

**Disintegration of the USSR and Its
Consequences For Uzbekistan:
Economic and
Social Spheres**

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Key Points

* The development of Uzbekistan and other Central Asian countries is directly dependent on integration processes in Central Eurasia: the history of Uzbekistan and Central Asia is a success story given economic integration, particularly as part of Great Silk Road as well as USSR and one of failure when it is absent.

* Uzbekistan's economy as part of the USSR:

- prioritised agro-industry
- trade was predominantly with other USSR republics (60% Russia)
- around 65% of intra-USSR exports were raw materials or semi-finished goods and over 70% of imports industrial and consumer goods
- world-standard social support, which was possible only because of around \$4.9bn subsidy from USSR's central budget

* Uzbekistan's social and economic spheres suffered catastrophically from the disintegration of the USSR:

- in the early 90s industrial production fell by 90%, agricultural food exports by 5-6 times
- by 1995 social expenditure had fallen by more than 60% compared to 1991
- in the early 90s it was on the verge of destabilisation (though not as bad as its neighbours - Tajikistan or Afghanistan)

* Uzbekistan has survived this difficult period and emerged from systemic crisis – by 2000 it had returned to 1991 economic levels: the 'Uzbek model' works. But it, and other post-soviet countries, cannot make further progress using national resources alone. Deeper economic alliance with Russia and a heightened willingness of post soviet space towards economic integration are required.

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It has been 15 years since Uzbekistan gained its independence. However, this CIS member state, which emerged after the disintegration of the USSR, still remains rather little-known in many aspects. This lack of awareness became especially apparent after the tragic events of May 2005 in the Uzbek city of Andijan, events that were provoked by the group of militants' attack on local military, police and administrative bodies. It was only then that the whole world began to discuss the possible root causes of these events. At the same time many experts, both in the West and in the CIS, failed to search beneath the surface in their analysis of the state of the Uzbek affairs. Thus, in many evaluations of Uzbekistan the objective socio-economic problems facing the republic since the disintegration of the USSR have been ignored.

In the meantime, the principal of the aforementioned problems result from the consequences of the disintegration of a common economic space of the former USSR – a process which developed independently of Uzbekistan and could not be influenced by Uzbekistan in any way. The consequences of the disintegration of the USSR still remain understudied both in the West and in the CIS countries themselves. As a result, there is a bad understanding of fundamental causes of the negative phenomena that are evident in the economy and social sphere of many post-Soviet countries.

This paper attempts to consider the socio-economic development of Uzbekistan, which is one of the largest post-Soviet states,¹ when it was a constituent part of the USSR and also analyse the objective consequences of the disintegration of the USSR for the economy and social sphere of the republic. This may help to understand the complex nature of the processes unfolding not only in Uzbekistan but in the whole post-Soviet space.

A brief historical survey of the development of Uzbekistan

Uzbekistan is one of a few double land-locked states² in the world. Uzbekistan is placed between other Central Asian³ countries and as a result it sits on the crossroad of economic, political and cultural ties as well as strategic interests and priorities of many Eurasian countries.

It is this uniqueness that determined the historical fact that the prosperity of the peoples living in Uzbekistan was traditionally conditioned by the processes of international interplay on the Eurasian continent. On the one hand, during periods when the state formations on the territory of modern Uzbekistan were integrated

into the system of regional and inter-regional ties they experienced an intensive development. On the other hand, when these ties collapsed there was an economic recession.

Periods of integration into the system of regional and inter-regional ties	Periods of disintegration from the system of regional and inter-regional ties
The heyday of the Great Silk Road For many centuries the state formations on the territory of modern Uzbekistan were integrated into a global system of economic (trade) ties, namely the Great Silk Road. It reached one of its peaks during the reign of Emir Tamerlane⁴ (second half of the 14th century). To his credit he managed to make an effective use of the significant resources of international trade by facilitating state-building. It resulted in the establishment of one of the mightiest empires of that time with the kernel in Mawarannahr⁵ and the capital in the city of Samarqand.	The decay of the Great Silk Road The opening of sea routes in the age of the Great Geographical Discoveries in the 16th century redirected global trade from land routes to the sea. Considerably lower shipping costs caused the actual exclusion of the inner continental regions from the system of global trade. This geographical and economic isolation became the key element that determined the lag in the development of the states on the territory of modern Uzbekistan in comparison with leading countries.
Integration in the Russian Empire and later the USSR Although this process had a number of negative results, in general in terms of economic and social development integration into the Eurasian economic space facilitated significant progress of the peoples living at that time on the territory of modern Uzbekistan. As was the case during the heyday of the Great Silk Road, from the second half of the 19th century Uzbekistan experienced an economic upsurge. Uzbekistan's economy and social life developed especially quickly during the Soviet period. As a result Uzbekistan turned into a developed agrarian-industrial, secular state with a high level of education, health care, culture, art, science and public welfare.	Disintegration of the USSR As a result of the disintegration of the USSR Uzbekistan established itself as an independent state for the first time in its history. At the same time it faced numerous economic and social development problems. While during the decay of the Great Silk Road Uzbekistan was excluded from the system of international ties (though still keeping these ties at least on the regional level)⁶ after the disintegration of the USSR the signs of the collapse of regional and even bilateral ties became obvious. The preservation of this status quo generates various challenges in economic and social development.

The history of Uzbekistan is a success story when there were integration processes and there was a free movement of capital, goods and people. This secured economic and social progress and assisted in the establishment of merchants as the most politically influential social stratum. On the other hand the history of Uzbekistan is the history of failure when there was economic disintegration, particularly with the disintegration of the USSR. While politically the disintegration of the USSR led to Uzbekistan's independence, in terms of economic and social development the results of this disintegration were mainly catastrophic.

As a result of the division of labour and geographical distribution of production established in Soviet time the functioning of Uzbekistan's economic complexes was

and still is dependent on the ties with other CIS member states (especially with Russia). This is the fundamental reason for many social and economic problems experienced now by Uzbekistan. Alternative structural and technological interdependence still have not been developed and remain closed in on each other.

Uzbekistan within the USSR: evaluation of tendencies in the economy and social development

The role and place of Uzbekistan in the Soviet economy ⁷

In Soviet times the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic (UzSSR) was deeply integrated into the division of labour system. The main specialisations of the Uzbek economy with all-Union significance were the following:

1. Cotton-growing. This sector contributed to approximately 50% of the agricultural output of the UzSSR. Nearly half of Uzbekistan's industrial enterprises were connected with the cotton industry. These were chemical fertiliser factories as well as agricultural machinery and initial processing of raw cotton factories. In 1990 the republic produced 1.637 million tonnes of ginned cotton of which 70% (1.13 million tonnes) were exported to the union republics.

2. Production of fruits and vegetables. This sector occupied a significant place in the economy of the UzSSR and amounted to 20% of its agricultural output. The 1990 harvest reached more than 5.1 million tonnes. Approximately 1.2 million tonnes (26%) of these products were exported to other Soviet republics, mainly to Russia, Kazakhstan, Belorussia and Baltic countries (Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia).

3. Silk industry and karakul sheep breeding. In 1990 Uzbekistan was the main Soviet producer of silks (approximately 144 million square metres) and astrakhans (approximately 2.5 million pieces). Approximately 70% was sent to Russian and Ukrainian factories.

4. Extraction of natural gas. In 1990 there were approximately 41 billion cubic metres of gas extracted on the territory of the UzSSR. Of these more than 10% (approximately 4.5 billion cubic metres) were supplied to Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan.

5. Gold mining industry. On average 80 tonnes of gold (roughly 2.2% of global gold mining)⁸ were annually mined in Uzbekistan. All this output went to the gold reserve of the USSR.

6. Production of nonferrous metals. Copper, tungsten and molybdenum were among the industrially significant nonferrous metals mined in Uzbekistan in the Soviet time. In 1990 the UzSSR supplied the Soviet market with copper, tungsten and molybdenum worth US\$ 570 million. The main consumers of these were Russia, Ukraine and Kazakhstan.

7. Mining and processing of uranium ore. The Navoi Ore Mining and Processing Enterprise was the largest Soviet supplier of the products of uranium ore processing. This sector met more than 40% of the Soviet (mainly Russian) demand for nuclear power plant fuel and raw material for nuclear weapons.

8. Sector of mechanical engineering and aircraft building. 23,000 tractors, 37,000 tractor and motor vehicle trailers, 5,300 cotton harvesters, 142,000 electric engines, 9,000 power transformers and other types of industrial goods were produced in Uzbekistan in 1990. Moreover, in the late 1970s – early 1980s the Tashkent Chkalov Aircraft Building Association produced on average 5-6 military transport aircraft per month to meet the demand of the entire USSR. Up to 80% of Uzbekistan's industrial output (worth roughly US\$ 1.3 billion) was supplied to other republics of the USSR, mainly to Russia and Central Asian republics. In total in 1990 the republic exported industrial production worth US\$ 1.6 billion, of which US\$ 300 million in industrial goods were exported outside the USSR.

Uzbekistan's trade and economic ties within the USSR

In the Soviet period Uzbekistan was deprived of economic independence. In the former USSR financial resources were distributed in a centralised way.

In the same way the structure and volume of industrial production and supply of goods were set. Under these conditions the commodity turnover of the UzSSR focused mainly on the internal Soviet market and to a lesser degree on the markets of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance member states (mainly Poland, Czechoslovakia, Hungary and Bulgaria).

Other markets were of even lesser significance. At the same time approximately 60% of Uzbekistan's export-import operations fell on Russia and roughly 25% on the Soviet republics of Central Asia (Table 1).

Table 1. Geographical Distribution of Uzbek (UZSSR) Trade With Other USSR Republics (1990)

Country/ USSR Republic	Intra-union Export		Intra-Union Import		Trade Balance \$ mn
	US \$ mn	% share	US \$ mn	% Share	
Russia (RSFSR)	6205	59.3	7612	50.1	– 1407
Kazakhstan (Kazakh SSR)	1005	9.6	1863	12.2	– 858
Kyrgyzstan (Kyrgyz SSR)	468	4.5	414	2.7	54
Tajikistan (Tajik SSR)	645	6.2	423	2.8	222
Turkmenistan (Turkmen SSR)	277	2.7	795	5.2	– 518
Others	1854	17.7	4107	27.0	– 2253
Total	10454	100	15214	100	– 9356

Source: Uzbekistan: Economic Reform Plan. World Bank, 1993

According to the 1990 results, Uzbekistan exported US\$ 12 billion worth of goods. The main export items were the products of textile and light industry, mechanical engineering, chemical products, nonferrous metals, agricultural products, etc. At the same time it imported US\$ 19 billion worth of goods, including the products of mechanical engineering, non-food items and consumer goods (See Appendix 1).

At the same time, in 1990 Uzbekistan's export of feedstock and semi-manufactured goods (i.e. energy carriers, raw cotton and cotton yarn, agricultural raw materials, ferrous and nonferrous metals) amounted to roughly 2/3 (approximately 65%) of the total export, while finished industrial products (i.e. machinery, equipment,

chemical products) did not exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ (approximately 23%). Imports of finished industrial goods amounted to roughly $\frac{3}{4}$ (approximately 73%) of the total import, while the import of feedstock and semi-manufactured goods did not exceed $\frac{1}{4}$ (approximately 22%).

In general, the foreign trade composition demonstrates that in Soviet times Uzbekistan's economy was not particularly geared to the manufacture of finished commodities, therefore a large part (more than 70%) of consumer and manufactured goods was imported from other republics. The internal Soviet import consisted of a wide variety of consumer goods: medication, clothes, domestic appliances, motor vehicles. Moreover, industrial equipment, components, and spare parts for the operation of energy, irrigation and transport infrastructure were imported to the republic.

Since the main profit from the processing of Uzbek raw material was generated outside the republic the internal Soviet import prevailed over export in Uzbekistan. Uzbekistan's budget was regularly subsidised from the all-Union budget. The amount of subsidies reached roughly 40% of the republican budget (approximately US\$ 8 billion). This situation explained Uzbekistan's high dependency on all-Union economic ties.

Uzbekistan's social sphere within the USSR

Uzbekistan had one of the lowest living standards in the former USSR. Thus, in 1990 approximately 70% of the republic's population had a total income below the subsistence level, while in Russia and Ukraine this number amounted to 30%.⁹ However, it should be noted that during the Soviet period Uzbekistan had a rather developed social sphere. Thus, in 1990 life expectancy was 73 years, literacy reached 100%, there was no unemployment in the republic and GDP per capita was US\$ 2,630 (in purchasing power parity). At the same time medical care was universal and people had plenty of possibilities in their professional development in all trades.

The government financed a wide network of pre-school establishments, schools, vocational training establishments, out-patient clinics and hospitals. The level of social security in Uzbekistan was high even by the standards of the developed Western countries. Thus, social services financed by the government provided for the following:

1. Free education (secondary, vocational and higher). There were 8,535 secondary schools (6.7 million students), 247 vocational training establishments¹⁰ (262,000 students) and 46 higher education establishments (341,000 students).
2. Free medical care. There were 1,373 hospitals with 73,000 doctors in Uzbekistan.
3. Free provision of state-owned accommodation. In 1980-1990 in Uzbekistan approximately 3,000 houses were put into service each year and roughly 36,000 households received free flats every year.
4. Cheap sanatorium-and-spa treatment. All employees in the republic were provided with subsidised places in the resorts. The customers paid only 25% of the price, with the rest paid by the employer from the so-called social funds. As a result annual rest and recreation in sanatoriums was available even for the low-paid. In 1980-1990 in Uzbekistan the number of sanatoriums and holiday homes increased from 248 to 349.
5. Low prices for childcare goods provided by significant subsidies from the budget. For instance clothes for children were sold at prices 2-3 times below production

costs. This was particularly important given the high number of families with many children, viz. with 3 and more children (approximately 46%).

In general, financing of the social sphere of all Soviet republics was done in accordance with a plan and within the framework of the common budget of the USSR. Because of that living standards of a considerable number of people in Uzbekistan depended on the then existing system of social security. This situation was especially aggravated by the high number of families with many children (43% of the republic's population were children under 16). Approximately 75% (roughly US\$ 4.9 billion) of the all-Union subsidies was spent on these purposes.

Disintegration of the USSR: consequences for Uzbekistan's economy and social sphere

As a result of the disintegration of the USSR Uzbekistan entered the series of economic recessions caused by the combined influence of a number of factors.¹¹ The main ones are the following:

1. The abolishment of all-Union management structures, which resulted in the instantaneous elimination of the centralised system of economic activity management in the entire post-Soviet space.
2. The ultraliberal policy of the Russian government of the time aimed at shedding "the burden of national republics", which aggravated the negative impact of the disintegration of the established system of commodity-money exchange.
3. The extremely ineffective system of economic management inherited by Uzbekistan from the USSR and the low competitiveness of processing industry.

As a result of these and other factors Uzbekistan did not only lose the established buyers of its goods and product suppliers but also became cut off from the financial systems of Russia and other CIS countries. This delivered a crushing blow to Uzbekistan's economy and social sphere.

First. Due to the lack of supply of raw materials and components the functioning of the processing industry, was disrupted and sometimes stopped altogether. Engineering industry which heavily depended on inter-republican supplies, reduced production by more than 90%. In particular the Tashkent Chkalov Aircraft Building Association reduced aircraft production by 95%.

Second. The energy infrastructure and irrigation control system, which had been perfected for decades, began to be disrupted. These sectors are of the highest economic significance for Uzbekistan; they were not confined to the republican framework but were established as regional and countrywide entities. As a result of the dramatic decrease in the volume of spare parts supplies and insufficient control and repair measures the degree of wear and tear of this infrastructure in Uzbekistan reached 40-50%.¹²

Third. Agriculture and the rural population of Uzbekistan were strongly affected. Thus, since the traditional commodity markets (i.e. those in the former Soviet republics) were supplied by similar products from international markets, export of Uzbek fruits and vegetables decreased extremely dramatically (5-6 times). As a result, the level of welfare of rural population (62% of the total population of the republic) significantly decreased. In the past a significant part of their income was generated by the sale of agricultural products on the markets of the Soviet republics.

Fourth. Due to the lowering of budget-forming income and suspension of financial subsidies from Moscow the level of social security of all social strata decreased dramatically. According to the World Bank's estimates, in 1995 the volume of social sphere financing in Uzbekistan decreased by 60% in comparison with 1991. It caused 4-5 fold wage cuts for those working in education, medical care and other spheres financed by the state budget. Thus, in 1995 the real income of Uzbekistan's population amounted to 19% of their 1991 income.¹³

In general, all these facts described above caused the increase of social tension in the society and mass emigration of well qualified professionals from the republic. Considering the 1992-1996 civil war in neighbouring Tajikistan and permanent instability in Afghanistan it would not be an exaggeration to state that in the early 1990s Uzbekistan was on the verge of destabilisation. Later it was forced to focus on the protection of its stability and strengthening of national statehood.

Conclusions

However paradoxical it may sound, the future prospects of Uzbekistan's economic and social development will not be entirely determined by the republic itself. This can be explained by the fact that the disintegration of the common economic space of the former USSR remains the fundamental cause of social and economic problems in Uzbekistan (as is also the case for many other post-Soviet countries). Because of that, without reintegration into the system of close regional and interregional ties Uzbekistan, like many other post-Soviet countries, cannot make a breakthrough in its social and economic development.

Table 2. Main quantitative indicators of the UzSSR and Uzbekistan's trade in 1990 and 2004

Main indicators	1990		2004		Decrease in indicators in percent in comparison with 1990	
	General	Within the USSR	General	Within the CIS	General	Within the CIS
Commercial turnover in million US\$	30,785	25,668	8,669	3,002	71.8	88.3
Export in million US\$	11,988	10,454	4,853	1,528	59.5	85.4
Import in million US\$	18,797	15,214	3,816	1,474	79.7	90.3

Sources: Uzbekistan: Plan ekonomicheskikh reform (Uzbekistan: The Blueprint for Economic Reforms), World Bank, 1993; Uzbekistan Economy. Statistical and Analytical Review for the Year 2004, Center for Effective Economic Policy, USAID, Tashkent, №4, April.

Moreover, for Uzbekistan the revival of trade and economic ties with post-Soviet countries is a matter of survival in a globalising world economic system. The real challenges that may potentially face the republic in the future lie in the lack of real economic integration with its traditional economic partners in the former USSR.

The characteristic manifestation of this situation is the contemporary quantitative indicators of trade and economic ties of Uzbekistan with the CIS countries, which remain on an extremely low level in comparison with 1990.

It should be particularly noted that the catastrophic decrease of trade and economic ties described above is characteristic not only for Uzbekistan but for the bulk of other CIS countries as well. This situation developed because after the disintegration of a common economic space practically not a single post-Soviet state was able to establish a self-sufficient, well-balanced and internationally competitive economic system and institute new economic ties that would facilitate an intensive development of processing industry.

As a result the CIS countries still mainly remain suppliers of raw material resources to the world market. However, it is unlikely that the post-Soviet states will be able to provide acceptable living standards for the 280 million people living there and initiate a sustainable socio-economic development by basing their economies mainly on the export of raw materials.

Moreover, it seems that the disintegration of the Soviet economic system and the low level of economic reintegration have been the main causes for the so-called “coloured revolutions” in the former USSR. These “revolutions” succeeded in Georgia, Ukraine and Kyrgyzstan. At the same time, the “revolution” failed in Uzbekistan. After the Andijan events Uzbekistan undertook a number of important steps aimed at economic integration in the post-Soviet space. The Uzbek-Russian treaty on allied relations and the recent entry of Uzbekistan into the Eurasian Economic Union, which is the most effective economic integration structure in the post-Soviet space, should be considered from this perspective.

Endnotes

¹ In the 1970-1980s the economy of the Uzbek Soviet Socialist Republic was the third largest economy in the USSR after the economies of the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic and Ukrainian Soviet Socialist Republic.

² I.e. the one that needs to cross the borders of at least two other states in order to gain access to the sea and sea ports.

³ Central Asia is understood as a space in the central part of Eurasia occupied by five states, viz., Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan, which emerged as independent countries as a result of the disintegration of the USSR in 1991. This definition is to a degree relative since it does not fully take into account a number of geographical peculiarities and certain demographic aspects of the region. At the same time, it is correct given a certain commonality of socio-political and economic development of these countries in the designated borders as well as the preservation of close ties between these five states and the high degree of mutual influence on each other's economies as well as on the internal and foreign political processes and close cooperation in dealing with a number of economic, political and above all security issues.

⁴ Emir Tamerlane (1336-1405) the founder of the empire that encompassed virtually the entire Central Asia and also parts of the territories of modern Azerbaijan, Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan and India.

⁵ At that time the territory between the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers was called Mawarannahr. The term “Mawarannahr” originates from the Arabic phrase “Mowara un-nahr”, which means “the country beyond the river”. The Timurid dynasty of Emir Tamerlane's descendants ruled Mawarannahr from the 1350s till the early 1500s when the last direct descendant of Emir Tamerlane died.

⁶ Historically until the 1920s there was no national delimitation in Central Asia. In the course of many centuries close economic integration of Central Asian state formations led to the establishment of a common society and culture of the many peoples of the region. The apparent manifestations of this situation are the unique architectural monuments of

Samarqand and Bukhara, which were called by the famous Kyrgyz writer Chingiz Aitmatov “a visible embodiment of Uzbek-Tajik cultural synthesis”.

⁷ All quantitative indicators given in this section are taken from or estimated on the basis of the data contained in two sources: “Narodnoe khoziaistvo Respubliki Uzbekistan v 1992 godu: statisticheskii ezhegodnik Gosudarstvennogo komiteta po prognozirovaniiu i statistike Respubliki Uzbekistan” (The Economy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in 1992: Annual Statistical Report of the State Committee of Prognosis and Statistics of the Republic of Uzbekistan) Tashkent, 1993 and “Uzbekistan: plan ekonomicheskikh reform” (Uzbekistan: the Blueprint for Economic Reforms), World Bank, 1993. All quantitative indicators given in US dollars that deal with the Soviet period are calculated on the basis of the State Bank of the USSR exchange rate. In 1990 US\$1 equalled 78 kopecks (0.78 rouble). The calculation of this rate was based on the real purchasing power parity of these currencies.

⁸ Uzbekistan: Doklad o chelovecheskom razvitii (Uzbekistan: Human Development Report), Tashkent, 2000, p.78

⁹ Globalizatsiia: ot tsentra k periferii. Problemy novykh gosudarstv. (Globalisation: from the Centre to the Periphery. The Problems of New States), Centre of Economic Studies, 2002, p.15.

¹⁰ Vocational schools, special vocational schools and technical schools.

¹¹ Indicators given in this section have been calculated on the basis of two sources “Gosudarstva byvshe

go Sovetskogo Soiuz: issledovanie ekonomicheskikh system na stadii transformatsii. Statisticheskii sbornik” (The States of the Former Soviet Union: the Study of Economic Systems during the Transformation Stage. Statistical Data), The World Bank, 1996 and “Narodnoe khoziaistvo Respubliki Uzbekistan v 1992 godu: statisticheskii ezhegodnik Gosudarstvennogo komiteta po prognozirovaniiu i statistike Respubliki Uzbekistan” (The Economy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in 1992: Annual Statistical Report of the State Committee of Prognosis and Statistics of the Republic of Uzbekistan), Tashkent, 1993.

¹² Economist Intelligence Unit Country Report. Uzbekistan, 2002, p.14

¹³ Doklad o chelovecheskom razvitii: Uzbekistan, 2005 (Human Development Report: Uzbekistan, 2005).

Appendix 1

Uzbekh (UzSSR) Trade by sector in actual prices (1990)

	Export, \$ mn	Import \$, mn
General Trade	11 998	18 734
External (TonUSSR)	1 514	3 587
Inter- republic	10 484	15 147
Light Industry	5 438	3 799
External	1 099	1 314
Inter-republic	4 339	2 485
Machine Building	1 578	4 648
External	231	427
Inter- republic	1 347	4 221
Food Production	1 057	2 542
External	18	943
Inter-republic	1 039	1 599
Chemical Products	1 093	1 471
External	77	223
Inter-republic	1 016	1 248
Raw Agricultural Product	574	1 678
External	55	484
Inter-republic	519	1 194
Oil and Gas	767	1138
External	8	3
Inter-republic	759	1135
Ferrous Metals	573	524
External	23	1
Inter-republic	550	523
Non-Ferrous Metals	127	848
External	0	18
Inter-republic	127	830
Wood and Cellulose	19	718
External	0	61
Inter-republic	19	657
Transport Services	299	299
External	0	0
Inter-republic	299	299
Other Branches of Industry	97	524
External	3	96
Inter Republic	94	428
Building Materials	92	263
External	0	17
Inter-republic	92	246
Energy	265	221
External	0	0
Inter-republic	265	221
Coal	10	61
External	0	0
Inter-republic	10	61

Source: Uzbekistan: Economic Reform Plan. World bank, 1993

Vladimir Paramonov and Aleksey Stokov are independent analysts in Uzbekistan. The contents of this paper are largely the results of their own research, some of which has been conducted in the frames of 'Regional cooperation for human development and security in Central Asia (Country Report on Uzbekistan)', 2004, as unpublished contribution to the UNDP 'Regional Reports on Human Development' project. Special thanks to the project' leader Dr Johannes Linn for the guidelines in preparation of this research.

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