of force among them, the pursuit of a joint regional security policy, and support for continuing cooperation with neighboring Asian states, given their "deep-rooted traditional links going back to ancient times." Nazarbaev, commenting on the work of the summit, noted that the participants looked to further develop contacts with South Asia and West Asia (FBIS, 1992:9).

The most important issue for the region that has been unresolved since the end of the Soviet period is water, its distribution and value. The problem is the lack of regional cooperation because Tashkent will not enter into regional water negotiations that could change the balance of water distribution. Another aspect of this failure is the legal need to provide access to Amu Darya water for irrigation purposes in Afghanistan. The Soviet regime excluded Afghanistan from any regional water agreement.



Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan are the “headwater states” where the two main rivers, the Amu Darya and the Syr Darya, which reach westward across Central Asia toward the Aral Sea. Form both states lack any significant oil or natural gas deposits and would like to use uninhabited mountain valleys to accumulate water to fuel hydroelectric energy stations to work toward solving their energy crises. Because Uzbekistan is the main water consumer will not swap hydrocarbon energy for water and Turkmenistan is greatly dependent on Uzbekistan’s willingness to allow Amu Darya water from its lower reaches to be diverted to Turkmenistan’s Kara-Kum Canal for irrigation purposes. There is plenty of regional water issue to be negotiated in order to solve the problem. Kazakhstan has also criticized the lack of a water regime for the Central Asian region. It was emphasized that the tensions within Kyrgyzstan and in other Central Asian states over the scarcity of resources could be the basis of resource-based conflicts in the future (Sinnott, Peter, 2007:431-32).

There is a territorial dispute with Tajikistan regarding the south-western boundary in the Isfara Valley area. There is also a dispute over access to Sokh and other Uzbek enclaves in Kyrgyzstan that creates problems in the progress on boundary delimitation. Further disputes exist over the provision of water and hydroelectric power to Kazakhstan. Kyrgyzstan is the periodic target of Islamic insurgents from Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, and Afghanistan.

The competition between Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan to be recognized as the primary state in any Central Asian regional organization has served to undermine the concept of regional cooperation and allow Russia with its Collective Security Treaty Organization and other organizations to be involved in convening Central Asian states for policy recommendations as well as to maintain its primary regional role. China has used the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in the same way. Kazakhstan’s undisputed economic status has led to renewed efforts to establish itself as the center of a Central Asian Union. Its primary influence stems from its unique capacity in the region to foster investments; for example, Kazakhstan has become Kyrgyzstan’s and Tajikistan’s main investor. The broader question is whether Kazakhstan can be accepted in what Central Asians term “an older brother” role.

Kazakhstan is of biggest importance to Kyrgyzstan, due to its high-speed economic growth and huge financial resources. Kazakhstan is looking for new markets for goods and investments and is, therefore, likely to give a boost to the Kyrgyz economy once the dust has settled after the political turmoil of the past years. Uzbekistan has big economic and political influence in southern Kyrgyzstan due to the large Uzbek population settled in region of the country, making up 14 percent of the entire Kyrgyz population. This influence played out by the Uzbek president, who has in the past threatened that he bears responsibility for the well being of all Uzbeks, including those outside the borders of his own nation. The rights of the Uzbek minority are, therefore, a sensitive issue.

Tensions over the status of Uzbek enclaves among common borders have continued to mount, and remain unresolved. Furthermore, since 2000 tensions with Uzbekistan have increased because of disputes over the two countries' fuel-for-power arrangement, in which Kyrgyzstan sends hydroelectric power to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in return for fossil fuels. Uzbekistan's unilateral steps against cross-border terrorist organizations and its mining of the common borders have also brought complaints from Kyrgyzstan. On the other hand, the mounting political instability in Kyrgyzstan can prove a considerable threat to the region, since terrorist activities in its border areas are no longer contained. Furthermore, tensions remain with Tajikistan over a border dispute. Tajikistan does not recognize the borders along the Isfara valley to the southwest of Kyrgyzstan. These borders are very porous and relatively unprotected, creating a crossover zone for terrorists and smugglers (<http://www.europeanforum.net/country/kyrgyzstan#top>)<sup>6</sup>.

### **Kyrgyzstan and European Union**

Central Asia is of fundamental geostrategic importance to the EU. The region represents for the EU a bridge to China as well as to Afghanistan and the Middle East. The EU is, therefore, a relatively small player in Kyrgyzstan, in comparison to Russia, China and the US. This might change when the EU decides upon a new strategy towards

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<sup>6</sup> Relations with other Central Asian states, available at: <http://www.europeanforum.net/country/kyrgyzstan#top>.

Central Asia, with current chair of the EU Germany having pledged to put more priority on the region

Relations between Kyrgyzstan and the European Union are structured along the Partnership and Cooperation Agreement (PCA) that was signed in 1995 and entered into force in 1999. Although relatively small volumes of bilateral trade and direct investment are flowing into Kyrgyzstan from the EU. The EU does consider Kyrgyzstan of significant importance as it sees the country as a potential leader of political and economic reform in Central Asia and as an advocate of closer cooperation and integration in the region. Money has, therefore, been directed to Kyrgyzstan in the form of aid directed to support the consolidation of democracy and the developing of a market economy in the country. Aid has also been given to Kyrgyzstan for the implementation of the PCA. Furthermore, regional aid is being given to alleviate poverty and to develop better relations between the Central Asian countries. However, Central Asia has never been a priority area of the EU and relations are not extensive (<http://www.europeanforum.net/country/kyrgyzstan#top>)<sup>7</sup>.

European Union expressed its readiness to provide all possible support to Kyrgyzstan in ongoing political and economic reforms in the country, reported press service of the Kyrgyz Ministry of foreign affairs. The tenth session of the EU-Kyrgyzstan Cooperation Council took place in Brussels on 22 July 2008. Vice Prime Minister Elmira Ibraimova led the delegation of Kyrgyzstan at this meeting. Mr Jean-Pierre Jouyet the Minister of State attached to the French Minister of Foreign and European Affairs led the delegation of the European Union during these talks. During this meeting both sides had reviewed the current bilateral cooperation between the Kyrgyz Republic and the European Union under the EU Strategy for Central Asia implemented since June 2007 and prospects of its further development.

The two sides have exchanged opinions concerning implemented political, economic and social reforms in Kyrgyzstan. The issues related to the bilateral and regional cooperation in education, environmental protection, water and border management, fight against drug trafficking and organized crime, human rights dialogue. The two sides took a note of a high level of the bilateral cooperation and have agreed to

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<sup>7</sup> Relations with the European Union, available at: <http://www.europeanforum.net/country/kyrgyzstan#top>

intensify this cooperation in a broad range of issues. The European Union expressed its readiness to continue providing all possible support to Kyrgyzstan in ongoing political and economic reforms.

### **Kyrgyzstan and Muslim Countries**

The new players in the Great Game in Central Asia are logically enough Iran, Pakistan and Turkey, and to some extent Saudi Arabia also, if and when stability returns to Afghanistan that country will also exert significant influence, not so much in the economic sphere as in ethnic and religious matters.

### **Turkey**

The emergence of Central Asia represents a turning point in Turkey's regional role and politics. Turkey has become one of the important players in the region where previously it had only marginal influence and no active involvement. The Turks have sought to take advantage of this unique historical opportunity to expand their political, economic and cultural relation with Central Asia. Initially, expectations on both sides were exaggerated; The Turkish models remains attractive for the Central Asian leaders, especially because of its emphasis on creating secular state institution in a predominantly Muslim society.

As the largest and oldest state in the Turkic world, Turkey had a natural attraction for Kyrgyzstan at independence. Along with their Central Asian neighbors the Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Turkmen the Kyrgyz were related by language, history and culture to the people of Turkey. Seizing the opportunity presented by the collapse of the soviet system, the Turkish government adopted an aggressive policy of political, economic and cultural penetration into Kyrgyzstan and its Turkic neighbours. Under the presidency of Turgut Ozal, who visited Kyrgyzstan on several occasions, Turkey was among the first non-Soviet countries to open an embassy in Bishkek and to offer Kyrgyzstan extensive financial aid. Some of the assistance came in the form of tuition waivers and scholarships at Turkish educational institutions, a programme designed to develop a core group of a Turkish-oriented and Turkish-speaking young elite in Kyrgyzstan (Rick Fawn, 2005:114)

In late April-early May 1992, Turkish Prime Minister Suleyman Demirel has visited Central Asian countries except Tajikistan, due to internal political unrest. The delegation accompanying Demirel was even larger, and again consisted of people with different professional perspectives on the emerging relationship. Interestingly, the Demirel delegation included Alparslan Turkes; the leader of Turkist National Action Party, with whom Prime Minister had formed a parliamentary alliance. The nature and size of Turkish delegation seemed guaranteed to give the impression that extensive cooperation was taking place on different levels in various fields, and to ensure that this impression received maximum publicity.

Demirel discreetly informed his hosts that they should steer clear of Iran if they wanted Turkish and western help. He made available \$ 500 million worth of loans and tied credits to Central Asia. In Alma Ata he told an audience of delirious Kazakhs that a great Turkic world had emerged, stretching from the Adriatic to the Pacific Rim. "This place is our father land, both our history and culture begin from here (Ahmed Rashid, 1998:132).

But Central Asian is not looking towards Turkey as a "Big Brother" in any political setting. The Central Asian leaders have clearly expressed their views that they do not wish to be told by Turkey how to run their countries. For instance, during the late Turkish president ozal's trip to Kyrgyzstan on 7th April 1993, the Kyrgyz authorities manifested "a desire to benefit from Turkish economic model and from Turkish aid, credit and know how while denying turkey the role of a new big brother" (Mushahid Hussian, 1998:132).

In the late 1992, the relations have been characterized by a clear decline in the status of Turkey as a major economic partner of Central Asia. This decline indicated the adoption by Central Asians of a balanced foreign policy. Need for diversifying economic partners as a means of avoiding over reliance on any single country was main economic consideration responsible for this shift. In particular, Central Asian realized the need for economic cooperation with Iran and Russia, both of which were capable of positively or negatively affecting their economies.

Turkey had a very limited investment capability, its investment were mainly adequate for small and medium scale projects and purchases. For instance, it granted a

credit of \$ 75 million to Kyrgyzstan to be used on projects such as constructing a fur-coat factory. In 1994, the export and import agreements between Turkey and Kyrgyzstan have approximately been \$ 10 million. Kyrgyzstan and Turkey signed a number of cooperation agreements on 14th April 1998. The agreements cover cooperation between the customs services and securities markets as well as cooperation in forestry of the two countries. Turkey attached great importance to the development of relations with Kyrgyzstan and that the agreement signed "Have reinforced once again the legal basis of our mutual relations" (SWB SU/3203, G/1, 16 April 1997).

Turkey policy-makers are likely to continue their efforts to create new networks of interdependency between Ankara and the capitals of five independent republics. These include the establishment of new organizations such as a Turkic regional common market and additional bilateral agreements concerning economic, political and cultural issues. Although, Political Pan-Turkism is not a viable alternative for future. Ankara will continue to pursue policies to forge greater cultural unity among the Turks under its leadership. Turkey has assured Russia that it does not seek to compete for sphere of influence against Russia within Central Asia due to any Pan-Turkist aspiration, expressing his satisfaction, Russian foreign minister Kozyrev said: "This approach on Turkey's part inspires optimism. It allows one to hope that the Central Asia will not take the path of fundamentalism and political backwardness, but will join the European democratic process" (CDPSP. 1992:18-20).

For several reasons, however, the campaign to integrate Kyrgyzstan into a new Turkish diplomatic orbit met with only limited success. First, although the Kyrgyz regard themselves as a Turkic people, their ties to the language and culture of modern Turkey are somewhat remote. Unlike groups who live closer to Turkey, such as the Azeris, the Kyrgyz cannot understand spoken Turkish. Influenced by other languages and cultures, including Mongol, the Kyrgyz recognized a broad kinship with the people of Turkey but did not embrace them as long lost elder brothers, as the Turkish government would have desired (Quoted in Rick Fawn, 2005:114). More importantly, Turkey's economic and geopolitical resources were limited, and, therefore, they had less to offer Kyrgyzstan than many other states. Although Turkey's aid to Kyrgyzstan was generous, certainly by the standards of a middle-sized state some 11 million dollars during the first year of

independence and almost 100 million dollars by 1998 it could not match the 200 million dollars received from the Japanese government and the even greater sums received from international financial institutions dominated by the West. Moreover, a domestic economic crisis and the death of the architect of the country's pan-Turkic foreign policy, Turgut Ozal, threatened the continued commitment of Turkey to a prominent role in Central Asia. Finally, an overt tilt by Kyrgyzstan towards Ankara would have risked alienating some of Turkey's adversaries in the region, most notably Russia (ibid).

### **Saudi Arabia**

After the collapse of more than seventy years of Communist system, the Central Asian countries have witnessed the clash of the old Communist power structure reorganized under a nationalist disguise, and the emerging new Islamic and democratic forces with the help of external powers in each republic. Saudi Arabia represents itself as a potential patron for Central Asian countries. It has taken an active interest in countering what it sees as Iran's inroads into Central Asia, and has begun to pump in resources into region. So far it has focused on religious aid, although it is well situated to be an important future player despite its distance.

Saudi Arabia launched a major initiative to encourage Central Asia back into the Islamic fold as early as 1990, when it sent one million Quran to the region and funded project to translate the Quran into local languages. King Fahad invited hundreds of prominent Central Asian to perform Haj in 1991 and again in 1992. In August 1991 the Saudis dramatically improved their image in Moscow by signing a \$ 1.5 billion loan to the Soviet Union in recognition of Moscow's support during the Gulf War. However, Arab interest has remained at an emotional and religious level rather than at a practical level. In February 1992, Saudi foreign minister Prince Saud-al-Faisal visited Central Asia. Saudi Arabia officially established diplomatic relations with all the countries of the region and declaring that it was ready to discuss all aspects of cooperation. Even before the Saudis established diplomatic relation with these traditionally Islamic republics. They were aiding religious societies and providing religious literature through the Islamic Conference Organization (ICO), and the Mecca-based Muslim world league. This while

Saudi Arabia pledged \$ 60 million in aid to Central Asia as of April 1992, most of it was earmarked for building religious institutions (Cardahi, J. Cherif 1992:16-17).

The Kingdom of Saudi Arabia offered bilateral cooperation to Kyrgyzstan with oil, gas and water. The joint working group will be established to outline concrete areas of cooperation. This information came from the meeting of Minister of Industry, Energy and Fuel Resources, Ilias Dabydov with officials from the Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, reported press service of the Kyrgyz Ministry of Industry, Energy and Fuel Resources. The delegation of Saudi Arabia has traveled to Kyrgyzstan as ordered by the King of the Saudi Arabia.

The main goal of talks with the Kyrgyz Ministry of Industry, Energy and Fuel Resources is establishment of the bilateral cooperation. The officials of the Ministry of Oil and Mineral Resources of the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia told about a shortage of a drinking water in their home country and work of factories that process sea water. They said the drinking water problem will be a problem of future. The joint working group will be set up after the King of Saudi Arabia will be informed about the outcomes of this trip to Kyrgyzstan. Further steps will be outlined through Ministries of foreign affairs.

The officials from the Ministries of Oil and mineral resources, Agriculture and Public Health of Saudi Arabia on 9 January 2008, met with the senior staff of the Kyrgyz Ministry of Foreign Affairs. The official delegation from Saudi Arabia has traveled to Bishkek to hold meetings with ministries and agencies of the Kyrgyz Republic to establish and expand interdepartmental cooperation. During this meeting Kyrgyz official reiterated interest of Kyrgyzstan in intensification of cooperation, the two sides agreed to organize high-level visits, foster interdepartmental cooperation, set up Kyrgyzstan-Saudi Arabia Business Council, and sign more agreements. The outcomes of cooperation between the two countries in 2008 were summarized during this meeting and the major areas for future cooperation were outlined during this meeting, reported press service of the Kyrgyz Ministry of Foreign Affairs. (<http://www.thefreelibrary.com>)<sup>8</sup>.

Officials from the state tourism agencies of Saudi Arabia plan to approach the Islamic Development Bank with the idea to extend loans for tourist business in the

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<sup>8</sup> Kyrgyzstan, Saudi Arabia plan to set up business council, available at: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com>.



Kyrgyz Republic and to make investments into this sphere. Such a decision was made as the result of the meeting of the expert of the General Committee for Tourism and Heritage of Saudi Arabia, Naif Al-Muteiri, and the Director of the State Agency for Tourism, Turusbek Mamashov. "The Islamic Development Bank gives long-term loans without interest rates, which is very beneficial for Kyrgyzstan. In case this idea is supported, a branch of this Bank may open soon in Bishkek, which will allow bringing big foreign investments," press service of the State Agency for Tourism said (*ibid*)<sup>9</sup>.

Saudi Arabia has offered tempting loans to the Central Asian states. Saudi investors reached an agreement for oil and gas exploration and development with Uzbek oil company Uzbekneft. Earlier Oman promised Kazakhstan \$ 100 million credit to assist the latter in supplying oil to other countries, and almost simultaneously with the Saudi visit, a Kuwaiti delegation toured the CIS and was rumored to be willing to underwrite a \$ 1 billion credit for the successor states. In fact the Gulf Cooperation Council (GCC) has decided to channel some \$ 3 billion to the Central Asian countries (*MEED*, 1992:5)<sup>10</sup>. According to newspaper reports in Moscow, Saudi Arabia has promised to grant Turkmenistan \$ 10 billion in credits and investments for its oil and gas industries. People in Turkmenistan proudly refer to their countries as a "Second Kuwait."

## Iran

The disintegration of the former USSR, and the establishment of five independent Central Asian states, have brought new political, economic, trade and security challenges and opportunities to Iran. Iranian revolution of 1979 was predicated on the declaration that Islam is the sole foundation of Iranian identity. On the basis of such a world view, the Iran rejected any form of attachment to the East or to the West. The Iran shaped its foreign policy in accordance with a very famous slogan: 'Neither east, nor west' (Touraj, Atabaki and John, O'Kane, 1998:73-74).

Iran has close historic and economic ties to Central Asia that provide a strong foundation for expanded relations. Persian empires reached across Central Asia, leaving a cultural and linguistic legacy that remains strongest in Tajikistan, and in the cities of

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<sup>9</sup> *ibid*

<sup>10</sup> Middle East Economic Digest, 14 February 1992, p.5.

Samarkand and Bukhara in Uzbekistan. Iranian diplomats continue to emphasize the cultural similarities that exist between the region and Iran as a reason for closer economic relations. However, Iran's stand in highlighting its role in Central Asia's cultural heritage creates tension with Central Asian republics, which are apprehensive of an overbearing neighbor and interested in establishing themselves as independent states both politically and culturally (Rollie Lal, 2006:11).

Kyrgyzstan's President reiterated the importance of his country's relations with Iran, and underlined the need for the further bolstering of bilateral ties. In a meeting with Iranian Ambassador to Bishkek Manouchehr Morradi on 8 November 2009, Kurmanbek Bakiyev voiced satisfaction with the current trend of Iran-Kyrgyzstan relations. "There exists friendly ties between our countries and all conditions are ready for promoting the level of these relations," Bakiyev said, underlining his support for the continued and logical expansion of relations between the two states. During the meeting, the Iranian envoy stressed that Tehran attaches special importance to its mutual ties with Bishkek. "I will do my best to utilize the existing capacities to expand political, economic and cultural ties and reinvigorate the two countries' partnership and participation in strengthening peace and stability in the region," Morradi went on saying. He pointed to an invitation extended by President Ahmadinejad to his Kyrgyz counterpart to visit Tehran, and expressed the hope that the visit would take place in the near future ([www.thefreelibrary.com](http://www.thefreelibrary.com))<sup>11</sup>.

On the security level, Iran has pursued its security interest in Central Asian republics by mediating, though unsuccessfully, between Armenia and Azerbaijan during their war over Nagorno-Karabakh. Its successful mediation between the pro-Moscow Tajik Government and the nationalist and Islamist opposition groups, and its almost relaxed attitude towards the conflict between Russia and Muslim Chechnya, etc. also go on to show Iran's interests in the region (Badan Phool, 2001:172-73).

Iran is facing strong political and economic competition from Russia, China, US, Turkey and Saudi Arabia, etc. Therefore, its political and economic policies in Central Asia have been remarkably cautious. In the political realm, Iran has been quite careful to avoid

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<sup>11</sup> Kyrgyz President Underlines Expansion of Ties with Iran, available at: [http:// www.thefreelibrary.com](http://www.thefreelibrary.com)

giving credence to the fears expressed by the west and Russia that it attempting to push the Central Asian republics towards radical Islam. In the economic field, its activities and success have been modest because its own economy has been weak. Iran has been unable to invest much in the developmental projects in the republics. Besides, the Iranian private companies and businessmen in the country have had little experience in investing in foreign countries. Hence, Iran's relations with the countries of the region are based more on cooperation and security considerations rather than on "Islamic brotherhood", though Islam still remains an important ingredient in that relationship (ibid).

On March 17, 1995, Iran's president Rafsanjani inaugurated a 730- kilometer railroad, which connects Bafg in southeastern Iran with the port city of Bandar Abbas. The opening ceremony was attended by the presidents of Turkmenistan, Kyrgyzstan, Armenia, and Afghanistan, plus senior officials from other neighboring countries. Potentially, Iran is also the most logical route for the export of Central Asia's energy resources. Not only does Iran represent the shortest and cheapest route for a pipeline, but through swap arrangements, it could shorten the time for Central Asian energy to reach international consumers. Iran could also provide some of Central Asia's need, such as light consumer products, fruits, and vegetables. For such energy poor Central Asian countries as Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan, Iran could become an alternative source of energy and reduce their dependence on Russia, or Uzbek sources (T. Hunter, Shireen, 1996:130).

Kyrgyz Ambassador to Iran Medet Sherimkulov made a working visit to the industrial zone of Kerman Province of Iran on April 13, reported press service of the Kyrgyz Ministry of foreign affairs. Ambassador Medet Sherimkulov visited Ferdous open-pit mine in company of representatives of Engineering International Consultant Pars-e Banan-e Sanat Company, where 360 tons of iron are concentrate are produced Per annum. The Kyrgyz Ambassador also visited big brick and cement factory and met with mayor of Sirjan city. Ambassador Sherimkulov examined opportunities of these enterprises, told about Kyrgyzstan's investment opportunities and encouraged to make investments into Kyrgyz economy. The leaders of these companies said they are ready to open their production centers in Kyrgyzstan. The two sides reached agreement to maintain a close cooperation in future. The Engineering International Consultant Pars-e

Banan-e Sanat implements a project in Kyrgyzstan on construction of cement factory in Tashkumyr with capacity of 3,300 tons of cement a day and 1 million tons of cement per annum and other projects. The Iranian company plans to invest [euro] 150 million into implementation of these projects ([www.thefreelibrary.com](http://www.thefreelibrary.com))<sup>12</sup>.

The meeting was co-headed by the Iranian Minister of Commerce Masoud Mir Kazemi and the Kyrgyz Minister of Economic Development and Trade Mikayil Jabbarov. The two sides emphasized on the increase of the volume of bilateral trade. In the inauguration ceremony, the Kyrgyz official referred to the remarkable relations between Iran and Kyrgyzstan and in addition to commercial ties, he asked for scientific, technical and cultural exchange between the two countries. The Iranian official, for his part, announced readiness to boost economic and commercial ties with Kyrgyzstan. He said that the volume of Iran's total foreign trade stood at \$140 billion in 2007. The two sides also signed the MOU on cooperation of the two countries in the economic, commercial, scientific and cultural spheres. Based on the agreement the two sides will expand cooperation in goods exports, transportation, communications, agriculture, technical and engineering services export (*ibid*)<sup>13</sup>.

Relations with Kyrgyzstan have been warm in recent years, although currently Iran is closely observing developments in Kyrgyzstan following the overthrow of the Akayev regime. In 2004, Iran gave \$1 million in aid to Kyrgyzstan for the development of the country. Discussions remain underway for Iran's energy trade with Kyrgyzstan, with the two main options being the Uzbekistan Turkmenistan route or a Tajikistan-Afghanistan route (Quoted in Rollie Lal, 2006:16).

### **Afghanistan**

Afghanistan will play its natural geopolitical role in Central Asia. This geographical disadvantage brings Afghanistan into picture. The entire major land route from Pakistan to Central Asia passes through Afghanistan. Until and unless normalcy is brought here, non of the envisaged plans can be implemented. September 11 attack and

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<sup>12</sup> Iranian company ready to invest 150 million (euro) for implementation of selected projects in Kyrgyzstan, available at: <http://www.thefreelibrary.com>

<sup>13</sup> *Ibid*.

retaliatory measures have introduced new dynamics in the strategic position of the country.

A country located southwest of Kyrgyzstan. Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan have no common borders and are separated from each other by a 150-kilometer-wide land corridor of Tajikistan's territory. About 20,000 Kyrgyz live in Afghanistan, mainly in the northeast provinces of the country; some of them chose to move back to Kyrgyzstan after 1991. Afghanistan had uneasy political and economic relations with Kyrgyzstan in the 20th century. After the Bolshevik revolution several thousand Kyrgyzs, who did not accept the Soviet system, escaped to Afghanistan but after World War II Kyrgyzstan sold its industrial production to Afghanistan through the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade (Rafis Abazov, 2004:54-55).

In the 1980s about 6,000 Kyrgyz were sent to Afghanistan among the Soviet troops and political advisers. In the 1990s up to 18,000 refugees from Afghanistan moved to Kyrgyzstan, especially after the escalation of the civil war during the Taliban regime. In late 2001 the United States established a U.S. military airbase in Kyrgyzstan for military actions and rescue operations in Afghanistan. The base was used intensively in the winter and spring 2002 campaign in Afghanistan, as it is located within 50–60 minutes flying time from Kabul (ibid).

The President of Afghanistan expressed his hope that Kyrgyzstan would continue providing assistance in transit of shipments bound to Afghanistan. "We look forward to further assistance of Kyrgyzstan in transit of shipments to Afghanistan," Hamid Karzai said during meeting with President Kurmanbek Bakiev on the sidelines of the SCO Summit in Ekaterinburg on 11 June 2009. Earlier Karzai in his letter to Bakiev hinted about importance of the U.S. military presence at Manas base, which is one of major hubs to support anti-terrorism operation of the coalition forces in Afghanistan, reported the president's press office.

The Afghan leader stressed that cooperation of Afghanistan and Kyrgyzstan with the United States against terrorism and religious Extremism in the region is effective and necessary. "*The situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan is a problem not only of our countries, but is a problem of the entire region and the global threat with unpredictable consequences,*" Karzai said. President Kurmanbek Bakiev in turn told the Afghan leader

about a personal message he received from U.S. President Barack Obama, who also took a note of efforts of Kyrgyzstan in stabilization of the situation in Afghanistan.

Bakiev reiterated that Kyrgyzstan would further provide all possible assistance and support to stabilization and peace in Afghanistan. "We realize well that situation in Afghanistan and Pakistan immediately impacts stability in the Central Asian region on the whole. The Kyrgyz Republic will further provide all possible assistance to stabilization and peace in your country," President Bakiev said. The President of Afghanistan thanked Kurmanbek Bakiev for understanding the complex problem and expressed hope for further broad cooperation and sharing information at the government level.

## **Pakistan**

The Kushan Empire, who for the first time laid a solid foundation for close cultural links between Central Asia and present-day Pakistan, meanwhile, Muslim forces also conquered new territory further south, in the Indus Valley. In 712, they invaded the Sindh, setting the stage for a further move into India in the future. These Muslim conquests in Central Asia were also significant because they gained much of the territory of present-day Pakistan for Islam. That region has been Islamic for over 1,200 years, as Pakistan remains a Muslim state today. Pakistan aims to revive historical and cultural ties with the people of the newly independent republics in Central Asia and to develop mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with them.

Pakistan and the Central Asian states have maintained close diplomatic contacts at both high political and official levels, which would facilitate the evolving process of economic cooperation between the two sides. Relations between the two countries were established on 20 December 1991 shortly after Kazakhstan became independent from the Soviet Union. Diplomatic relations were formally established on 10 May 1992. Pakistan extended diplomatic recognition to the Kyrgyz Republic on December 20, 1991. A Protocol for the establishment of diplomatic relations between Pakistan and Kyrgyzstan was signed on May 10, 1992. Pakistan's embassy was established at Bishkek in August 1995. However, the possibilities for Pakistan making a commercial dent in the former Soviet Central Asian republics are uncertain and ambitious.

Pakistan has the limited ability to supply credits or hard currency to the republics which, in the short run at least, are more likely to be in need of food and other forms of assistance that hold out promise of a balanced trade. One of the achievements in the economic co-operation between the two countries is the opening of the branch of the National Bank of Pakistan at Bishkek. The main aim of the bank is to boost the trade and economic relations between Pakistan and Kyrgyzstan. The National Bank of Kyrgyzstan took a decision to issue the license for the branch of the National Bank of Pakistan to open the accounts for local individuals from January 1, 2002. The National Bank of Pakistan was authorized to open the accounts for the companies and organizations only. Within one year after the opening, this branch has become the profit-earning unit. After some time, the bank would be able to extend small credit facility to the local population. The National Bank of Pakistan has also offered a regular training programme for the Kyrgyz Bankers. 'Pakistan cannot provide financial base needed to embark on several of the projects that could turn the region into one of the prosperous regions of the world. The Central Asian republics are economically dependent on the western and mostly on Slav republics who do not favour the idea of Central Asian states seeking a way southwards' (Wasi, Nausheen, 2002:24).

The interior minister of Pakistan, Maj. Gen. Nasirullah Khan Babar visited Afghanistan, Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and China in September-October 1994. He stated that the Muslim republics of Central Asia have urged Pakistan to provide them transit trade facilities on its territory. He disclosed that for the time being "Pakistan has agreed that the Kara Koram highway should be used for the exchange of trade convoys between China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (SWB, FE/2122, 10 Oct 1994). Pakistan's relations with the Central Asian states have been complicated by its historic role in Afghanistan and in supporting Islamist groups. Pakistan's support of militancy and religious fundamentalism in Central Asia began in the 1980s, when funding from the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) was funneled through ISI, the Pakistani intelligence organization, to help train mujahideen in Afghanistan as combatants against the Soviet Union. Militants from Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, China, and various other countries began training alongside Pakistanis and Afghans in Afghan military training camps (Quoted in Rollie Lal, 2006:23-24).

## CHAPTER-IV

### **CHALLENGES TO KYRGYZSTAN FOREIGN POLICY**

The foreign policy of Kyrgyz republic has many challenges and problems. There are many complicated questions which produce negative impact on its foreign policy. The problem of getting resource are one of the most significant factor, others factors are intellectual, financial, material, technical, and professional as well as human resources. Besides, The republic is facing a number of problems like border issue, water dispute, Islamic radicalism, Terrorism, ethnic conflict, small arms smuggling, narcotics, drug trafficking, child and women, migration etc. These factors influence extremely the making of foreign as well as domestic policy of the republic. These comprise the ethnic factor, the factor of Islam, the socio-economic factor, the factor of clans, the factor of the authorities and finally, the external factor. Each of them is significant in its own way, and they all are inextricably entwined. The key factor of instability in Kyrgyzstan is the relations between the various clans and the authorities. The competition and presence of great powers military airbases in the republic, apart from it, the China is also increasing its influence in Kyrgyzstan. So far as this is happening mainly in economics, but may potentially involve politics. Thus, this complex situation has reinforced the country not to have a well-defined national interest or foreign policy that informs its international behavior. As a result, the Kyrgyz foreign policy consists of randomly inviting great powers to interfere in its internal affairs. These problems draw the special attention because these are the major obstacles in the strengthening of bilateral and multilateral relation with the republic.

#### **Islamic radicalism/fundamentalism and Terrorism**

Central Asia's regional as well as external politics are based on several factors. At the foundation lie the Central Asian states' threats perceptions with regard to each other, great powers, or transnational threats such as Islamic radicalism or fundamentalism. Gorbachev's *perestroika* and the loosening of communist control allowed the Islamic revival to take place. The Central Asia had been the home of vast Islamic empires that



once ruled Russia and the world. At their own expense people rushed to build mosques and hire young mullahs to teach them the tenets of Islam. The bureaucratic structure of official Islam, that is, Islam sponsored by the state, was swamped by a public hunger for guidance and help in this revival. But the political leaders in Central Asia ignored these demands and failed to modernize, fund or support the official Islamic bureaucracy. There were a series of revolts by the public against the Islamic hierarchy and a number of Islamic clerics were thrown out of office after being accused of being communists, alcoholics or womanizers (Ahmed Rashid, 2001:244). For the Kyrgyz, Osh is a second Mecca. Thousands of pilgrims visit the city every year to pray on the mountain and at other Islamic shrines such as the mausoleum of Nabi Ayub (the Job of the Old Testament) and the mosque of the Mogul emperor Babar (ibid, pp:140).

Although external factors played a significant role in the emergence of radical Islam in Central Asia, they have not been alone in affecting the changing nature of Islam in the region. If there were not fertile ground for the radicalization of Islam in Central Asia, foreign radical elements would have been unable to attract support among the local populations. Support for radical Islam in Central Asia developed in large part as a form of opposition to authoritarian governments in the region. As government corruption and oppression increased and economic conditions deteriorated throughout the 1990s, segments of the Central Asian population viewed radical Islam as an alternative to the status quo. Not surprisingly, the rise of radical groups has been most pronounced in Uzbekistan where government repression has been most severe. There also has been a strong show of support for radical Islamic movements in northern Tajikistan and southern Kyrgyzstan, particularly among ethnic Uzbeks who have experienced discrimination based on their ethnicity (Quoted in Tiffany Petros, 2004:144).

Official response to radical Islam has been less in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, since these countries have not seen significant opposition from extremist groups. Unlike in Uzbekistan, religious communities have been tolerated in Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, and laws on religion have remained more liberal. There have been arrests, however, particularly among individuals found distributing banned HT literature. In November

2002, Kyrgyz officials also introduced legislation restricting the licensing system for religious publications (ibid, pp: 146).

After independence of the Central Asian republics, Islam has struggled for authority a direct result of the Soviet attempt to put out any international factor of Islam in Central Asia while building a limited Islamic hierarchy that to be paid its primary commitment to Moscow. The attraction of study abroad in madrassas in Pakistan and Saudi Arabia, which offered a subsidized education in Islam, is a consequence of that vacuum of authority in Islam in Central Asia. The Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan did not hesitate to make Central Asia as a 'theatre of war' in its attempts to challenge the authority of the Central Asian republics. Though the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, in its armed militancy, became deeply involved in the politics of the Taliban and enjoyed their support. It is no longer the movement that the states of Central Asia focus on the most because of its losses in the Afghanistan war despite its very high level of training for armed insurgency.

Many countries, including Kyrgyzstan, became members of the Organization of Islamic Conference. After September 11, Kyrgyzstan has become more wary of the Islamic world, suspecting some countries, for example Saudi Arabia, in the imposition and spreading the ideology of Wahhabism. With financial support from Islamic charitable organizations, 1500 mosques have been built in Kyrgyzstan. Kyrgyzstan experienced a major resurgence of Islam in the 1980s and 1990s, as almost 700 mosques were built and a significant number of people turned to practicing the religion. Yet both the Soviet constitution of 1978 and the 1993 constitution of Kyrgyzstan declared that the republic is a secular state. Islam traditionally maintains a strong presence and influence in Jalal Abad and Osh oblast and less so in northern Kyrgyzstan. The two factors, Islamic radicalism and drug trafficking have, however, contributed to the sustained instability in the Kyrgyzstan's international affairs. The first factor is the interplay of small states with regional powers, as well as the impact on the region of the inter-relationships among these powers. A second factor is Western states' growing insistence on freedom and democracy.

A further source of instability was Islamic radicalism. During 1999 and 2000, guerrilla forces of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan were active in Kyrgyzstan. In the

1999 raids, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan guerrillas killed at least 18 government troops. They also took Kyrgyz police officers, four American tourists, and four Japanese geologists' hostage. However, the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan did not pose the most dangerous fundamentalist threat to Kyrgyzstan. The major threat comes from the secretive organization Hizb-ut-Tahrir, whose goal is to overthrow all the secular governments of Central Asia. By 2002, Hizb-ut-Tahrir had an estimated 3,000 active members in Kyrgyzstan. They are active in the southern part of the country (Michael, Kort 2004:161).

The concepts of security in Central Asia have been created and framed by various external actors and external players involved, and the domestic reforms and policies of nation-building often reflected upon, or found a place within, an external power model. Central Asian elites has to be responsive towards foreign security concepts and policies that had been imposed upon them, such as Russia's "peacemaking" mission at the beginning of the 1990s and the later policies of "fighting against terrorism" at the end of the 1990s and the post-September 11 "global war against terror", as well as foreign energy security policies. Definitions of security threats, introduced from outside, became utilized by the domestic elites and led to the construction of social priorities in the Republics' policies and identification of risk groups (Quoted in Irina, Morozova 2009:87).

In this republic, the Kyrgyz Kazi has refused to entertain the idea of a separate muftiate. His excuse is based on spiritual considerations, arguing that the Islamic community is a notion that transcends territorial boundaries, and as such, the formation of a separate muftiate runs counter to the nature of Islam. However, President Akaev was suspicious of religious activism and emphasizes the importance of secularism. For this reason, the preamble to the 1993 constitution mandates a secular state, forbidding the intrusion of any ideology or religion in the conduct of state business. The non-Central Asians have also expressed concern about the potential for a fundamentalist Islamic revolution that would emulate Iran and Afghanistan by bringing Islam directly into the making of state policy (Quoted in Ghoncheh Tazmini, 2001:71-72).

Because of the anxiety about a continued outflow of skilled or professional Russians, Akaev has taken pains to reassure the non-Kyrgyz that no Islamic revolution threatens the state. During the summer of 1995, a presidential decree forbade the teaching of religion or atheism in public schools and a state body to monitor religious organizations was established, a move that may have stemmed from security claims about the growth of Islamic militancy along the border. So far, there have been a few manifestations of Islamic militancy. In August 1999, a large group of Uzbek militants, numbering between 500 and 1000, seized several Kyrgyz villages. They also captured four Japanese geologists working at a gold mining site in southern Kyrgyzstan and a high-ranking official of Kyrgyzstan's Interior Ministry. The group crossed into Kyrgyzstan during 22–23 August saying they would carry out holy war back to Uzbekistan (ibid).

These incidents clearly demonstrate the existence of extremism in the region. However, these random acts of terrorism in the name of Islam are very far from developing into a politically salient movement that could threaten the state's leadership. Hizb ut-Tahrir is the movement currently accorded the highest level of concern throughout Central Asia. It is a movement that, loosely defined, is of Palestinian origin reaching back to the years following the establishment of Israel. It works for the reestablishment of an Islamic caliphate as the answer to a world divided along the lines of nation states. That part of its ideology is derived from the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan not to mention Al Qaeda. Although its politics are extremely radical, it claims to be a nonviolent movement.

After September 9/11 the promotion of democracy and Human Rights took the back seat in the American foreign policy and priority is given to fight against international terrorism. Russia's interest in SCO is to represent itself as Asia's interlocutor with the United States. Indeed, the Ljubljana meeting between Putin and Bush, their first, took place only two days after the end of the SCO founding conference. The SCO also intended to create a joint rapid deployment force at an "anti-terrorism center" in Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan. Such an antiterrorist center was planned to function as a joint coordinating center for the SCO and the CIS. The problem of religious terrorism to the Southern part of the country reveals the issue of the national security threat. Having approved a law to separate part of the Osh oblast lying right on the line between

Tajikistan and Uzbekistan and turn it into a new, seventh oblast, the Government of the Kyrgyz Republic with a heavy heart acknowledges the fact that the problem of terrorist attacks and sallies to the territory of Kyrgyzstan (one of the reasons is creation of drug trafficking through the Kyrgyz territory) has become a matter of permanent external threat. That is why contest for the national interests by means of policy and diplomacy is the core basis of the foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic concerned about ensuring internal security and stability in the country and barring the conflict from escalation throughout the region.

### **Economic Challenges**

Akayev held power from his election in 1991 until 2005. When Askar Akayev came to power, the matter that he most dealt with was the new economic structure. As a result of the dissolution of socialism, like all other member countries of the Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan also had difficulty during the transition to a pluralist democracy and free market economy. Since the republic did not have enough infrastructures in economic terms, Kyrgyzstan experienced a period of economic crisis from 1992 until 1994. With this, it was easily affected by other economic crises throughout in the world, For instance, the Asian Crisis of 1997 and the Russian Financial Crisis of 1998. Both had a negative effect on Kyrgyzstan.

After the USSR's disintegration, the newly independent states were simultaneously exposed to globalization by the international markets and interference by criminal groups from below, which intensified their activities against the background of socio-political disarray. Kyrgyzstan, one of the weakest Central Asian economies, formerly largely dependent on the centralised Soviet budget redistribution and assistance, had to let international financial institutions and human rights organisations, as well as various NGOs and religious groups, into its domestic market and public domain. Within the first five years of economic reform guided by the IMF, the country accumulated an excessive external debt. The population of Kyrgyzstan went through the shock therapy of price liberalization, hyper-inflation and a drastic fall in living standards (Irina, Morozova 2009:87).

Various international financial institutions, such as the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the International Finance Corporation (IFC), the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Association (MIGA) and the US Overseas Private Investment Corporation (OPIC), funded the project. However, after 2005, following the Kazakh example of increasing its national shares in strategic exports contracts, Kyrgyz government and parliament revealed certain intentions, supported and exploited in media campaigns, to reconsider and diminish the rights and possibly the share of foreign companies operating in the country (ibid, pp:88).

Foreign direct investments flowed mainly into the Kyrgyz strategic export resource industry gold mines, which accounted, according to some expert estimation, for about 40% of national budget revenue. In the 1990s the Kyrgyz government, like other Central Asian ruling elites, for instance, in Kazakhstan, sold the bigger part of strategic export production shares to foreign companies. Since January 2004 the Canadian-based Cetera gold mining and exploration company has owned 100% of the Kumtor gold mine, one of the largest operating gold deposits in Central Asia, located in the Tien Shan Mountains to the south of Issyk-Kul.

**TABLE: IV (A)**

Foreign direct investments into Kyrgyzstan (Millions of US dollars)

Countries	2002	2003	2004	2005	2006
Canada	12,7	31,1	46,5	26,1	8,6
USA	20,1	9,9	14,0	11,7	6,4
Russia	17,1	11,1	11,9	8,1	19,8
Turkey	13,4	25,3	23,1	16,1	12,8
Germany	9,0	6,0	8,5	36,5	53,4
China	8,5	14,6	6,8	4,5	7,3
South Korea	7,7	7,2	8,5	0,4	0,7
Kazakhstan	6,3	13,2	15,6	40,3	136,8
Cyprus	1,0	1,8	11,5	10,5	22,9
Great Britain	2,5	2,0	10,5	29,5	38,0

*Source: National Statistical Committee of the Kyrgyz Republic, 2005 pp: 118-19, 'Investment in the Kyrgyz Republic, 2002-2006'.*

If Western countries mainly invest in mines, other states, like Russia, Kazakhstan, Turkey, China and South Korea choose various processing industries, transportation, construction, trade and for the last four years finance and property. In 2007-2008

Kyrgyzstan was very active in attracting investors, mainly from Kazakhstan, Russia and China, to its energy sector, using different bargaining tactics. Right after the overthrow of Akayev's rule in March 2005 the external powers were awaiting the signals from the new President Bakiev on his future policy towards foreign capital. Kazakhstan was quick to demonstrate to Bishkek the importance of economic ties by stopping the delivery of diesel fuel on the former quotas. The new Kyrgyz government had to suggest certain guarantees on the security of Kazakh investments and joint exploitation of water and energy resources.

Despite its intensive pro-capitalist legislation, Kyrgyzstan was still unable to attract major foreign investment in its first year of independence. The gross domestic product declined by 15 per cent in 1992 after a drop of 5 per cent in the previous year. Industrial output declined by as much 25 per cent, while inflation was rampant. In January 1993 Akayev told workers that the country was facing a severe energy crisis because it was selling about one third of its hydroelectrically generated electricity to other republics at only 22-25 per cent of world prices. He admitted that Kyrgyzstan's economic performance was worse than that of Armenia and Tajikistan which faced war and economic devastation. To avoid the rouble problem, Kyrgyzstan became the first Central Asian state to introduce a new currency, the sum, on 10 May 1993 (Ahmed Rashid, 2001:156).

Kyrgyzstan's lack of resources and industry means that there is relatively little for the government to privatize. Despite the sudden economic downturn in 1992 and the long-term problems of finding the resources to sustain an independent economy, the republic is hopeful that an International Monetary Fund loan and increasing Japanese interest will help improve the economy. Moreover, the country is almost self-sufficient in food and is taking the necessary steps to provide basic consumer goods for the population. The political and religious tolerance of the people is unmatched anywhere in Central Asia and this is Kyrgyzstan's greatest strength. If the government can overcome the serious ethnic problems it faces by greater integration. It may also succeed in calming the fears of the minorities and preventing a mass exodus of Russians. Kyrgyzstan faces a difficult future, but one which is not bleak by the standards of other Central Asian countries (ibid).

## **Border Dispute**

As the countries of Central Asia gained independence in 1991. The areas that had constituted a single economic, social and political system were divided from one another. Boundaries that were of little importance acquired a lot more significance having a striking influence on ordinary lives. One such area is the Ferghana Valley, a multiethnic area unified by common history, culture, social and economic networks, but now spanning parts of three countries Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan.

The Kyrgyz part of Ferghana Valley, which embraces three southern provinces, Osh, Jalalabad and Batken for years, has been facing a number of economic, political and social, ethnic as well as domestic and foreign policy challenges. Among them, border-related tensions with Uzbekistan have been particularly acute and have placed an onerous burden on the local population. Complicated border crossing procedures and visa requirements imposed first by Uzbekistan under the pretense of security needs have caused serious hardships for the local population of the Ferghana Valley, where life has traditionally been based on joint existence and activities.

Republic shares 858 kilometers of its borders with China. These borders were disputed since the Soviet era, although there were no attempts from the Chinese side to forcibly enforce its territorial claims. After dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 Kyrgyzstan and China established direct diplomatic relations and began border delimitation negotiations. During several meetings with Commonwealth of Independent States members, Kyrgyzstan agreed to negotiate this issue jointly with Kazakhstan, Russia, and Tajikistan. Several major negotiations were conducted in Shanghai and the five countries decided to set up a joint organization—the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Kyrgyzstan completed major negotiations by 2001 and signed an agreement with China on settling all territorial disputes. According to the agreement, Bishkek agreed to cede to China around 100,000 hectares of its land, or around three-quarters of the disputed territories (Rafis Abazov, 2004:102-103).

The people have suffered from harassment and corruption among border guards and customs officials. The incursions made by the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan into Kyrgyzstan in 1999 and 2000 as well as the fight against terrorism and religious



extremism have led to tighter border regimes causing more problems to the local people and making the already tough border issues even more difficult to resolve. In 1999, shortly after the IMU incursions, Uzbek air strikes launched on the Kyrgyz village of Karateyit killed seven people, wounded 13, and created large material damages. The same year, Uzbekistan started to safeguard its security by taking unilateral measures such as laying mines on its borders with Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, on territories that were yet to be demarcated. The minefields created new tensions in Kyrgyz-Uzbek relations as they not only resulted in significant economic losses by killing livestock, but also caused deaths and injuries to Kyrgyz locals. Since 1999, there were 14 cases of mine blowing on the Kyrgyz-Uzbek border. As a result, three people were killed, three were seriously wounded, and many people were deprived of their livestock.

Although Bishkek threatens to 'take appropriate measures' after each such incident, it has actually adopted an indifferent approach, unwilling to jeopardize its relations with its neighbor. As the region's most populous and militarily most powerful state with strengthening ties with the United States since the war on terrorism, Uzbekistan used its relative strength to exert pressure on and ignore the demands of its neighbors. Uzbekistan has so far refused and at best ignored Kyrgyzstan's demands to punish Uzbek border guards, who were alleged to take up arms at the slightest provocation and accused of brutal treatment of civilians.

In July 1989 a quarrel between local communities of Kyrgyzs and Tajiks over land and water usage turned into turmoil and clashes around the town of Isfara, which is situated on the border between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. This conflict had a long history, as there were long-standing disputes over the borders, which were arbitrarily established in the 1920s. During the 20th century the Tajik population in the border area had grown rapidly and by the 1980s the district around the Tajik town of Isfara had become one of the most densely populated places in the Ferghana valley. In the meantime on Kyrgyzstan's side of the border the population had also grown, especially in the 1970s and 1980s. Low intensity frictions between the two ethnic groups took place in 1982 and 1988, but the conflict in 1989 unfolded on a much larger scale. In July 1989, at a time when drinking and irrigation water was in high demand, a large crowd gathered on both sides of the border arguing about the water usage (Rafis Abazov, 2004:142).

The conflict was based on this communal disagreement, rather than on political or religious differences. The events led to human casualties, as several people were killed and dozens were injured. The mediation of government officials, *aksakals*, and local *mahallya* (neighborhood community) leaders brought the conflict to an end. But tensions between the communities remained for nearly a decade. By the end of 2002 there were reports of new quarrels in the area (ibid).

There is an urgent need to open up borders and encourage cross-border cooperation in Central Asia, especially in Ferghana Valley. It is the local population that has suffered first and foremost from the increasingly tightening border regimes imposed in the name of security. Constructive measures from both the Kyrgyz and the Uzbek government are desperately needed. External pressure on the two governments to loosen border restrictions and open the way for regional cooperation could speed up this process. Given the difficult economic and social situation in the region, only a conciliatory and cooperative approach can prevent local tensions from gathering steam and turning into a major conflict in the long term.

### **Drug and Human Trafficking, Narcotics, Small Arms Smuggling, Illegal Trade, Migration, Child and Women**

Central Asia is transit territory for drug running, traffic in humans, and illegal migration from Afghanistan to Europe. In the 1990s Kyrgyzstan also became a major transit destination of illicit drugs originating in Afghanistan. A combination of widespread unemployment and corruption and a low level of law enforcement contributed to an increasing involvement of Kyrgyz citizens in drug trafficking. Kyrgyzstan's problems are further provoked by its hard historical legacy. Kyrgyzstan is clearly divided into North and South. The two regions are connected by the only high-mountain road, which can easily cut the state into two independent parts. There is limited illicit cultivation of cannabis and opium poppy for markets. The government has made some attempt to eradicate illicit crops. Kyrgyzstan is also a transit point for south-west Asian narcotics bound for Russia and the rest of Europe.

In January 1999, President, Askar Akayev, of Kyrgyzstan told that his country was now a major route for drugs trafficking and it is responsible for the growth of crime'.

Akayev said the war against drugs could not be won until there was peace in Afghanistan and the civil war had become the most destabilizing factor in the region (Quoted in Ahmed Rashid, 2001:123). The heroin explosion emanating from Afghanistan is now affecting the politics and economics of the entire region. It is crippling societies, distorting the economies of already fragile states and creating new narco-elite which are at odds with the ever increasing poverty of the population. 'Drugs are determining the politics of this region as never before,' said a Western ambassador in Islamabad. 'We equate it now with other serious threats such as Islamic fundamentalism, terrorism and potential economic collapse in some of these countries (ibid).

Corruption and incompetence in the police forces have led to uncontrolled crime in urban parts of Kyrgyzstan. In 2005 and 2006, the Bakiyev government came under increased criticism for failing to control criminal organizations as incidents of violent crime increased. In the early 2000s, Kyrgyzstan's location between Tajikistan (a major transit country for narcotics from Afghanistan) and Russia has made the western part of Kyrgyzstan (particularly Osh) a major transit region for narcotics and human trafficking, with related increase in overall crime and in the incidence of human immunodeficiency virus. During that period, domestic narcotics production and abuse have grown sharply. In 2005 Kyrgyzstan had the third-highest rate of opium addiction in the world.

Today Kyrgyzstan actually presents a perfect alternative to Tajikistan in terms of drug trafficking, although currently it does not compare with the latter in scale. Drug trafficking, organized crime, militant Islamic movements, and nationality enclaves form some of the most constant concerns. Despite international involvement through agencies such as the United Nations Office on Drugs and investments in national agencies to fight it, drug trafficking is not only increasing and becoming more and more aligned with the rising power of organized crime clans, but it is undergoing increasing international coordination. Drug trafficking requires the coordination of related criminal gangs and special interests to achieve passage from Pakistan and Afghanistan through Central Asian countries onward to Russia and Western Europe. There are also basic problems in accounting for what goods are crossing at Kyrgyzstan's most carefully monitored international border. According to one expert, what Chinese and Kyrgyzstan customs service's computers show as goods can be construed as possible components for drug

processing? Greater interagency coordination is the key to winning the war on drug smuggling, but that will be difficult to achieve without a greater level of cooperation among Central Asian states.

Human trafficking is often viewed from the perspective of international migration. As Paul J. Smith points out, international migration is often explained by a basic “push” and “pull” model: “economic deprivation, high fertility, and unemployment (push factors) in lesser-developed countries work in concert with such elements as family reunification, higher wages, and increased demand for labor (pull factors) in industrialized countries, to create an influx of immigrants.” This model holds true for the trafficking phenomenon as well. Poverty, unemployment and lack of future perspectives are among the push factors; demand for “services” and potentially higher wages are the pull factors in receiving countries, for women taking the risk of going abroad and getting trafficked (Saltanat, Sulaimanova, 2004:385).

Thus, for regional cooperative measures to counter drug-trafficking systematically are lacking. The Central Asian Community Organization, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and Collective Security Treaty Organization all define the fight against drug trade as vital to the regional security. However, each Central Asian state has developed its own strategy to cope with the problem. Differences are seen in the amount of funding the states allocate to anti-drug policies, systems for tracking drug addicts, and establishing cooperative links with other states or international organizations. Domestic state institutions influenced by the drug trade in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan undermine interstate cooperative initiatives. Corrupt national counter-narcotics agencies and law enforcement structures decrease trust between the states. Due to the absence of financial means and mechanisms to implement regional counter-narcotics agreements, organizations such as the Interstate Drug Control Commission of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan lack efficiency in the long run (Erica, Marat 2006:109).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union and the elimination of state regulation of population movements, migration from, to and within Central Asia has become an acute and continuous process. During President Gorbachev’s “perestroika” reforms, restrictions on travel outside the Soviet Union finally were lifted, though at first only the selective

emigration of Jews, Germans and Greeks was allowed. Eventually, from 1988, all individuals were permitted to migrate out of the country, although many republics still retained exit visa policies. It has substantial political, social and economic implications, negatively affecting the economies of the countries from which the migration outflow occurs. Traditionally, the Russian workforce in Central Asia tended to dominate the industrial, technical, educational and medical care sectors. However, in the years since 1991, with the dramatic outflow of highly qualified professionals of Russian, German and Jewish origin, most Central Asian societies have experienced a “brain drain” and deterioration in the quality of education, medical fields, and other sectors of the economy.

In Kyrgyzstan, out of 102,000 ethnic Germans living in the country, 80,000 left between 1991 and 1996. In addition to the typical causes behind the migration of minorities from Central Asia, the main impetus for the German exodus was the program run by the German government to accept and assist German descendants from the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). Russians also departed in significant numbers. Where they once comprised 21.4 percent of the Kyrgyzstan population in 1989 the figure had dropped to 12.5 percent by 1999 (Quoted in Saltanat, Sulaimanova, 2004:379).

The issue of Chinese migration to Kyrgyzstan must be analyzed within the context of historical relations between Central Asia and China. During the early middle Ages, both areas actively developed diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations in the 18th and 19th centuries. Traditionally, the Kyrgyz nomads have had close ties with Xinjiang, frequently crossing the border to escape persecution and hardship in their own region. But in recent years Chinese Muslims, especially Uighurs, have been escaping persecution in China by crossing into Kyrgyz territory with their flocks. This migration has worried the Chinese. Although the Kyrgyz government is discouraging migration by Chinese Uighurs, because it cannot afford to antagonize the Uighurs who are already living in Kyrgyzstan and are becoming more and more fervently anti-Chinese. The Uighurs has become important political players not only in Xinjiang, but also in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan.

Kyrgyzstan is significantly poorer than Kazakhstan, not sharing the natural resources or economic infrastructure of its larger neighbour. It has not been a major arms

producer, either in Soviet times or currently. For most of the 1990s Kyrgyzstan's sources of arms have been the stockpiles inherited from the Soviet army bases. Illicit trafficking and smuggling don't appear to have been significant sources of weapons. With Small Arms and Light Weapons production limited to ammunition, and having inherited fewer Small Arms and Light Weapons than Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan has been less implicated in questionable arms exports and transits. The two most notable cases being transfer of arms from Iran through Kyrgyz territory to Northern Alliance Forces in Afghanistan in 1998, and the supply of conventional weapons to Liberia, violating the UN Security Council sanctions.

Trafficking in women is a modern form of slavery that exists in most countries of the world. It is a transnational global problem and one of the fastest growing criminal enterprises. Traffickers find it attractive because the profits are enormously high and the risks are low. Each year, illicit profits from trafficking in women generate an estimated seven to 12 billion dollars for organized criminal groups. Trafficking in persons has increased significantly since the end of the Cold War, as borders have become more open, and more people, especially women, have become economically vulnerable. For many years, Thailand and the Philippines have been the main source of young women, but Eastern Europe and the former Soviet Union are rapidly becoming growing markets. The increase in trafficking in women is an unintended consequence and a "female underside" of globalization (Quoted in Saltanat, Sulaimanova 2004:383).

It is difficult to determine how many women have been trafficked abroad from the former Soviet Union. The trafficking "business" keeps a low profile, victims are threatened by the traffickers to remain silent, and no official statistics are available. Estimates of how many people are trafficked worldwide vary significantly. The U.S. Government estimates that approximately 800,000 to 900,000 persons are trafficked each year. Other reports state that up to four million people are trafficked around the world annually. The estimates of the number of persons trafficked into the United States annually vary from 18,000 to 50,000. Other sources estimate that up to 175,000 persons are trafficked from Central and Eastern Europe and the CIS annually. In the case of Central Asia, the International Organization for Migration (IOM) estimates that approximately 4,000 women from Kyrgyzstan, about 5,000 from Kazakhstan, and 1,000

from Tajikistan are trafficked abroad each year. There are no estimates on the scale of trafficking from the other Central Asian republics, but the U.S. Government deems Uzbekistan to have a significant number of trafficking cases (ibid, pp:384).

Although consistent figures are difficult to come by, all Central Asian governments have expressed serious concern about the growing involvement of women in drug trafficking, particularly as couriers, or so-called “camels.” In Kyrgyzstan, for example, an estimated 30 percent of drug addicts and drug traffickers are women; in Tajikistan, the proportion of women traffickers is estimated to be even higher and rising. Most of these women, and especially rural women, are enticed into the drug trade because of rampant poverty, discrimination and despair. Significantly, women have become particularly valuable to traffickers as a cover, or *shirma*, in a world where corruption and collusion between traffickers and customs officials is widespread. Customs officials allegedly are often informed in advance of whom to search so that the “bigger fish” carrying large amounts of drugs can pass through freely. The net result is that women increasingly have become the targets of law enforcement, and they comprise a growing proportion of Central Asia’s prison population. They are also increasingly subject to humiliating body searches and other indignities at Central Asian borders (Quoted in Nancy Lubin, 2001:366-67).

The population groups most affected by poverty are women, children, trafficking in children and men also occur, but the majority of victims are women. Domestic violence is one of the major reasons why children run away from home. Street children, in turn, are especially vulnerable to being recruited by traffickers. Further, young girls from households where domestic violence is the norm, grow up seeing women as inferior beings that men can use and abuse as they please. The mistreatment or abuse they receive in trafficking situations only confirms their worst fears. ‘A Protocol to Prevent, Suppress and Punish Trafficking in Persons, especially Women and Children supplementing the UN Convention against Transnational Organized Crime of 2000, offers a more comprehensive definition of trafficking’ (Quoted in Saltanat, Sulaimanova 2004:383).

### **Ethnic and Minority problems**

In the Central Asian republics, ethnic tensions dominate the domestic as well as foreign policy. In fact this separation had its roots in the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century when the people in the north had accepted Russian protectorate and the south entered the control of the Kokand State and was composed of the majority of its army. These differences have reflected in the political affiliation of the people, economic differences and social structure. Many Kyrgyz fear that the troubles in Osh could be the tip of an ethnic volcano and much will depend on how quickly the government is able to satisfy economic and social shortages such as housing, which have fuelled ethnic unrest. Officials claim that the Osh troubles had their own peculiarities, which are now being rectified. There was a conflict in Osh between the Kyrgyz-dominated party authority and trade and business, which is in the hands of the Uzbeks who form 50 per cent of the population there, said Foreign Minister Murat Imanaliev. In April 1991 an agreement was signed between local Uzbek and Kyrgyz leaders in Osh to give Uzbeks a share of the administration, while Uzbek schools were also opened.

The agreements failed to take root on the ground. Two years after the riots, Osh was a city where ethnic apartheid was vehemently practised by both Uzbeks and Kyrgyz. Members of each community have their own schools, mosques, shops; there is little mixing between the two. Thousands of Uzbeks who feel discriminated against are returning to Uzbekistan. Umarjan Kasimov, the elected head of Uzbeks in Osh, has said that the Kyrgyz government has moved Uzbek districts out of the city limits and included outlying Kyrgyz villages within the city limits, so that the Kyrgyz can benefit from the city's amenities.

But ethnic problems are not restricted to Osh alone. In Bishkek, Russians are 50 per cent of the population and still hold the best jobs in government and industry. An estimated 100,000 Russians had left by the end of 1992, but their continued presence is fuelling Kyrgyz nationalism. The government is now attempting to implement reverse discrimination by promoting Kyrgyz bureaucrats to senior positions. As a result, such measures have excluded Russians from places at university in favour of Kyrgyz students. It can create conflict between Russian and Kyrgyz. 'For seventy-three years the Russians ruled us and still they have a psyche that everything belongs to them, but now there is a



new situation where Kyrgyz are a majority and they are a minority. They will have to accept that or leave,' said one Kyrgyz intellectual. There are eighty other ethnic groups including Koreans, Tibetans and Uighurs from the east, Tartars, Dungans, and Chechens from the west as well as European ethnic groups such as Germans, Poles and Czechs. Overt expression of Kyrgyz nationalism has been kept in check by the government, but the potential for trouble is always there. President Akaev had so far avoided paying lip service to Kyrgyz nationalism as President Nazarbayev has done in Kazakhstan (Ahmed Rashid, 2001:155).

Kyrgyzstan has been in turmoil since April 2010, when a bloody confrontation between an increasingly unpopular government and opposition activists ousted President Kurmanbek Bakiyev, who is now in exile in Belarus. A government led by interim president Roza Otunbaeva took power, but it hasn't been able to establish full control in the south of the country, home to most of Bakiyev's supporters and much of the country's Uzbek minority. There's a long history of ethnic tension in the region the current unrest is reminiscent of a 1990 bloody conflict which was resolved with Soviet troops and the power vacuum that emerged in the region in the wake of Bakiyev's ouster in April has helped reignite ethnic resentment. Kyrgyz people began attacking ethnic Uzbeks in house-to-house raids. The interim government was unable to contain the violence, which quickly spiraled out of control.

Russia remains reluctant to wade into a conflict that might turn into a quagmire. But the risks generated by violence so close to Russia's borders and the fear that the country could become a safe haven for anti-Russian militants/terrorists will probably compel Moscow to move forward. The Kyrgyz foreign minister has now suggested that his government might be willing to revisit a decision to extend the lease on an airbase used by United States forces as a vital line of supply for NATO forces in Afghanistan. Moscow holds the cards and could insist that the Americans leave. In what has become typical for the provisional government, individual leaders are sending mixed signals. Otunbaeva, for instance, insists that the lease will be extended, and Russia and the United States share an interest in the stability of Afghanistan.

Finally, the governments of the largest of the Central Asia republics-Uzbekistan and energy-rich Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan have done well for themselves politically and

economically by playing Russia, America and China off one another. If Russian troops enter Kyrgyz territory in large numbers, that delicate balance could be overthrown in Russia's favor. At the very least, the leaders of countries neighboring Kyrgyzstan will have to weigh Russia's capacity for mischief with each decision of regional importance (<http://eurasia.foreignpolicy.com/>)<sup>1</sup>.

### **Political challenges**

Kyrgyzstan's government credibility as an international partner has suffered from the effects of corruption, policy inconsistency and recent political instability. Political situation is also a key element in the domestic and foreign policies of the republic. Strengthening formal institutions is, therefore, a compelling priority for the United States, as is seeking a better understanding of informal power structures. The Color Revolutions have had negative consequences both for United States interests in Central Asia and for broader democratic reform. By injecting an ideological element into regional politics, these revolutions have increased Russian and Chinese influence and weakened the United States position. So far as political challenges are concerned, Kyrgyzstan did not and is still not representing a bright picture since it has remained one of the poorest and corrupted countries among the newly independent states. As for the foreign policy is concerned, Kyrgyzstan and Central Asia in general has occupied a significant place in security and economic developments in the post-Soviet era, especially after 9/11 terrorist attacks to the United States.

The political situation contributes to development of the priorities in its foreign and domestic policies and provides Kyrgyz leadership to promote the idea of democracy and a market economy in the republic. The Kyrgyz government has had to develop foreign policies not only bolstering security and economic benefits of the country but also discovering and following a fine balance between the regional and internal interests of powerful states, like Russia, the U.S., and China. Clan politics has traditionally been a very strong factor, so Kyrgyzstan's well-known division into North and South, widely accepted in many Kyrgyz studies, can only be accepted in the geographic and geopolitical

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<sup>1</sup> <http://eurasia.foreignpolicy.com/>

context. The process of monopolizing of political and economic power in Kyrgyzstan by the Akaev family in the beginning of 2000's decreased the political support from other clans, weakened the state authority and finally destabilized the situation in the country.

The political upheaval in Kyrgyzstan in March 2005, which resulted in President A. Akayev's removal, was viewed by Beijing as a means to confront Western and particularly United States influences in Central Asia by identifying "dangerous coloured revolutions syndrome", which at the same time forced China to differentiate between various groups in Kyrgyz politics. "Velvet revolutions studies" became a new trend among Chinese policy analysts and sociologists, for which research centres were being opened. The border issue once again became Beijing's concern, because after some Kyrgyz politicians' statements on possible borders' revision. However, the Bakiev government reassured the Chinese government that it would be as it is as it had been under Akayev (Irina, Morozova 2009:89).

While many Russian foreign policy specialists believe that Moscow has a vital security interest in U.S. success or at least lack of failure in Afghanistan and are willing to see Manas keep functioning, the Russian leadership, particularly Prime Minister Putin, views it as another example of unwelcome U.S. interference in an area of special interest to Russia. Kyrgyz officials said that Putin frequently complained to Bakiyev about the base. For instance, during the 2007 Shanghai Cooperation Organisation summit in Bishkek, an official recalled that Putin asked Bakiyev using the familiar form of the verb used for friends or subordinates, "Why do you need the Americans here, teaching you democracy?" If money was needed, Putin reportedly added, Moscow could help (Crisis Group interview, in Bishkek, February, 2008).

Kyrgyzstan's government remains suspicious of Russian intentions and motives. Most fear that any move to shore up relations with Russia alone might result in a loss of independence. Instead, these governments see the advantages of close ties with both Russia and the United States. If security cooperation with America is tolerated by Russia, then this is indeed the better path. Kyrgyzstan needs stability. Stability and regional

security will improve financial and economic outlooks. Russian interests are similar, but are complicated by the war in Chechnya.

### **Water distribution problems**

Fergana Valley is an important breadbasket of Central Asia. Most of the fertile land belongs to Uzbekistan, with the rest of the valley being shared by Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Water distribution has become a crucial factor for stability in the region. Most of the fertile land in the plain belongs to Uzbekistan but the water comes from the mountainous territory of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, whose economies are heavily dependent on hydroelectric power. When the snow melts in the early summer months, water refills large dams. However, it is exactly at this time that Uzbek farmers need to irrigate their crops. With three different countries vying for water resources and each country setting its own national priorities for this resource, tensions soon flared.

Like Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan finds its agricultural development constrained by the Soviet-era water allocation scheme for the Syr Darya, which the Central Asian countries have agreed to honor until a new scheme can be developed and approved. In the meantime, Kyrgyzstan would like to expand its agricultural sector and needs additional water to do so. No transboundary water enters Kyrgyzstan from any source and about 44 bcm of runoff are formed within the country each year. These are transboundary waters since they feed the Syr Darya and, ultimately, the Aral Sea.

The presidential decree "On foreign policy of the Kyrgyz Republic in the sphere of water resources generated in Kyrgyzstan and flowing into neighboring countries" (June 1997) mandates the solution of interstate water problems, water allocation, and the use of economic instruments for promoting water conservation and efficient use of water and energy resources. The law "On interstate use of water objects, water resources and water facilities of the Kyrgyz Republic" (July 2001) confirmed the principles of cooperation of Kyrgyzstan with other countries in the field of water resources. However, the law states that all the waters in the territory of the country belong to the State and demands that the downstream countries pay for water emanating from Kyrgyzstan. This has caused a certain amount of conflict with

Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, both of which demand that Kyrgyzstan continue providing water free of charge, which would be available without regulation by reservoirs (Daene C. McKinney, 2004:204).

It soon became clear that the governmental and intergovernmental agencies created by these newly independent states would not be strong enough to keep the water distribution network from being split up among the three countries. The consequence: water supply became unreliable, unfair and insufficient. Farmers who found themselves at the lower part of the valley barely received any water from the water canal network while farmers in the upper part of the valley had more water than they knew what to do with. Although there was enough water for everyone in Fergana Valley, the problem is how to distribute it more efficiently. A more targeted approach to water management was also needed to capture drainage water from irrigated fields to avoid unnecessary loss of water.

Kyrgyzstan can defend its interests jointly with Tajikistan which has common interests and problems, conducting systematic negotiations to create an economic mechanism of water usage in the region on mutually acceptable conditions. Even though Kyrgyzstan focuses mainly on Syrdaria, it is important and necessary to participate in the solution of issues of water usage of the Amudaria River. Kazakhstan also has its own problems as an upstream country with Russia looking towards the Chernyi Irtys and Ili rivers. It can be an additional reason to persuade the Kazakh government of the necessity for an objective approach to the water usage of Syrdaria. Kyrgyzstan should reject the Alma-Ata agreement of 1992 which reinforced a scheme that existed in Soviet times and conduct negotiations for reconsidering the conditions or a new agreement. It is necessary to achieve transparency and accessibility for public exchange or other documents with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan for monitoring, taking into account the lack of effective mechanisms and agreements implemented among countries, and also to inform the public.

Kyrgyzstan jointly with Tajikistan should insist on payment (in cash) for water storage, for maintenance of water infrastructure, flood prevention, and compensation for lost power. Arguments should build on competent calculations and be debated at the highest political level. Systematically conduct analysis and research which will allow

cooperation and offer alternatives for regional countries and institutional mechanisms of trans-boundary water resource management. When forming negotiating or expert teams, the government should include specialists on international laws in the sphere of water resources, who would inform decision makers on existing practices of regulation. To seek support from international organizations for fair solutions to issues concerning technical and economical justifications of losses and expenses, it is necessary to prepare professional personnel for the water problem. It is necessary to pay more attention to the development of the art of negotiation, mediators and arbitration. Kyrgyzstan should not reject the attraction of private investment in water and power, even though there are fears among the population over the possible privatization of water and the power sector.

## CHAPTER-V

### CONCLUSION

The formation of the foreign policy institutions in the Kyrgyzstan after gaining the independence was an uneasy task. Almost half a century of the existence of the republics' Ministries of Foreign Affairs did little to accumulate foreign policy expertise; so far, it was a very important foundation for creation of appropriate foreign policy institutions in the post-Soviet era. Kyrgyzstan is one of the smallest post-Soviet Central Asian countries in the term of area and size of population. This country is also not rich in mineral and natural resources. This situation contributes to development of the priorities in its foreign and domestic policies and provides Kyrgyz leadership to promote the "idea of democracy and a market economy" in the republic.

Soon After the disintegration of erstwhile Soviet Union in 1991, the Kyrgyz government started to formulate its own foreign policy in accordance with its national interests and to achieve economic and political survival in a very complex Central Asian environment. Throughout the 1990s, the main objectives of the Kyrgyz foreign policy was to maintain cooperation, coordination, and sustainable multilateral relations with the former Soviet republics, especially with neighboring countries Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and building security networking, establishing international political and economic relations with the Western countries, including the United States and European Union.

From the beginning Kyrgyzstan introduced quite a similar concept of the foreign policy decision making, which avoided monopolization of the foreign policy making in the hands of individuals or isolated groups of politicians. In fact, the process of the foreign policy making included competition between at least two foreign policy institutions. Also it included development of a dynamic and democratic environment in the decision making and relatively free circulation of the cadres and ideas between academic world and foreign policy institutions. Most probably, the wide use of the academic expertise was one of the most important features that made the Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy more sustainable and productive. However, because of the shortage of

cadre, expertise and diplomatic experience, the functioning of the foreign policy institutions still largely depends on personalities of their heads and on the personalities of the presidents, who often directly control the work of the Ministry of the Foreign affairs in their respective republics.

There are three main dimensions in the development of Kyrgyz foreign policy mentioned in the concept. First, regional dimension defines as the formation of friendship relations with neighboring countries like Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan and China, based on the principles of respect for sovereignty, territorial integrity and mutual security. Second, continental dimension associates with the development of the relation with main centers of international policy, such as Russian Federation, China, United States, European Union, Germany, Japan, India and Turkish Republic on the base of multi-vectored policy and mutual beneficiary cooperation. Third, Global dimension generally focused on the consolidating the position of the Kyrgyz Republic in the international community and the development of the cooperation with international organizations, particularly the United Nations.

During Askar Akayev period institutional formation and strategic thinking contributed to the foreign policy formation in Kyrgyzstan. It was characterized by a presidential and minister-driven policy reliant on minor input from ancillary players such as Parliament. The whole policy was underpinned by skimpy but important policy-guiding statements. All contributed to a foreign policy reliant on a traditional Soviet balance of power view, wherein bilateral relations are foremost. International organizations were viewed mainly for their value of representing a chance to improve relations with whichever state is ascendant in the organization, be it Russia in the Commonwealth of Independent States, or China in the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The advanced nationalism in the post-Soviet period has had little impact on foreign policy of the republic.

The first generation of independence established a foreign policy framework that will certainly influence future Kyrgyz regimes, whether democratic or autocratic after 2005 at least in the near future. Longer term, the populism that shook Kyrgyzstan in March 2005 may yet begin to impact foreign policy. A Parliament more sensitive to the political power of appointees refused to confirm Otunbayeva as Foreign Minister. In that



sense the tenure of the consummate political insider Aitmatov might be more symptomatic of future trends than the Soviet-informed contributions of Imanaliev and Otunbayeva even foreign ministers, till now protected in the bureaucrat world of a rarified bureaucracy, will have to be part of the political tumult and dispute, and need genuine popular support to contribute to cabinet. Another force for possible change, as discussed above, is that much in independent foreign policy thinking is identified with Akayev and his era, and Bakiev's government may yet feel the need to reformulate its own vision.

Kyrgyzstan's methods of cooperation with international and foreign relations were mostly set by the Akayev administration, and have continued unchanged under the new regime. New government under President Bakiev continues to implement the main directions of Akayev's foreign policy with some differences on methods and approach. In 2007 Concept of the Foreign Policy of the Kyrgyz Republic emphasizes on four main angles such as strengthening national security by foreign policy methods, formation of favorable external environment for realization of national development priorities, strengthening of positive international image of Kyrgyzstan, formation of effective system for foreign policy activity in the republic. The new concept defines the Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy as multi-vector, balanced and pragmatic policy, which is supported by the national interests and based on the real sources and possibilities of the republic.

The issues are in the relations of the Kyrgyz Republic with the neighboring and regional countries, cooperation activity on the border issues, since the independence of Kyrgyzstan the delimitation processes have been completed with two countries China and Kazakhstan. But more unresolved disputes on the border delimitation come in relations with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan that caused some problem in the border-regions. This issue often becomes the subject of confrontation between Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan on one side and Uzbekistan and Tajikistan on another. The main problems are the distribution of the water of Syr Darya River the downstream countries Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan protest and pressure the upstream Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. The connected issue is the cooperation of the regional countries in the trade of energy resources such as oil and gas supplied by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan which sometime become the factor of

pressure on Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. Economic relations and trade is the main sector of cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and neighboring countries. Kyrgyzstan actively involves in close socio-economic, cultural, educational and, therefore, political cooperation with regional countries such Russia, Kazakhstan and in lower level with Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Since independence Kyrgyz Republic increases the relations with Turkey Republic and China, which now compose an important part of Kyrgyz foreign affairs. Cooperation in security field, this activity is mainly promoted by Russia through its bilateral and multilateral relations.

Kyrgyzstan actively involved in the multilateral structures of Collective Security Treaty Organization and Shanghai Cooperation Organization on the fight against terrorism, extremism and separatism, as well as transnational crime, illegal imports of arms and drugs. The main partner of the bilateral security cooperation is Russia, but China, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan and also Turkey have significant bilateral relations with Kyrgyzstan in security issues. The security issues are the main problematic factors in the relation with Tajikistan. Security concern also exists in the relations of Kyrgyzstan with more powerful neighbors like Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan which rival for leadership in Central Asia.

The foreign relations of Kyrgyzstan with great powers based on the formation and development of mutual beneficial cooperation as well as providing multi-vectored foreign policy toward different states. This direction of Kyrgyz foreign policy has its significant implementation in the relations with three great powers United States, Russia and China which has their specific interest in the region. The relation with international organizations is another direction of Kyrgyz foreign policy. The main goals of this direction are the active participation of Kyrgyzstan into international politics as a member of international community as well as to follow more pragmatic goals such as strengthen the national and regional security, provide political, financial and technical support for domestic issues and economic prosperity, take advantage from the processes of integration and globalization.

Kyrgyzstan perceives Russia as the main partner in the political, socio-economic and cultural cooperation as well as the guarantor for the national security against external threats. The cooperation between two countries has been increased since 1999

particularly in security field. The events of 9/11 and American military presence in Kyrgyzstan did not change the Moscow's status as the major strategic partner for Bishkek, but provide the potential for multi-vector policy and the external support for socio-economic development of the country.

The United States foreign policy in Central Asia was primarily directed to consolidate the independent status and to prevent further reintegration of these countries with Russia. The events of 9/11 and Bishkek cooperation initiative for anti-terrorist campaign suddenly increase its strategic importance for United States government. The Andijan events in Uzbekistan and the following withdrawal of United States military base from Karshi-Khanabad pushed Washington for closer cooperation with Bishkek and fulfillment of its demands according the rent cost which was raised by new government in 2006. Kyrgyz foreign policy approach toward the great powers to play on both side resulted in new agreement with Russia in the beginnings of 2008. President announced the withdrawal of United States military base immediately after the signing the agreement and Parliament ratified this decision in few days later, which caught everyone by surprise.

But it should be clear to Turkey and Iran as well as to Russia and the west that the Central Asian republics will pursue their own interests, as defined by their respective leaders. In this endeavor, the local actors will try to extract maximum benefits from all the outsiders and will not compromise their national interests in the name of ethnicity, religion, history, culture or anything else. In fact Saudi Arabia got cultural linkages with Central Asia and it see its mission as willing back to the peoples to Islam rather than cultivating economic or trade relations. The leaders of Central Asian republics have been disappointed at the lack of Saudi investment in their countries and the remained suspicious of Saudi sources of funding fundamentalism.

Pakistan aims to revive historical and cultural ties with the people of the newly independent Republics in Central Asia, (Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan) and to develop mutually beneficial trade and economic cooperation with them. Kyrgyzstan has been collaborating with them in the areas of transit routes, credit facilities, and establishment of gas and oil pipelines, technical

assistance programmes, and banking. The re-establishment of peace in Afghanistan will allow the potential for such collaboration to take off.

Changes in international environment and especially shifts in the nature of relations with Russia affected the intensity of the public debate on the Kyrgyzstan's foreign policy formation and the republic's identities in the international arena. In this sense, the debate on the 'Model of development' appeared as one of the interesting phenomena. In fact, the unexpected disintegration of the USSR raised challenging issues before the Kyrgyzstan's ruling elite and one of the issues was the urgent need to search for a dynamic and technocratic identity of the republic. In this sense, the declaration of the 'Model of development' approach was one of the good findings to create a positive image of the country before the international community as well as before the republic's multiethnic communities.

As recently as November 4, 2008, a Bishkek-based academic with close ties to the Russian foreign policy establishment, Alexander Kniazev, argued that Kyrgyzstan could no longer serve as a military entrepot between East and West, claiming that it had to choose between The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and Collective Security Treaty Organization. In his view, although it had been possible to adopt a position of strategic balance between competing power centers in the 1990s, when Russia was in turmoil and China was less engaged in the region, "the geopolitical situation in the world is changing. The role of the United States is declining while that of Russia and China is growing." Kniazev insisted that at a time when Russia is consolidating its position in its Near Abroad, and the post-communist states are rapidly aligning with one camp or another, Kyrgyzstan would not have the comfort of maintaining the modest foreign policy of the Akaev era. When the new agreement between Bishkek and Washington was signed in June 2009 it has become clear about the Kyrgyz pragmatic intentions in this process. The experience and some other sources show that the successful pragmatic initiatives of Kyrgyz government could be provided, because of the following Russian-American agreement on this issue. There is a clear understanding of Moscow that American anti-terrorist campaign in Afghanistan is in favor of all Central Asian countries and Russia, particularly.

Today, we can see the development of the Kyrgyz multi-vector foreign policy with Russian submission of this issue. The Kyrgyz Prime-Minister Daniar Usenov in his official statement confirmed that “the relations with Russia have very significant importance” for the country and that “Kyrgyzstan was and is the consistent ally of Russia”. Also, the visits of top Washington officials like United States Special representative for Afghanistan and Pakistan Richard Holbrook and the Commander of United States Central Forces David Petraus and their meetings with the President of Kyrgyzstan are signs of activation of the cooperation between Kyrgyzstan and United States, particularly, in security issues.

It seems that the United States administration, while forcing the Central Asian states, including Kyrgyzstan, to accelerate their reforms, openly acknowledged that the solution to all the problems of democracy requires a long commitment, a large amount of work and even a "change of generations." The Bush administration began to understand that democratic transformation in the region is a process, which has a certain sequence. Moreover, the United States administration sought to prove to his critics that human rights are only one of the elements of the United States foreign policy, while the main priority in the current situation was given to strengthening national security.

However, it is important to understand what Kyrgyzstan has today, how it will develop, how it will affect the formation of certain political tendencies, formation of the elite, people's worldview, state and position of the society? With gathering economic and environmental clouds, this is the worst time for Kyrgyzstan to take a decision that risk marginalizing a country in need of greater foreign interaction. The North Atlantic Treaty Organization and the United States are deeply committed to normalization and eventual reconstruction in Afghanistan, which is in the interests of the Afghan people and of all the surrounding states.

Finally, it can be said that a small country without enough resources to promote its national interests has to maneuver skillfully between the countries like United States, Russia, and China in order not to become an apple of discord and a destructive element in the region. Today, Kyrgyzstan depends on external forces, but at the same time the situation in the region also depends on the policies pursued by Kyrgyzstan. The leadership of the republic must use all diplomatic measures to, provide national security, and, to promote the political and economic interests of the country.

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Government of Kyrgyzstan	<a href="http://www.gov.kg">http://www.gov.kg</a>
International Crisis Group	<a href="http://www.crisisweb.org">http://www.crisisweb.org</a>
Kabar News Agency	<a href="http://www.kabar.kg">http://www.kabar.kg</a>
Parliament of Kyrgyzstan	<a href="http://www.kenesh.gov.kg">http://www.kenesh.gov.kg</a>
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UNDP Kyrgyzstan	<a href="http://www.undp.kg">http://www.undp.kg</a>
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