

Country: Uzbekistan

Years: 1991-2006

Head of government: Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS identifies Karimov's party as the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (*O'zbekistan Xalq Demokratik Partiyasi* – PDP). DPI identifies PDP's ideology as leftist. Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1604) elaborates, writing “the PDP was organized in November 1991 as successor to the former Uzbek Communist Party, whose activities had been suspended in August. Officially committed to promarket reform and multi-party democracy, the PDP has nevertheless backed the Karimov government's cautious line on both fronts”. Frye (2010: 231) writes that “classic examples of personalist old-left leaders include Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan and Heydar Aliyev in Azerbaijan” and that (2010: 232) “while Karimov demonstrated little commitment to communist ideology and the Communist Party as an organization, there is little doubt that his economic views were shaped by his experience within Soviet planning” and his career in the Uzbek State Planning Committee. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. Perspective Monde (2019), however, identifies Karimov's ideology as rightist. Lentz (1994: 815) writes that “[Karimov] became the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party in 1989”. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the People's Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (PDP) as 8. Rulers (2019) writes that “pro-market rhetoric drew some foreign investors to Uzbekistan, but they were slower to come than to neighboring Kazakhstan, considered more liberal. Karimov imposed strict foreign-exchange limits, allowing only a select group of foreign investors to repatriate profits, and took a gradualist approach to liberalizing the economy”. Kangas (2006: 1480) writes that “The Communist Party of Uzbekistan (CPUz) was quickly renamed the People's Democratic Party (Halq Demokratik Partiyasi; HDP) in August 1991, following the failed Moscow coup. Islam Karimov, then the president of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (SSR), quit the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) and officially took over the leadership of the HDP. ... The guidelines of the HDP are outlined in the 1991 hand book, which is slightly revised in content from the former CPUz handbook. The biggest change is that the party now supports a free-market economy and political liberalization, as long as it takes place in a “gradual and efficient” manner. Kumar (1998: 1015) writes that “Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan justifies gradual reforms and phased transition to the market, emphasizing the regulatory role of the state as the initiator of economic reform”. Blackmon (2005: 397) writes that “Karimov was trained as an economist

and formerly worked for the republic's branch of Gosplan. His background in Soviet-style economics with Gosplan would greatly influence his ideas about his country's economic reform process and the rejection of any kind of shock therapy approach to reforms. Karimov was also deeply concerned about the societal stability of the country and was aware that substantial structural reforms may have resulted in social unrest. ... Karimov's decision to embrace past policies and to rehabilitate Rashidov, as well as other officials involved in the cotton affair, would also result in the return of members of the former first party secretary's Soviet era elite. These decisions by Karimov to look to the past for the future development of Uzbekistan would greatly impact the development of the country." Khaki & Sheikh (2016: 56) write that "Islam Karimov has stated that the policies of Soviet Union, 'centralized planning and market economics, are two integrated, inherently logical and hence absolutely incompatible economic system. Because of this, a planned economy cannot be transformed straightway into market one. The transition... means the establishment of something principally new; the transition from one qualitative stage into another...thus, it cannot be implemented with a single act, but presupposes a sufficiently protracted period characterized by a sequence of stages'". Furthermore, Khaki & Sheikh (2016: 56) write that "Islam Karimov presented a five point formula, also characterized as "Uzbek Model of Economy: 1) Complete 'de-ideologization'. 2) The State is the main reformer. The representatives of legally elected authorities have to determine priorities and pursue balanced policy of no social shocks. 3) With the current demographic situation and low living standards, the transformation to market economy by a social policy aimed at social protection of the poorest and most vulnerable layers of society-children, elderly people, and invalids. 4) Superiority of Law and constitution. 5) An evolutionary manner of Transition to a market economy without 'revolutionary changes' or 'Shock therapy'. According to the national proverb "don't ruin the old house, without a ready new one". The transition to the next stage should only happen after the current target has been met." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-left" (-1.608) in 1995, "Center-left" (-1.608) in 1999, and "Center-left" (-1.603) in 2004.

Years: 2007-2015

Head of government: Islam Abduganiyevich Karimov

Ideology: left

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify party.

Political Handbook of the World (2015: 1604) identifies party as the Uzbekistan Liberal Democratic Party (*O'zbekiston Liberal Demokratik Partiyasi – LDP*).

World Statesmen identifies Karimov's party switch from PDP to LDP as occurring in 2007. The European Parliamentary Research Service (2015) writes that in 2007 Uzbekistan's legislature passed legislation that prohibited running for president as

an independent candidate and – although PDP supported Karimov in the 1991 election it nominated Asliddin Rustamov in 2007 – forced Karimov to run as a member of a different party, the LDP. The United Nations (2016) identifies the LDP as rightist: “The Movement of Entrepreneurs and Businesspeople – the Liberal Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (UzLiDeP) holds the center right in the political specter [...] The party stands for the priority of the rights and interests of an individual, inviolability of private ownership, liberalization of economy, democratization and modernization of public life and governance, creation of conditions for shaping and promoting the middle class – a basis for a robust civil society; it favors competition and freedom of economic activity.” The Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights (2017:2) confirm LDP to be rightist: LDP “calls itself a centre-right party and its main policy is to support private ownership”. Frye (2010: 231) writes that “classic examples of personalist old-left leaders include Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan and Heydar Aliyev in Azerbaijan” and that (2010: 232) “while Karimov demonstrated little commitment to communist ideology and the Communist Party as an organization, there is little doubt that his economic views were shaped by his experience within Soviet planning” and his career in the Uzbek State Planning Committee. Manzano (2017) identifies ideology as leftist. *Perspective Monde* (2019), however, identifies Karimov’s ideology as rightist. Lentz (1994: 815) identifies Karimov’s ideology as leftist, writing that “[Karimov] became the first secretary of the Central Committee of the Uzbek Communist Party in 1989”. In the *Global Party Survey 2019*, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Movement of Entrepreneurs and Businesspeople – Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as 7. Kangas (2006: 1481) identifies LDP as rightist, writing that “ostensibly, the LDP supports business and economic reform”. Kumar (1998: 1015) writes that “Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan justifies gradual reforms and phased transition to the market, emphasizing the regulatory role of the state as the initiator of economic reform”. Blackmon (2005: 397) writes that “Karimov was trained as an economist and formerly worked for the republic’s branch of Gosplan. His background in Soviet-style economics with Gosplan would greatly influence his ideas about his country’s economic reform process and the rejection of any kind of shock therapy approach to reforms. Karimov was also deeply concerned about the societal stability of the country and was aware that substantial structural reforms may have resulted in social unrest. ... Karimov’s decision to embrace past policies and to rehabilitate Rashidov, as well as other officials involved in the cotton affair, would also result in the return of members of the former first party secretary’s Soviet era elite. These decisions by Karimov to look to the past for the future development of Uzbekistan would greatly impact the development of the country.” Khaki & Sheikh (2016: 56) write that “Islam Karimov has stated that the policies of Soviet Union, ‘centralized

planning and market economics, are two integrated, inherently logical and hence absolutely incompatible economic system. Because of this, a planned economy cannot be transformed straightway into market one. The transition... means the establishment of something principally new; the transition from one qualitative stage into another...thus, it cannot be implemented with a single act, but presupposes a sufficiently protracted period characterized by a sequence of stages”’. Furthermore, Khaki & Sheikh (2016: 56) write that "Islam Karimov presented a five-point formula, also characterized as “Uzbek Model of Economy: 1) Complete ‘de-ideologization’. 2) The State is the main reformer. The representatives of legally elected authorities have to determine priorities and pursue balanced policy of no social shocks. 3) With the current demographic situation and low living standards, the transformation to market economy by a social policy aimed at social protection of the poorest and most vulnerable layers of society-children, elderly people, and invalids. 4) Superiority of Law and constitution. 5) An evolutionary manner of Transition to a market economy without ‘revolutionary changes’ or ‘Shock therapy’. According to the national proverb “don’t ruin the old house, without a ready new one”. The transition to the next stage should only happen after the current target has been met." In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s ideology as “Center-right” (0.779) in 2004, “Center-right” (0.799) in 2009, and “Center-right” (0.806) in 2014. In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party’s cohesion as “Virtually no visible disagreement” in 2004, 2009, and 2014. (Isaacs 2013) states, “Power and decision making in Central Asia is mostly personalised. Perhaps with the exception of Kyrgyzstan following the 2010 revolution, the presidents of the Central Asian Republics all lead personalist authoritarian regimes. . . Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan, Nursultan Nazarbayev in Kazakhstan, Gurbanguly Berymukhamyedov in Turkmenistan and Emomalii Rahmon in Tajikistan possess the power to assign most public positions, including regional governorships, positions in law enforcement bodies, courts and the cabinet, and usually some places in the Senate.” Pannier (2021) notes that 2007 was the last year Uzbekistan allowed an independent candidate to run for President. “Shortly after the 2007 election, the law was amended to remove the possibility of anyone running as an independent. Only registered political parties can participate in parliamentary or presidential elections and those parties are: Milli Tiklanish, the OXDP, Adolat (Justice), the Liberal Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (OLDP), and the Ecological party, which had been a movement prior to the 2019 parliamentary elections.” The Institute for War and Peace Reporting (2012) states, “The Liberal Democrats are the more recent creation, and claim to represent business interests. They accused the PDPU of obstructing a bill on private banking and finance, saying it favoured state regulation whereas they wanted commercial freedom. The PDPU, they said,

was trying to "make political mileage out of sensitive social justice issues". The PDPU hit back, accusing the Liberal Democrats of going too far on the enterprise culture and free-market economics. . . Karimov was head of the PDPU, but switched his affections to the Liberal Democratic Party, set up in 2003." Sharifov (2007) states, "The Uzbek Constitution in the meantime does not permit a person to remain president for more than two terms in a row. Since the tame Liberal-Democratic Party was instructed to nominate Karimov, observers wanted to know exactly how it would present and explain it without actually throwing the Constitution out the nearest window." The Editors of RFE/RL (2007) state, "Observers had widely predicted that Karimov would skirt that clause of the constitution, presumably by arguing that referendums in 1995 and 2002 rendered at least one of his two terms inapplicable. Karimov, who will turn 70 in January, was nominated by the Liberal Democrats, one of Uzbekistan's five registered political parties."

Years: 2016-2020

Head of government: Shavkat Miromonovich Mirziyoyev

Ideology: right

Description: HoG does not identify ideology. CHISOLS does not identify head of government. The European Forum for Democracy and Solidarity (2018) identifies Mirziyayev as a member of the Uzbekistan Liberal Democratic Party (*O'zbekiston Liberal Demokratik Partiyasi – LDP*) starting in 2016. The United Nations (2016) identifies the LDP as rightist: "The Movement of Entrepreneurs and Businesspeople – the Liberal Democratic Party of Uzbekistan (UzLiDeP) holds the center right in the political specter [...] The party stands for the priority of the rights and interests of an individual, inviolability of private ownership, liberalization of economy, democratization and modernization of public life and governance, creation of conditions for shaping and promoting the middle class – a basis for a robust civil society; it favors competition and freedom of economic activity." Perspective Monde (2019) identifies Mirziyayev's ideology as rightist. In the Global Party Survey 2019, 2 experts identify the average left-right (0-10) score of the Movement of Entrepreneurs and Businesspeople – Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) as 7. Kangas (2006: 1481) identifies LDP as rightist, writing that "ostensibly, the LDP supports business and economic reform". In V-Party (2020), 4 experts identify head of government party's ideology as "Center-right" (0.806) in 2014 and "Center-right" (0.813) in 2019. Varieties of Democracy identify party affiliation as Uzbekistan Liberal Democratic Party. DPI has no information on LDP.

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