

HISTORICAL DICTIONARY OF TURKMENISTAN

RAFIS ABAZOV

HISTORICAL DICTIONARIES OF ASIA, OCEANIA, AND THE MIDDLE EAST
Edited by Jon Woronoff

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Rafis Abazov

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Editor's Foreword

For those who do not know the region very well, the Central Asian Republics tend to get lumped together due to their location, the seemingly slight variations in ethnic composition, and a common past as part of the erstwhile Union of Soviet Socialist Republics. However, since 1991 they have all regained their independence and gone their own way, the path of Turkmenistan being perhaps the most different and even idiosyncratic. Among the differences, most obviously, is the ethnic makeup, with a very large majority of Turkmens and a relatively small minority of other groups. There are also notable differences in history, politics, and society inherited not only from the Soviet era but much earlier periods as well. The fact that substantial mineral resources and deposits of oil and gas ease the economic transition cannot be overlooked. However, by far the most striking twist—which has not gone unnoticed by the international community or uncommented on by the international media—is the dominant role of the president, Saparmurat Niyazov, better known by his title of Turkmenbashy.

Aside from being somewhat different, Turkmenistan is an uncommonly hard place to write about since it is relatively closed to foreigners and the national media is restricted in what it can publish or broadcast. So, there are rather few specialists and rather few sources of information, much of the latter being fairly limited and unreliable. Moreover, not surprisingly Turkmenbashy overshadows the others in his regime, while opponents are scarcely known and probably prefer it that way. Nonetheless, this is an important country, and whatever can be ascertained will be useful for those who willy-nilly have to deal with it, which is why this *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan* has been long in coming but is particularly welcome. To the extent possible, and this is often easier for earlier periods than the present day, there are entries in the dictionary section on important persons, institutions, and events; on the economy,

society, and culture; and even on politics. The whole history is summarized in the introduction and chronology, going back to the earliest communities and kingdoms, the coming of Tsarist Russia and rule of Soviet Russia, and today's experiments. The bibliography, thankfully large for a country so poorly researched, will prove very helpful for those who want to know more and have had trouble finding it.

This is just about the last volume in the Asian series for the simple reason that it was so difficult to find an author. Even those who are busy working on Central Asia, and they are amazingly prolific, usually do not know much about Turkmenistan, although they would obviously like someone else to find out for them. This someone else has turned out to be Rafis Abazov, who is one of the leading specialists on Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan but has broader regional interests as well, now including Turkmenistan. He has carefully researched what is readily available, and done considerable digging to find many bits of information that are not, and especially managed to fit the parts together into a coherent whole. This was facilitated by his experiences as a scholar in Kyrgyzstan, in Russia, in Great Britain, and now in the United States, where he is an adjunct lecturer at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University. Dr. Abazov has written extensively, with his articles appearing in leading journals and broader encyclopedias, and also as the author of the *Historical Dictionary of Kyrgyzstan*. This volume opens new ground for him and paves the way for the rest of us.

Jon Woronoff
Series Editor

Acknowledgments

It is a very difficult task to cover the rich and turbulent history of Turkmenistan in a single volume. I tried my best in selecting the most important information and most important entries for this book through discussions and consultations with my colleagues and friends in and outside of the country. I am fully aware that many entries and a significant amount of information could not be included in this publication due to limitations of space and time. I hope that this dictionary will be a useful guide for scholars and the general public to learn more about this country and to conduct further studies about Turkmenistan's past and present.

This book emerged from several years of research on economic and social development in Central Asia and became possible only with invaluable contributions and help from many people around me. My Central Asian colleagues generously shared their collections, archives, books, statistical data and periodicals during my travels to Central Asian republics. I especially appreciate the help and assistance that I received from many people in the public libraries in Ashgabat and from several scholars who agreed to read and discuss the early version of this manuscript. Numerous conversations and debates with scholars and Non-Governmental Organization (NGO) activists at various academic conventions enriched my knowledge about the peculiarities of economic development and the many nuances of political and social relations during the Soviet and post-Soviet era in the region in general and in Turkmenistan in particular. In this regard, the events organized by the Association for Studies of Nationalities (ASN) and the Central Eurasian Studies Society (CESS) were particularly useful and stimulating.

A number of individuals from various parts of the world have read the early version of this book and contributed their constructive critical comments and corrections: Professor Michael Rywkin, Professor Edward

Beliaev, Vitalei Ponomarev, Shokhrat Kadyrov, Frank Day, and many other colleagues, who chose to remain anonymous. I tried my best to incorporate all their suggestions and correct all unfortunate inaccuracies in the course of the work on this book. However, any errors are the author's sole responsibility.

It is my pleasure to acknowledge the support of Dr. Catherine Nepomniashchaya and my colleagues at the Harriman Institute at Columbia University for providing me with a supportive intellectual environment and their trust in my long journey of writing this book. The field study trip for some research on Turkmenistan's development became possible with support of the Harriman PepsiCo travel fellowship.

I would also like to thank my wife for all her support and understanding and for her interest in the volumes I completed while I was working on this book. She was always my first and probably most critical reader and her remarks encouraged me to delve deeper into details and analyses.

I would like to thank Jon Woronoff, the series editor, who gave me this opportunity and dealt patiently with my anarchic timetable and writing style. He carefully read my manuscript section by section and provided valuable comments.

Reader's Note

One of the most important issues in the preparation of this reference work was that of consistency. Should one use *Ashgabat*, *Ashkhabad*, or *Ash'habat*; *Kushka* or *Gushgy*; *Niazov*, *Niyazov*, or *Nyazov*; *Firuza* or *Pevrize*? The main problem is that there were several significant changes in the usage of the script in the country and therefore these changes generated issues of transliteration of various words and terms within the Turkmen language itself and from Turkmen to foreign languages as well. In addition, the Turkmen language, which is the official language of Turkmenistan, was largely standardized only in the 20th century with considerable influences of Russian and European linguists and scholars. Therefore some differences still remain in Turkmen dialects within Turkmenistan and among Turkmens of Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, Turkey, and Uzbekistan. Some Turkmen linguists still debate the question of relations between the modern Turkmen and Turkish languages and that of borrowing or rejecting the new international terms, words, and categories. Finally, since the 1990s Turkmenistan has been undergoing a process of de-Russification of geographic terms, personal names, and academic and technical terminology. This process has not been completed yet.

MAJOR CHANGES

Turkmenistan (also known as Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic until 1991 and by convention also called *Turkmenia* until 1991) was established on August 7, 1921, as an autonomous *oblast* (province) within Turkistan (not to be confused with Turkmenistan) Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. On October 27, 1924, Turkmenistan Autonomous *Oblast* w transformed into Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Turkmen S

comprising parts of the former Zacaspian *oblast*, and some districts of the Bukhara Emirate and Khiva Khanate. Soon after the establishment of the Soviet system in this region, the Kremlin authorities began implementation of the Sovietization policy. This included the so-called cultural revolution and war on illiteracy. Within one and a half decades the social and cultural landscape in the republic had changed drastically. The Soviet authorities encouraged the standardization of the Turkmen language and then changed the alphabet, first from Arabic to Latin in 1928 and then from Latin to Cyrillic in 1940. The Kremlin invested heavily in eliminating the widespread illiteracy, publishing new periodicals and printing new books, as well as establishing a free and compulsory educational system. The Russian language was actively if not forcefully promoted in administrative documents, education, and sciences. In 1990, however, the Turkmenistani government introduced the Law on Languages and declared the Turkmen language as the sole official language of the state, and, in 1992, it declared its intention to switch from the Cyrillic script to Latin within 10 years.

These changes created a significant challenge for every researcher on contemporary Turkmenistan. A significant proportion of the Turkmenistani literature and documentation can be found in different languages and in different scripts. Most of the 19th- and early-20th-century documents can be found in Russian, Turkish, Farsi (the language of state administration in the Bukhara Emirate), and in Turkmen (Arabic script). During the first years of the Soviet system in Turkmenistan most of the documents and publications were produced in Russian and Turkmen (in Arabic and then Latin script). Most of the documents and publications between 1940 and 1991 were produced in Russian and Turkmen (in Cyrillic script). In the post-Soviet era a large proportion of the state administrative documentation has been transferred to the Turkmen language (mostly in the newly introduced Latin script, although some documents were still written in Turkmen using Cyrillic script). At the same time the share of books, periodicals, and other materials produced in Russian decreased significantly.

LANGUAGE

The modern literary Turkmen language was largely standardized in the 1920s and 1930s with the arrival of mass literacy and mass media and

establishment of the Turkmen state. During the past 70 years most of the documentation, literature, and mass media was produced in the modern standard Turkmen language. Yet, some differences among various dialects have remained noticeable. Although there is no scholarly consensus on how many dialects exist in contemporary Turkmenistan, most language experts recognize several distinct major dialects: Arsari, Chowdur, Goklen, Teke, Salir, Sarik, and Yomud (yomut). For example, the special third-person singular form *yor* of *yoremek* (walk) is used only in some regional dialects; *yuvur* (run) is used in northern Yomud, while western Yomuds use *yort*; the word *apbermek* (give up, abandon) is commonly used by western Yomuds and the Teke in the Akhal area, but not used in other parts of the country; in the northeastern and eastern parts of the country people use the word *jora* to refer to male friends, while in the southern parts people use *jora* to refer to female friends.

During the Soviet era the Turkmen language borrowed extensively from the Russian, especially in the fields of science, technology, legal terminology, and some others. Yet, the Russian language penetrated Turkmen society to a lesser degree than in Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan. However, since the late 1980s there has been a strong trend to replace words of Russian origin with words of Turkic origin. For example, *uchar* replaced the Russian word *samolyot* (airplane), *sebit* replaced the word *region* (region), *umman* replaced the word *okean* (ocean), *yklym* replaced *materik* (continent), *abatlaysh* replaced *remont* (repair), *gaz gechiriji* replaced *gazoprovod* (gas pipeline), *talyp* replaced *student* (student), *taslama* replaced *proyekt* (draft), *ulgam* replaced *sistema* (system), *synp* replaced *klass* (grade, class), *goterim* replaced *protsent* (percent), *hasabat* replaced *statistika* (statistics), *garayol* replaced *schosse* (highway), and so on.

Since the 1990s English and Turkish words have increasingly been used in the Turkmen mass media and everyday life, especially among youth, students, and urban intelligentsia. Some English words replaced both Russian and Turkmen equivalents in informal everyday interaction. For example, EVM (*elektronno-vychislitel'naya mashina*) became *komp'uter* (computer); *kabinet* became *offis* (office); *gostinitsa* became *otel* (hotel); and the like. However, this process has developed to a much lesser degree than in Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan because of the Turkmenistan's relative isolation from the Western world and because of the state control over the mass media and television.

TRANSLITERATION AND PRONUNCIATION

The Turkmen language underwent three major changes during the 20th century: first, from the Arabic script to the Latin based on the Unified Turkish Latin Alphabet (UTLA) in 1929; then from the Latin script to the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet in 1940; and finally from Cyrillic to Latin in 1995. As in neighboring Uzbekistan, there was a limited call for the introduction of the Arabic script in the late 1980s; however, this step did not find any support from the government. The new alphabet (*Täze Elipbiýi*) based on the Latin script was introduced in 1995 and consists of 30 letters:

The New Turkmen Alphabet (*Täze Elipbiýi*)

A a, B b, Ç ç, D d, E e, Ä ä, F f, G g, H h, I ı, J j, Ž ž, K k, L l, M m, N n, Ň ň, O o, Ö ö, P p, R r, S s, Ş ş, T t, U u, Ü ü, W w, Y y, Ý ý, Z z

Letter	*Turkmen Word*	*Pronunciation in English*
A, a	*Altyn*	/a/—**u**nder
B, b	*Bilbek*	/b/—**b**ig
Ç, ç	*Çaga*	/ch/—**ch**ain
D, d	*Durmuş*	/d/—**d**ay
E, e	*Ene*	/e/—**E**nola
Ä, ä	*Älem*	/a/—**a**pple
F, f	*Mufti*	/f/—**f**ruit
G, g	*Görogly*	/g/—**g**azelle
H, h	*Harman*	/h/—**h**ome
I, ı	*Ilgi*	/ı/—Engl**i**sh
J, j	*Jeren*	/j/—**J**ane
Ž, ž	*Žiraf*	/zh/—ge**n**re
K, k	*Köl*	/k/—**c**an
L, l	*Legen*	/l/—**l**ion
M, m	*Manat*	/m/—**m**oney
N, n	*Nusaý*	/n/—**n**est
Ň ň	*Iňňe*	/ng/—lo**ng**

Letter	*Turkmen Word*	*Pronunciation in English*
O, o	*Oguz Han*	/o/—**o**live
Ö, ö	*Öl*	/ir:/—S**ir**
P, p	*Polov*	/p/—**p**eacock
R, r	*Ruhnama*	/r/—**r**eindeer
S, s	*Serdar*	/s/—**s**nail
Ş, ş	*Şirin*	/sh/—**sh**ark
T, t	*Tamdyr*	/t/—**t**urtle
U, u	*Ulag*	/u/—f**oo**t
Ü, ü	*Üzüm*	/u:/—t**oo**l [long u]
W, w	*Welayat*	/v/—**v**iolin
Y, y	*Umarat*	/j/—**y**ellow
Ý, ý	*Ýigit*	/y/—**y**etis
Z, z	*Zaman*	/z/—**z**ebra

Transliteration of modern Turkmen into English was problematic and inconsistent. One of the main reasons is that in the past, many words, especially geographic and personal Turkmen names, underwent double transliteration, first from Turkmen into Russian and then from Russian into English. A good example is the transliteration of a sound that was traditionally represented by *dzh* in Russian (*John* would be transliterated into *Dzhon*). Another good example is the transliteration of a sound that was traditionally represented by *G* in Turkmen into *K* in Russian (*Gara Bogaz* was traditionally transliterated into *Kara-Bogaz*, etc.).

Many Russified geographic names were written with a hyphen in the past—*Kara-Bogaz*, etc. The current trend is to drop the hyphen in the Turkmen spelling of geographic names (*Garabogaz*, etc.). Some maps and geographical publications still hyphenate the geographic names; others do not use the hyphen; there are even publications that sometimes use both variations. Since the process of transition from the Russified version to the Turkmen form has not been completed yet there are some inconsistencies on many maps. For example, the Russified name of the town *Tashauz* became *Dashhovuz* and *Dashoguz*. In the 1990s many cities and towns in the republic were renamed. For example, the city of *Krasnovodsk* became *Turkmenbashy* (sometimes spelled *Turkmenbashi*), the town of *Kushka* became *Serhetabad*, etc. In this dictionary, most of

the names of the cities and towns are given in accordance with the current Turkmen language standards.

There is also no unanimity in transliteration of personal names. For example, the name *Niyazov* can be found in three forms *Niazov*, *Niyazov*, and *Nyazov*. The spelling *Niyazov* is used throughout the dictionary. In the case of inconsistent use of certain personal names in literature or mass media, the author refers to both variations.

TURKMEN NAMES AND TITLES

All Turkmen names in this dictionary are given in a standard form—the family name first, followed by the first name in the entry title, and first name followed by the family name in the text.

The Turkmens traditionally refer to each other by their first names, followed by the father's name. For example, Serdar Mahtym-ogly (Serdar son of Mahtym). However, during the Soviet era, there was a change to a Russified version, where the father's name ended with Russified *-vich* for male and *-ovna* for female. For example, Serdar Asanovich (Serdar son of Asan), Guli Isakovna (Guli daughter of Isak). The form of family names also experienced Russian influence, as *-ov* or *-ev* was added to the end of family names for male and *-ova* or *-eva* was added to the end of family names for female. For example, *Berdi Karayev*, *Jeren Kurbanova*. In the post-Soviet era, some people turned to the traditional writing of their family names. One way of doing so is by replacing the suffix *-ov*, *-ev*, *-ova*, or *-eva* with *-ogly* or *-gyzy*: *Karayev* becomes *Kara-ogly* and *Kurbanova* becomes *Kurban-gyzy*. The other way is to drop the suffix *-ov*, *-ev*, or *-ova* and use a shorter version of their names.

The absence of the letter *V* in the new Turkmen alphabet (*Täze Elipbiýi*) also contributes to some inconsistencies. For example, the family name *Karayev* might be written as *Karayew* in Turkmen and *Karayev* in English in the Turkmen international passport.

Traditionally the Turkmens, like most of the peoples in Central and East Asia, have used various titles with their names (usually with their first names) and have been very sensitive to proper titles. For example, a younger person is encouraged to refer to an older person as *yashuly*, while an older or senior person refers to a younger person as *jigi* (or *ini*

in some dialects). In a recent trend people have begun to use more often the formal *jenap* and *jenaplar* (mister[s]), *siziñ alyhezretiniz* (your excellency), and *onyñ alyhezreti* (his excellency) in an official environment. In the service sector people began to use *agam* (literally my elder brother) as a polite form of the reference to a client.

In the pre-Soviet era, there were titles like *khan*, *bai*, *serdar*, and others, which were widely used in addressing nobility, landlords, and officers of the state administration. The title *khanym* (i.e., madam) was used to address female members of the upper class. These titles were traditionally added to the first name. For example, Junaid-Khan or Nadyr-bai. During the Soviet era, noble titles were abolished and all titles were replaced by the formal *yoldash*, i.e., comrade. In the post-Soviet era, *yoldash* is rarely used, and the usage of pre-Soviet titles is slowly coming back, especially in the rural areas and among traditional groups of society, though there is no strict regulation of their usage. In Turkmenistan, like in all other Central Asian Republics, the term "Turkmen" often refers to ethnic Turkmens, while the term "Turkmenistani" refers to all citizens of Turkmenistan, regardless of ethnic background. Due to the sensitivity of ethnic issues in Turkmenistan, I chose to use the "Turkmenistani government," "Turkmenistani Parliament," and so on.

STATISTICAL DATA

Collecting statistical data for this volume was a challenging task. In general, statistical and demographic data for the Soviet era are widely available. The data were collected and published systematically both in Ashgabat and in Moscow, although there were gaps and distortions in the Soviet era statistics attributed to methodological weaknesses and some deliberate manipulations. For example, the Soviet statistical agencies often ignored the existence of the shadow economy in Central Asia and its contribution to the economic development of the Central Asian Republics. There also were numerous reports that the statistical data about production of cotton, grain, and some other agricultural crops had been also manipulated at the *raion*, *oblast*, and republic levels. These distortions and statistical manipulations were widely discussed in Western academia and there were several researchers that attempted to explain the nature of the

discrepancies and to produce critical evaluations of the statistical data.[1] I largely relied on the Soviet era statistics and demographic data throughout the book in the sections that cover the Soviet-era development. In some cases, however, I used other independent sources and, when it was necessary, identified them in the references (e.g., according to the World Bank, official mass media reports, etc.).

Access to the statistical data of the post-Soviet era was a real problem. Transitional difficulties of the 1990s negatively affected the statistical agencies in Turkmenistan because of rapid economic, structural, and social changes. The post-Soviet development also influenced the methodology and policy approach in gathering information in the country, as the government attempted to abandon the Soviet-era approach to data collection and to make data collection and data development consistent with international standards. Between 1991 and 2004 the Turkmenistani government and the Türkmen Milli Hasabat (Turkmen Statistical Institute) regularly published statistical data on economic and social development. Yet, the Turkmenistani official statistics are not always available in the West in a systematic form. In addition, many experts and representatives of international organizations dispute some of the Turkmenistani statistical figures and question the methodology. Throughout the 1990s various Western institutions and international organizations collected and published statistical data on Turkmenistan. However, there are significant inconsistencies and differences in the numbers produced, especially on such key issues as population growth, agricultural output, social development, and some others.[2] I decided to use both government statistical data publications (such as *Turkmenistan, vozrozhdionnyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh* [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Great Turkmenbashy: Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts]), government mass media (*Neitralnyi Turkmenistan*, newspaper), and alternative sources of statistical data. In each case I identified the sources of information ("according to government statistics," "according to the World Bank," "according to the Central Intelligence Agency," etc.).

HOW TO USE THE DICTIONARY

All entries in the *Historical Dictionary of Turkmenistan* are arranged alphabetically. In case of spelling variations in geographical and personal

names, a "See" reference directs the reader to the spelling used in this dictionary. Cross-references to relevant entries are indicated in **bold** within the entry or listed at the end of the entry under "See also."

NOTES

1. For decades Western scholars questioned the reliability and consistency of the Soviet and post-Soviet statistics. For discussion of the problems with the post-Soviet statistics see Richard Pomfret, *The Economies of Central Asia* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1995), 171–176.

2. For example, the Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimated that the population of Turkmenistan was 4.775 million in mid-1993, while the official statistics projected that the population would be about 6.1 million in 2003. See *Turkmenistan, vozrozhdennyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh* [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Great Turkmenbashy: Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts] (Ashgabat, 2002), 33. The difference was more than 20 percent. There are other sometimes even bigger discrepancies in the statistical data on Turkmenistan. However, in many cases international experts use the government statistics and adjust the data by using different statistical methodologies. Therefore, throughout the text I chose to include the government statistics along with alternative data that was provided by different international organizations.

Acronyms and Abbreviations

ADB	Asian Development Bank
Agzybirlik Party	Unity Party
AST	Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan
BPSR	Bukhara People's Soviet Republic
CAEU	Central Asian Economic Union
CAF	Central Asian Forum
CC	Central Committee
CEC	Central Election Committee
CIA	Central Intelligence Agency
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent States
CP	Communist Party
CPSU	Communist Party of the Soviet Union
CPT	Communist Party of Turkmenistan
CSCE	Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe
CU	Customs Union
DKB	*Dogovor o Kollektivnoi Bezopastnosti* (CIS Collective Security Treaty)
DPT	Democratic Party of Turkmenistan
EBRD	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ECO	Economic Cooperation Organization
EEC	Eurasian Economic Community
EIU	Economic Intelligence Unit
FDI	Foreign Direct Investments
FTZ	Free Trade Zone
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
Goskomstat	*Gosudarstvennyi Komitet po Statistike* (State Statistical Committee)

Gosplan	*Gosudarstvennyi Komitet po Planirovaniu* (State Committee for Planning)
Gosteleradio	*Gosudarstvennyi Komitet po Televideniu i Radioveshchaniu* (State Committee on TV and Radio)
HDI	Human Development Index
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IMU	Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan
KGB	*Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti* (Committee on State Security)
Kolkhoz	*Kollektivnoye Khozyaistvo* (collective farm)
KOMSOMOL	*Kommunisticheskii Soyuz Molodezhi* (Youth Communist League)
KPSR	Khorezm People's Soviet Republic
Manat	National currency of Turkmenistan
MD	Military District
MNB	*Ministerstvo Natsionalnoi Bezopastnosti* (National Security Ministry)
NATO PfP	North Atlantic Treaty Organization's Partnership for Peace (program)
NGO	Nongovernmental Organization
OIC	Organization of the Islamic Conference
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PRC	People's Republic of China
RSFSR	Russian Soviet Federal Socialist Republic
SADUM	*Tsentralno-Aziatskoye Dukhovnoye Upravleniye* (Central Asian Spiritual Board)
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
Sovkhoz	*Sovetskoye Khozyaistvo* (Soviet farm)
TASSR	Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
TCP	Turkistan Communist Party
TMH	*Türkmen Milli Hasabat* (Turkmen Statistical Institute)
Turkistan ASSR	Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic
Turkmen SSR	Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic

UN	United Nations
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WTO	World Trade Organization


CENTRAL ASIA
RUSSIAN FEDERATION
KAZAKHSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
KYRGYZSTAN
TAJIKISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN
PAKISTAN
INDIA
CHINA
MONGOLIA
GEORGIA
ARMENIA
AZERBAIJAN
Caspian Sea
Aral Sea
Astana
Bishkek
Tashkent
Ashgabat
Dushanbe
Baku
Tbilisi
Yerevan
Tehran
Kabul
Perm'
Yekaterinburg
Chelyabinsk
Novosibirsk
Krasnoyarsk
Tomsk
Omsk
Petropavl
Kazan'
Ufa
Samara
Volgograd
Astrakhan
Orenburg
Orsk
Magnitogorsk
Aqtöbe
Atyraū
Aqtaū
Oral
Temirtaū
Qaraghandy
Pavlodar
Semey
Öskemen
Zaysan
Ürümqi
Almaty
Taldyqorghan
Zhezqazghan
Qyzylorda
Nukus
Urganch
Dashhowuz
Shymkent
Zhambyl
Türkmenbashi
Bukhoro
Samarqand
Qarshi
Chärjew
Mary
Tabriz
Mashhad
Herāt
Qondūz
Baghlān
Kāshi
Osh
Andijon
Namangan
Fergana
Issyk Kul
Balkhash
Irtysh
Ob
Yenisey
Lena
Volga
Don
Dnepr
Ural
Syrdar'ya
Amu Dar'ya
Tarim
Zaysan Nuur
Lake Balqash
Aral Sea
Kara Bogaz Gol
Garabogaz Aylagy
Karakumsk Canal
Murgab
Tedzhen
Harirud
Hari Rūd
Kabul
Qondūz
Baghlān
Kāshi
Osh
Andijon
Namangan
Fergana
Issyk Kul
Balkhash
Irtysh
Ob
Yenisey
Lena
Volga
Don
Dnepr
Ural
Syrdar'ya
Amu Dar'ya
Tarim
Zaysan Nuur
Lake Balqash
Aral Sea
Kara Bogaz Gol
Garabogaz Aylagy
Karakumsk Canal
Murgab
Tedzhen
Harirud
Hari Rūd
The boundaries and names shown on this map do not imply official endorsement or acceptance by the United Nations.
0 200 400 600 800 km
0 100 200 300 400 500 mi
October 1998
Department of Public Information
Cartographic Section


KAZAKHSTAN
UZBEKISTAN
TURKMENISTAN
AFGHANISTAN
ISLAMIC REPUBLIC OF IRAN
CASPIAN SEA
DASHHOWUZ
BALKAN
MARY
LEBAP
AHAL
Nukus
Köneürgench
Kalinin
Dashhowuz
Urganch
Chink Kaplankyr
Bekdash
Kara Bogaz Gol
Garabogaz Aylagy
Chagyl
Kizyl Kaya
Krasnovodskiy Poluostrov
Turkmenbashi (Krasnovodsk)
Ufra
Oglanly
Nebitdag
Cheleken
Aladzha
Koturdepe
Gazanjyk
Kum Dag
Gyzylarbat
Yerbent
Bami
Khodzha Kala
Kara-Kala
Bakhardok
Bakharden
Kopet Dag
Ostrov Ogurchinskiy
Okarem
Kizyl Atrek
Hasan Kuli
Bezmeyin
Ashgabat
Artyk
Kaakhka
Tedzhen
Babadayhan
Mary
Bayramaly
Iolotan'
Dushak
Pravda
Tedzhenstroy
Serakhs
Krasnoye Znamya
Sandykachi
Takhta Bazar
Kalai Mor
Gushgy
Dargan Ata
Bukhoro
Samarqand
Neftezavodsk
Farab
Chärjew
Repetek
Ravnina
Uch Adzhi
Amu Dar'ya
Kerki
Gaurdak
Kirova
Charshanga
Karakum Canal
Murgab
Tedzhen
Harirud
Hari Rūd
National capital
Welayat center
Town, kishlak
Airport
International boundary
Welayat boundary
Main road
Secondary road
Railroad
0 50 100 150 200 km
0 50 100 150 mi
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Map No. 3772 Rev. 6 UNITED NATIONS
January 2004
Department of Peacekeeping Operations
Cartographic Section

Chronology

EARLY HISTORY UP TO AROUND 500 A.D.

2,000–1,000 B.C. Irrigation systems were developed in what is now territory of Turkmenistan.

First millennium B.C. The state of Khorezm (Khorazm) and Margiana (also *Margush*, *Merv*, or *Mary*) mentioned in ancient chronicles.

7th century B.C. Khorezm mentioned in ancient chronicles.

3rd century B.C. Ancient Merv (near present-day Mary; known in antiquity as *Margiana*, *Antiochia*, and *Margiana*) was founded.

329 B.C. Alexander the Great conquered Central Asia, including ancient Margiana.

3rd–2nd centuries B.C. Greeco-Bactrian states in Central Asia.

2nd century B.C. The Great Silk Road started to function.

250 B.C.–224 A.D. Ancient principality Khorasan on the territory of present-day southern Turkmenistan and northeastern Iran.

4th–5th centuries A.D. The Kushan Empire in Central Asia.

KHANATES, ARRIVAL OF ISLAM: 552–1722 A.D.

552–744 Turk Khanate.

568–571 War between western Turks and Iran.

622 Beginning of Muslim (Hijra) calendar.

7th–8th centuries Arabs conquered Khorasan.

10th century Oghuz, a Turkmen tribe of Central Asia, converted to Islam.

900–999 The Samanid dynasty ruled in Khorasan.

999 Sultan Mahmud Gaznevi conquered Khorasan and established Ghaznavids dynasty.

993? –1063 Life of Togrul Beg, founder of the Turkish Seljuk empire, which at the time of Togrul's death included all of modern Iran, Iraq, eastern Turkey, and Central Asia.

1027 Turkmen tribes rebelled against Ghaznavids ruler.

1035–1038 Seljuks defeated the Ghaznavids troops and conquered Merv.

1055 Togrul Beg defeated the Buwayhids in Baghdad and forced the declining Abbasid caliphate to accept the Seljuks as military protectors of the Caliphate.

1071 The army led by Alp Arslan defeated the Byzantines at the Battle of Manzikert.

1072–1074 Creation of *Divan Lugat at-Turk* [Dictionary of Turk Dialects] by Makhmud Kashgari.

1221–1222 Genghis Khan (also spelled *Chingis Khan*, first known as *Temujin*) conquered Merv and Koneurgench.

1357 Mongol ruler Janibek-Khan of the Golden Horde conquered Khorasan.

1384 Tamerlane (Timur) (1336–1405) invaded Khorasan.

1388 Tamerlane's troops stormed and destroyed Koneurgench, then one of the largest trading centers in Central Asia. Tamerlane's troops stormed and destroyed Delhi.

1391 Turkmen tribes rebelled against Tamerlane.

1419–1421 Turkmen tribes rebelled against Tamerlane successors but were defeated and forced to migrate to Asia Minor.

1486 Turkmen tribes fought against Sheibani Khan.

1500–1512 Sheibani Khan defeated Timurids and conquered Central Asia.

1557 Turkmens under the leadership of Aba-Serdar fought against the Persian (Iranian) troops and conquered Astrabad.

1558 Antony Jenkinson, British traveler and agent for the British-Russian trade company, traveled to Bukhara and Khiva.

1593 Bukhara troops conquered Merv.

1641 Visit of Turkmen traders to Moscow mentioned in Russian chronicles.

1647–1648 Abulgazi-Khan invaded the land of the Turkmens.

1677 Some Turkmen tribes came under protection of the Russian state.

1713–1714 Khodji-Nepes, the representative of Turkmens of Mangyshlak, visited Astrakhan and Saint Petersburg.

1715–1717 The Khiva Khanate army defeated and wiped out Russian troops led by Alexander Bekovich-Cherkaskii (Devlet-Kizden-Murza).

RUSSIAN INTEREST IN TURKISTAN: 1722–1917

1730 Turkmen tribes rebelled against Iranian ruler Nadir-Shah.

1731–1854 Russia acquired the Kazakh steppes (territory of present-day Kazakhstan), including Turkmen-populated Mangyshlak.

1740 Nadir-Shah invaded Bukhara and Khiva.

1745 Turkmen tribes of Mangyshlak asked for Russian protection.

1799 Turkmen tribes of Merv rebelled against the Bukhara Khanate.

1801 The delegation of the Turkmen tribes of Mangyshlak arrived in St. Petersburg.

1803 Russian Empire declared that the Turkmen tribes of Mangyshlak came under Russian protection.

1804–1813 Russian-Iranian war, which ended with the defeat of the Iranian Army.

1812 Britain allied with Russia in the war against Napoleon Bonaparte of France. British Captain Cristie and Lieutenant Henry Lindsay, members of the Malcolm Mission to the Shah of Iran, were found fighting along with the Iranian troops against the Russian troops, the British ally in the war against Napoleon Bonaparte.

1813 Peace agreement between Russia and Iran signed in Gulistan. The Russian Empire officially acquired Georgia, Daghestan, and Azerbaijan.

1814 British-Iranian treaty directed against the increasing Russian influence in Central Asia.

1819–1821 Nikolai Murav'ev mission to the Turkmen land.

1826–1828 Russian-Persian (Iranian) war and defeat of the Iranian troops. The war ended with signing of the peace agreement between Russia and Iran in Turkmanchai.

1828–1829 Russian-Turkey war and defeat of the Turkish armies in the Balkans and the Caucasus. The war ended with the peace agreement between Russia and Turkey in Andrion.

1830 Khan of Khiva ordered Turkmen tribes to move to and settle in his territory.

1838–1842 First Anglo-Afghan war.

1839–1840 Russians undertook their first unsuccessful expedition to Khiva.

1842 Entire British garrison was slaughtered in the outskirts of Kabul. British retreated from Afghanistan. Two British officers, Colonel Charles Stuart and Captain Arthur Connolly, traveled through Turkistan, but were captured and hanged in Bukhara.

1847–1851 Russian troops built a military fortress on the delta of Syr Darya River and the Aral fleet on the Aral Sea.

1855–1858 Turkmen tribes rebelled against the Khiva Khanate.

1856–1857 British-Persian (Iranian) war for the control over Herat and defeat of Persia. Persian Shah recognized the independence of Herat.

1861 Turkmen tribes defeated Persian troops near to the city of Merv.

1865 Russian troops captured Tashkent, an important trade center and a strategic outpost of the Kokand Khanate. Russian authorities established the Turkistan *oblast*, which included the territory of present-day Turkmenistan.

1866–1868 The Russian advanced to the Bukhara Khanate.

1867 The Turkistan Governor-Generalship was established with its center in Tashkent.

1869 Russian general H. G. Stoletov arrived on the eastern shore of the Caspian Sea and established a Russian city and port of Krasnovodsk.

1873 The Russian Empire defeated the Khiva Khanate and established control over its foreign policy, but a special treaty granted the khan of the Khiva Khanate control over internal affairs. The Russians signed a peace treaty with the Bukhara Khanate. Russian troops faced a mutiny in Kokand, the center of the Kokand Khanate.

1878–1880 Second Anglo-Afghan War. The British established their control over Afghanistan's foreign relations.

1879 Turkmens defeated the Russian expedition troops led by general Nikolai Lomakin under Geok-Tepe.

1880–1888 Russian government built the Zacaspian railroad from Uzun Ada to Samarkand.

1881 Russian troops led by General Michael Skobelev defeated Turkmen tribes and stormed the fortress of Geok-Tepe (in present-day Akhal *welayat* of Turkmenistan). The new borders with Persia (now Iran) were established.

1882 Zacaspian military department was reorganized into Zacaspian *oblast*. It included Akhal, Krasnovodsk, and Mangyshlak districts.

1884 Russia acquired the Merv oasis. Merv district was established and was included in Zacaspian *oblast*.

1887 The borders between Russia's possessions in Central Asia and Afghanistan were formally established.

1895 Convention was concluded between Great Britain and Russia (division of spheres of influence in the Pamirs area). Nobel brothers began oil extraction in Cheleken (present-day Turkmenistan).

1897 Zacaspian *oblast* became a part of Turkistan Governor-Generalship. The first census was held in the Russian Empire.

1905 Strike on the Central Asian railway system and on some factories in Zacaspian *oblast*.

1906 Soldiers of Ashgabat garrison rebelled against Russian authorities.

1914 First newspaper in Turkmen language—*Zakaspiiskaia Tuzemnaia gazeta*—was published.

1914–1918 World War I.

1916 Widespread uprising of Central Asians, including Turkmen tribes, against the Russian colonial administration and Russian colonial policy.

SOVIET ERA: 1917–1991

1917 Russian Duma forced the abdication of Tsar Nicolas II, the last tsar of the Russian Empire. **March**: Establishment of the *sovet* (council) of workers' and soldiers' deputies in Ashgabat. **April**: The Turkistan General-Governership was abolished and the Turkistan Committee of the Provisional Government was established in Tashkent. **May**: First Congress of the *sovets* (councils) in Zacaspian *oblast*. **July**: The First Congress of the peasants' deputies in Zacaspian *oblast*. **October 25**: The Bolshevik Revolution in St. Petersburg. **October 28–November 1**: Bolsheviks came to power in Tashkent. **November 8**: Vladimir Lenin's *Decree on Land* was published in the newspaper *Nasha Gazeta* [Our Newspaper].

1918 **January**: The first issue of the Bolshevik's newspaper *Izvestia* was published in Ashgabat. Troops led by Junaid-Khan (Dzhunaid-Khan) captured the capital of Khiva Khanate and established control over its military. **February**: Decree on nationalization of all banks and bank branches **April**: Troops led by Junaid-Khan captured and destroyed Galym village. Anti-Bolshevik riot of Semirechie Cossacks be-

gan. **April 20–May 1**: The Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (TASSR) was formed within the Russian Soviet Federative Socialist Republic (RSFSR). **May**: Anti-Bolshevik riot of the Czech corps began. **July**: Anti-Bolshevik riot in Ashgabat; anti-Bolshevik troops executed nine of Ashgabat's Bolshevik commissars. **August**: British occupation troops entered Zacaspian *oblast*. **September**: British troops presided over execution of 26 commissars in Baku (Azerbaijan) by anti-Bolshevik troops. **October 5–15**: The Constitution of Turkistan ASSR was adopted during the VI Extraordinary Session of Turkistan Soviets.

1919 **January 19–21**: Antirevolutionary riot in Tashkent led by Osipov. **March 19–31**: Second Congress of the Turkistan Communist Party (TCP) and establishment of the Muslim Bureau of the TCP. **April 7**: Establishment of the Revolutionary Military Council (government) of the Turkistan ASSR. **July**: Mass riots in Bukhara, the capital of the Bukhara Khanate, and in several *begliks* (districts) populated by the Turkmens. Red Army captured Ashgabat. **September**: White Grads were defeated in Orenburg *oblast* and Orenburg front was liquidated. Russia restored direct transportation and communication links with Turkistan and sent additional troops and weapons to Turkistan. **November**: Junaid-Khan moved his troops to Koneurgench and some other cities to contain Red Army advance into the western districts of the Khiva Khanate. **December**: Red Army entered the Khiva Khanate.

1920 **January**: Red Army supported by some Turkmen tribes defeated the troops led by Junaid-Khan. Zacaspian Revolutionary Committee of the Bolshevik Party was established. **February**: Seid Abdulla Khan, the last khan of the Khiva Khanate, abdicated. Red Army forces captured Krasnovodsk. Zacaspian front was liquidated. **April**: First *Kurultai* (Congress) of People's representatives declared the establishment of the Khoresm People's Soviet Republic (KPSR) and ratified the first Constitution of the KPSR. **Summer**: The first land-and-water reforms in Turkmenistan *oblast*. **August**: Rioters led by Biashim-Serdar, the Turkmen commander, captured the town of Sakar and several other cities and towns in the Bukhara Khanate. Biashim-Serdar was declared the chairman of the revolutionary committee. **September**: Red Army supported by local rioters stormed Bukhara. Turkistan State University was established in Tashkent and began accepting students from various parts of Central Asia. **October**: First *Kurultai* (Congress) of People's

representatives declared the establishment of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BPSR).

1921 **January**: Second Congress of the *Sovets* of the Zacaspian *oblast*. **June**: First *Kurultai* of the Turkmens of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BPSR) was held. **July**: Third Congress of the Soviets of the Zacaspian *oblast*. **August**: Zacaspian *oblast* was renamed Turkmen *oblast*.

1922 **August 4**: Enver Pasha, a Turkish military officer and one of the leaders of the *Basmachi* movement in Central Asia, was killed in a battle. **December 30**: Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) was established with the capital in Moscow.

1923 **October**: The Government of Turkistan issued a decree on liquidation of illiteracy in Central Asia. Fourth *Kurultai* (Congress) of People's representatives renamed the Khoresm People's Soviet Republic (KPSR) into the Khoresm Soviet Socialist Republic (KSSR). The Kurultai also established Turkmen Autonomous *oblast* within the KSSR.

1924 **January**: Junaid-Khan's attempt to organize a riot and to capture Khiva failed. **April 28**: Resolution was issued on the necessity and timeliness of national state delimitation in Central Asia. Provisional territorial committees were formed—Uzbek, Turkmen, Kyrgyz, Kazakh, and Tajik. **June 12**: Resolution was issued on the "nation-state delimitation in Central Asia." **October 27**: Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (Turkmen SSR) was established. **November**: Turkmen Revolutionary Committee and Organizational Bureau of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Turkmenistan were established. **December**: Decree of the Revolutionary Committee on the territorial composition and borders of the Turkmen SSR.

1925 **January**: First Congress of teachers was held in Turkmenistan. **February**: First Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan and the First Congress of the Soviets of the Turkmen SSR. Congress of the Soviets adopted the declaration on establishment of the Turkmen SSR and its voluntary union with the USSR. **March**: First Congress of *Komsomol* in Turkmenistan. **May**: The Third Congress of the Soviets of the USSR officially incorporated the Turkmen SSR and Uzbek SSR into the USSR. Soviet authorities in Turkmenistan abolished the private owner-

ship of the land. **September**: Soviet authorities began redistribution of land among poor farmers in the Merv and Poltoratsk *okrugs* (districts).

1926 Administrative reforms in Turkmenistan. First film prodution center, *Turkmenfilm*, was established. Soviet authorities began redistribution of land among poor farmers in the Tejen, Iolotan, Takhta-Bazar, and Serakhs districts. First *kolkhoz* was established in Turkmenistan. **October**: Working Committee was established on converting Turkmen alphabet from Arabic script to Latin. Administrative reforms in Turkmenistan. First census was conducted in Turkmen SSR.

1927 About 20 *kolkhozes* were established in Turkmenistan. **March–April**: The Second Congress of the Soviets of the Turkmen SSR adopted the First Constitution of the Turkmen SSR. **October**: Russian Theatre was opened in Ashgabat. **December**: Radio station was opened in Ashgabat. Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Turkmenistan archive was established in Ashgabat.

1928 **January**: Turkmen Institute of Culture (Turkmenkult) was established in Ashgabat. **November**: The first *piatiletka* plan (five-year plan of economic development) of Turkmen SSR was adopted.

1929 Local elections were held in Turkmenistan. Soviet authorities announced that about 80 percent of the *dekhkans* (farmers) were involved in various types of cooperatives and *kolkhozes*. **October**: The Turkmen alphabet was officially converted from Arabic to Latin script; opening of the Turkmen State Theatre.

1929–1931 First wave of Stalin purges. Tribal leaders were deported to concentration camps in what is now territory of the Balkan and Dashoguz *welayats*.

1930 Mass collectivization and settlement programs began. Primary education became compulsory. Fifth Congress of the Communist (Bolshevik) Party of Turkmenistan prioritized development of oil extracting and petrochemical industries. Turkmen peasants' riots in Turkmenistan in protest against mass collectivization campaign. Several thousand Turkmens escaped to Afghanistan and Iran.

1931 A new wave of repressions against the traditional elite, as rich farmers, tribal leaders, and representatives of the Turkmen intelligentsia were deported to Kazakhstan and other parts of the USSR.

1932 The government of Turkmenistan announced completion of the first stage of collectivization. Soviet authorities announced that 75 percent of farmers joined *kolkhozes*.

1933 Red Army troops defeated the major remaining *Basmachi* groups. The "iron curtain" established on the Turkmen border with Afghanistan and Iran.

1934 **April**: Turkmen Agricultural Institute was opened in Ashgabat. **May**: First Congress of Writers of Turkmen SSR in Ashgabat.

1935 **January**: Fifth Congress of the Soviets of the Turkmen SSR. **December**: Union of Artists of Turkmenistan was established in Ashgabat.

1936 Extraordinary all-Turkmen Congress of Soviets. The new Constitution of the USSR was adopted.

1936–1938 Mass purges against the Turkmen intelligentsia and political leadership were launched in the republic. Thousands were sent to labor camps or executed, accused of opposing the political regime.

1937 **March**: New Constitution of Turkmen SSR was adopted. **August**: The Turkmen government approved mass publication of the classics of Turkmen literature and poetry.

1938 Limited rehabilitation of repressed communist leaders. Opening of the Turkmen State Philharmonic. The introduction of conscription to the Red Army. Union of Architects of Turkmenistan was established in Ashgabat.

1939 Census was conducted in Turkmen SSR.

1940 **April**: The Soviet government issued a decree on further development of cotton production in the Turkmen SSR. **May**: Turkmenistan converts its alphabet from Latin to Cyrillic script.

1941 **April**: Turkmenistan Branch of the Academy of Sciences was opened in Ashgabat. **September**: Soviet and British troops entered Iran to neutralize Nazis activities in the country. **November**: Kurban Durdy became the first Turkmen decorated with the medal of the Hero of the Soviet Union.

1941–1945 Soviet Union fought against the Nazis in World War II. Mass mobilization of Turkmens to the war.

1942 **April**: The Soviet government issued a decree on establishing an oil refinery plant in Krasnovodsk.

1945 World War II ended.

1946 The government of Turkmen SSR adopted the fourth *piatiletka* plan. The Soviet troops left northern Iran.

1947 The Soviet government issued a decree on the construction of the Kara Kum (Garagum) Canal.

1948 **October 6**: Devastating earthquake in Ashgabat. It destroyed most of the city and killed between 30,000 and 40,000 people.

1950 **September**: Turkmen State University was established in Ashgabat.

1951 **July**: Turkmen Academy of Sciences was opened in Ashgabat.

1952 First issue of *Mugallymlar Gazeti* (Teachers Newspaper) was published in Turkmenistan.

1953 Josef Stalin died in Moscow. The Kremlin began political changes and the rehabilitation of the Turkmen intelligentsia, political leaders, and other victims of Stalin's repressions.

1957 **February**: The Government of Turkmen SSR declared compulsory seven-year education.

1958 **March**: First Congress of Trade Unions of Turkmenistan.

1959 Census conducted in Turkmenistan. Ashgabat TV center was opened.

1961 The Soviet government announced its major investment program into oil and gas industry in Turkmenistan.

1963 Turkmen Polytechnic Institute was opened in Ashgabat.

1967 **October**: The first line of the Central Asia-Center gas pipeline was completed.

1970 **December**: The Government of Turkmen SSR issued a decree on establishment of the Mary, Chardjou, and Tashauz *oblasts*.

1973 The government opened the Mary electric power generation plant, then one of the largest in Central Asia. Several high-ranking

officials arrested in Ashgabat and convicted under various criminal charges.

1975 Shatlyk Gaz field was opened.

1978 New Constitution of Turkmen SSR adopted.

1979 Islamic Revolution in Iran. Soviet army entered Afghanistan.

1984 The first mass public opinion survey in Turkmenistan on the political situation.

1985 Mikhail Gorbachev came to power. Beginning of the campaign for changes in Turkmenistan. Muhammetnazar Gapurov, long-standing first secretary of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR, was replaced by Saparmurat Niyazov.

1986 Dinmuhamed Kunayev, longstanding Kazakh leader, was dismissed and replaced by Genaddii Kolbin. Students in Alma-Ata organized unsanctioned meetings and demonstrations in protest at Kunayev's dismissal. The Turkmen KGB and police were mobilized to take action against any possible student and public meetings or demonstrations in Ashgabat. Several high-ranking party and government officials in Turkmenistan were dismissed under corruption charges.

1989 **May**: Youth riots in Ashgabat and Nebitdag. **August**: Agzybirlik, the first opposition party, was established in Ashgabat. **December**: Agzybirlik called for commemorating victims of the Russian conquest of Turkmenistan.

1990 **February**: Agzybirlik held its founding congress. **May**: The Turkmen language was declared the sole state language in Turkmen SSR. The government of Turkmenistan introduced restrictions on registration of independent public and political organizations. **June**: The leaders of the Central Asian Republics gathered in Bishkek (then Frunze) and agreed to establish the Central Asian Union (CAU). **August**: The Turkmen Parliament adopted the Declaration on Turkmenistan's Sovereignty. **October 27**: Saparmurat Niyazov was elected, by direct ballot, as the first president of Turkmenistan.

1991 **February**: Congress of the opposition Democratic Party in Ashgabat. **March 17**: All-Union referendum on the future of the Soviet

Union. **May**: First Founding Congress of association "Turkmens of the World." **August 19**: Anti-Gorbachev coup d'état in Moscow. **August 28**: President Boris Yeltsin declared that the Russian Federation established its control over the key Soviet ministries. **September**: Turkmen SSR was renamed the Republic of Turkmenistan.

INDEPENDENCE

1991 **October 27**: The Turkmenistan Supreme Soviet (Parliament) declared the independence of Turkmenistan. **December**: Belarus, the Russian Federation, and the Ukraine, founding members of the USSR, signed a treaty dissolving the Soviet Union. Turkmenistan expressed its desire to join the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS). **December 16**: Turkey recognized the independence of Turkmenistan. **December 17**: Yeltsin and Gorbachev agreed that the Soviet Union would cease to exist on January 1, 1992. **December 21**: Turkmenistan signed the Alma-Ata Declaration, which formalized establishment of the CIS. **December 25**: Gorbachev resigned from the post of president.

1992 **January**: The government of Turkmenistan discussed introduction of market prices. Turkmenistan was admitted into the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe. **February**: First official visit of James Baker, the United States Secretary of State, to Ashgabat and other capitals of Central Asian region. Opening of the U.S. Embassy in Ashgabat. Turkmenistan joined the Economic Cooperation Organization. Turkmenistan became a member of the United Nations. **April 22–23**: Turkmenistan signed an agreement with neighboring Central Asian states recognizing existing borders. **May 18**: Turkmenistan introduced its first post-Soviet Constitution. **June 21**: Saparmurat Niyazov was reelected unopposed to a five-year term as the president of Turkmenistan. **July**: North Atlantic Treaty Organization delegation visited Turkmenistan. **August 6**: Presidential decree deregulated oil and gas export prices. **August**: Turkmenistan was admitted to the International Monetary Fund and European Bank of Reconstruction and Development. **November 24**: Elections were held for the *Khalk Maslakhaty* (People's Council). **December**: The Communist Party of Turkmenistan was renamed into the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan.

1993 **January**: President of Turkmenistan issued a decree making water, electricity, and gas free of charge for all citizens. **April**: Turkish President Turgut Ozal visited Turkmenistan. **April**: President Saparmurat Niyazov visited the United States for the first time. **May**: Program of educational reforms introduced in Turkmenistan, replacing the 10-year schooling system with the nine-year cycle and five-year university system by the four-year system. CIS working meeting was held in Ashgabat. Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan signed an Agreement on Friendship and Cooperation. **September**: Turkmenistan's government adopted a program on oil and gas sector development until 2020. U.S. official delegation visited Turkmenistan. **October**: Partial liberalization of retail prices. Saparmurat Niyazov officially accepted the title of Turkmenbashy. Official Iranian delegation led by President Hashemi Rafsanjani visited Ashgabat and signed several trade agreements. **November 1**: The national currency, the *manat*, was introduced in Turkmenistan with initial exchange rate two *manats* per one U.S. dollar. **December 23**: President Yeltsin of the Russian Federation visited Ashgabat and signed a dual citizenship agreement with Turkmenistan. **December 24**: Turkmenistan formally became a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States.

1994 **January 15**: Turkmenistan held a national referendum extending President Saparmurat Niyazov's presidential term until 2002. **March**: The Turkmenistani government issued a decree on reforming the *kolkhozes* (collective farms). **May**: The Turkmenistani government adopted a program on economic and social development in 1994–1996. **July**: Introduction of additional restrictions on mass media registration. **September–October**: Arrest of the leading opposition figures and members of opposition organizations. **November**: Professional Parliament (*Mejlis*) was introduced. **December 11**: National elections to the 50-member *Mejlis* were held.

1995 **January**: The first post-Soviet census was conducted in Turkmenistan. **March**: Central Asian leaders met in Dashoguz (Turkmenistan) to discuss environmental and other problems related to the shrinking of the Aral Sea. **April**: First post-Soviet Congress of Trade Unions of Turkmenistan. **May**: Saparmurat Turkmenbashy visited the Russian Federation and signed agreements on trade and cooperation until 2000. **July**: Opposition youth groups demonstrated in Ashgabat.

Mass arrests among demonstrators. **September**: The Turkmenistani and Uzbekistani governments discussed disputes on oil exploration in border areas. **October**: Ashgabat hosted a meeting of government and opposition forces of neighboring Tajikistan in an attempt to end the civil war in that country. **November**: A joint Turkmenistan-Russian gas company, TurkmenRosGaz, was established. **December 12**: The United Nations General Assembly endorsed a resolution on a permanent neutral status of Turkmenistan.

1996 **January**: Unrest in western and northern parts of Turkmenistan. Introduction of free distribution of wheat among citizens of Turkmenistan. **July**: Introduction of military reforms. **September**: The first camp opened for refugees from Afghanistan. **October**: President Niyazov inaugurated the Institute for Democracy and Human Rights, becoming its director. **November**: Turkmenistan-Russian negotiations on the status of Russian border troops in Turkmenistan and other border issues.

1997 **January**: Turkmenistan-Azerbaijan disputes on the status of oil fields in the Caspian Sea. **April**: President Niyazov dismissed the prosecutor-general. **June 12**: Turkmenistan's parliament approved the new criminal code. **August 12**: Turkmenistan-Russian disputes on gas prices. Russia temporally suspended import of gas from Turkmenistan. **October**: Declaration on establishing an international consortium to build a Turkmenistan-Pakistan (via Afghanistan) gas pipeline. **December**: Inauguration of the Turkmenistan-Iran gas pipeline. The beginning of Turkmenistan-Azerbaijan negotiations on the disputed status of the Caspian Sea. The *Mejlis* extended President Saparmurat Turkmenbashy's term in office until 2002 without elections.

1998 **January**: Meeting of members of the Central Asian Economic Union. Turkmenistan rejected an invitation to join the organization. **February**: The government issued a decree on strengthening state control over the mass media and publishing. **April**: Elections to the People's Council were held. Saparmurat Turkmenbashy's official visit to the United States. Turkmenistan police detained Avdy Kuliev, former foreign minister and dissident, in Ashgabat, upon his return to Turkmenistan from Moscow after five years in exile. **August**: The Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan was reorganized. **December**: The OSCE opened its office in Ashgabat.

1999 **January**: A commission on human rights led by Saparmurat Turkmenbashy was established in Turkmenistan. **March 11**: Negotiations between the Taliban and Northern Alliance took place in Ashgabat. **June**: The minister of foreign affairs of the People's Republic of China visited Ashgabat. **July**: Representatives of the Mobil Oil company met President Saparmurat Niyazov. **December**: Parliamentary elections held in Turkmenistan. Of the eligible population, 98.9 percent turned out to elect 50 deputies for the new *Mejlis*. **December 28**: The People's Council (*Khalk Maslahaty*) extended indefinitely President Saparmurat Niyazov's term in office, making him president for life.

2000 **January**: Turkmenistan renewed gas delivery to Russia. Saparmurat Turkmenbashy attended the CIS summit in Moscow and held a meeting with newly elected President Vladimir Putin of Russia. **March**: Turkmenistan officially withdrew from the Trascaspian pipeline project. **April**: The government issued a decree restricting use of the Internet by citizens of the republic and prohibiting them from opening foreign bank accounts without authorization from the state. **May**: President Vladimir Putin of Russia visited Turkmenistan and signed agreements on gas deliveries from Turkmenistan to Russia. **June**: The Turkmen-Uzbek joint commission on border delimitation discussed existing differences and disputes. **August**: The government of Turkmenistan issued a decree that endorsed teaching at Turkmenistan's universities exclusively in Turkmen language. **September**: President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan visited Ashgabat. **October**: President of Turkey visited Ashgabat. **November**: Japanese business delegation visited Turkmenistan. **December**: Earthquake in western Turkmenistan. Selective census of households in Turkmenistan.

2001 **February**: President Saparmurat Turkmenbashy declared that he might resign in 2020. **April**: The government of Turkmenistan closed down the National Opera and Ballet Theatre, the Mylly Tachmuradov State Philharmonic Society, the National Folk Dance Company, and the National Circus Center. **May**: Conflict between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan on the status of the maritime border between the countries and exploration for oil in the disputed territories. Congress of World Turkmens was held in Ashgabat. **June**: Turkmenistan recalled its ambassador from Azerbaijan. Turkmenistan established the National Security Council and State Commission on Technical Supply of Defense Forces and ordered to

downsize its army by about 10,000 people. **September 14**: Turkmenistan condemned terrorist attacks on the United States and declared its support of the U.S.-led actions against international terrorism. **September 19**: The government of Turkmenistan announced that it would refrain from a military contribution to the United States–led war against Taliban regime in Afghanistan citing its neutral status. **September 24**: Turkmenistan agreed to open its airspace and its airports for U.S. and international humanitarian flights for the duration of the war in Afghanistan. **November 15**: Turkmenistan authorities introduced restrictions on local access to some Russian-language websites. **November**: Boris Shikhmuradov, Turkmenistan's ambassador to the People's Republic of China and former vice-premier and minister of foreign affairs, defected and declared his opposition against Niyazov's regime.

2002 **March 4**: President Niyazov established a commission to investigate crimes and human rights violations committed by agents of the National Security Ministry (NSM). **May**: The commission on the NSM announced that it uncovered cases of arbitrary detention, torture, and extortion; more than sixty NSM officers were forced to resign, and 22 were prosecuted, including Mukhamet Nazarov, the former NSM Chair. **August**: Saparmurat Turkmenbashy renamed the months of the year after himself, his mother, and his spiritual guide, the Rukhnama. **September 27**: Russian police arrested Murat Garabaev, a former Central Bank of Turkmenistan official on an extradition request from Turkmenistan. **November 25**: President Saparmurat Turkmenbashy's motorcade came under attack in the capital. Turkmenistan authorities announced that the attempted coup d'état was organized by exiled opposition leaders. Representatives of an opposition claimed that Turkmenistan's authorities initiated the accident in order to crack down on the political opposition. Worsening diplomatic relations with Uzbekistan and Russia. **December 16**: Turkmenistan National Security Ministry's officers searched the residence of Uzbek Ambassador Abdurashid Kadyrov, accusing him of assisting the organization of the assassination attempt on President Saparmurat Niyazov. **December**: Boris Shikhmuradov was sentenced to life in prison on accusations of organizing the assassination attempt on President Saparmurat Niyazov and corruption charges.

2003 **January**: The Russian government pledged to defend any Russian citizens, including journalists, who face prosecution in Turkmenistan

on accusation of involvement in the assassination attempt on President Niyazov. Turkmenistan refused to attend a meeting of representatives of Caspian littoral states scheduled to take place in Tehran. The government substantially raised the average monthly salary of government employees and state pensions. **February**: President Niyazov announced new rules for registration of foreigners and control of their movements within Turkmenistan and the reintroduction of exit visas for Turkmen citizens. The government of Turkmenistan adopted a resolution "on citizens of Turkmenistan studying in higher education institutions in foreign states," allowing the Central Bank of Turkmenistan to exchange the Turkmen *manats* into convertible hard currencies for those students who obtained permits to study in foreign countries. Saparmurat Niyazov demanded that 70 percent of foreign firms' employees must be Turkmenistan citizens. **March**: Turkmenistan and Iran discussed the delimitation of the Caspian seabed. President Saparmurat Niyazov visited Iran and signed several agreements on cooperation between the two countries. **April**: Turkmenistan held elections to the People's Council. President Saparmurat Niyazov visited Moscow and signed an agreement with Russia's Gazprom to sell 60 billion cubic meters of gas annually. President Saparmurat Niyazov ordered to revoke the 1993 dual citizenship agreement with Russia and gave those holding dual citizenship two months to decide which citizenship to choose. **May**: President Niyazov fired Lieutenant-General Serdar Chariyarov, the first deputy defense minister and chief of the general staff as well as commander of the country's air force, accusing him of involvement in the assassination attempt on Niyazov in November 2002. **June**: Turkmenistan and Russian foreign officials discussed phasing out dual citizenship. **July**: Toily Gurbanov—Turkmenistan's ambassador to Armenia and a former minister of foreign economic relations—defected to the United States. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan agreed on a draft agreement on delimitation of the Caspian seabed and decided that the next talks should include Azerbaijan. Turkmenistan signed contracts with the Ukrainian state gas firm Naftohaz Ukrayina to sell 36 billion cubic meters of Turkmen natural gas and with the Russian firm Itera to sell up to 10 billion cubic meters of gas in 2004. **August**: Turkmenistan's media published the text of the law on combating terrorism, which was approved during a session of the *Khalk Maslahaty* (People's Assembly). The Government of Turkmenistan announced that NATO would increase its military cooperation with Turkmenistan

within the framework of the Partnership for Peace program. **October 24**: Seventh Congress of World Turkmens took place in Ashgabat representing Turkmens from 22 countries, including Afghanistan, Iran, Saudi Arabia, Pakistan, Syria, and Turkey. **November**: President Niyazov announced that Turkmenistan's farmers would be exempted from paying taxes until 2020. President Saparmurat Niyazov signed the new Turkmen law on public associations, regulating the activities of all NGOs. **December**: The governments of Afghanistan, Pakistan, and Turkmenistan announced their intention to build a 1,200-kilometer gas pipeline at an expected cost of US$3.5 billion. Turkmenistan announced the opening of a Turkmenistan-Iran-Turkey electric energy exporting line.

2004 **January**: Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan held an official meeting on the delimitation of the Caspian seabed. **February 24**: President Saparmurat Niyazov met Iranian Foreign Minister Kamal Kharrazi, and discussed the countries' position on the Caspian Seabed delimitation, the construction of the Friendship Water Dam, and the delivery of Turkmen energy to Iran. **March**: The United Nations and Turkmenistan signed the United Nations Development Assistance Framework, a strategic planning document for cooperation between the government and UN agencies for the next five years (2005–2009). The *Mejlis* (Turkmenistan's parliament) declared 2004 "the year of Atamyrat Niyazov, hero of Turkmenistan and father of Saparmurat Turkmenbashy the Great, Turkmenistan's first and life president" in honor of the president's father who was killed in World War II. Linn Pasco, the U.S. deputy assistant secretary of state for European and Eurasian affairs, visited Ashgabat and discussed U.S.-Turkmenistan political and military cooperation with President Saparmurat Niyazov. **April**: Turkmenistani government conducted negotiations with the Itochu and JGC of Japan on a US$2 billion project to modernize the country's refineries. Turkmenistani court sentenced Poran Berdiyev, former Turkmen interior minister and chairman of the National Security Ministry, to 25 years in prison. President Saparmurat Niyazov publicly dismissed several senior officials, including the minister of finance, minister of education, deputy mayor of Ashgabat, rectors of the Turkmen Institute of National Economy and the Polytechnic Institute, and heads of several major Turkmen banks. **May**: The Third Congress of the Youth Union Named after Magtymguly was held in Ashgabat. Turkmenistan's armed

forces conducted military exercises, emulating army actions against terrorist attacks on oil refineries. The government adopted a decree on abolition of criminal responsibilities for the violation of law on religious organizations. **June**: Ministry of Education began validation of all higher education degrees received outside the country since 1993. The work began on modernization of several Turkmenistani sections of the Central Asia-Center gas pipeline. **September**: The second volume of *Rukhnama*, spiritual book authored by President Saparmurat Turkmenbashy, was published. **October**: The Central Commission on Elections and Referendums of Turkmenistan approved composition of electoral commissions for the parliamentary elections to Mejlis and confirmed that the elections would be held in December 2004.

Introduction

Turkmenistan (also known as the Turkmen Republic and by convention called "Turkmenia" until 1991) was established on October 27, 1924, as the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (TSSR), a member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). It included parts of the territory that during the Russian Empire era was divided between the Zacaspian *oblast* and western districts of the semi-independent Bukhara Emirate and Khiva Khanate. In 1927 Turkmenistan adopted its first Constitution, which guaranteed rights to maintain some autonomy in cultural, administrative, and social affairs. The Turkmenistani government declared its independence from the USSR on October 27, 1991.

LAND AND PEOPLE

Turkmenistan is located in Central Asia, sharing 379 kilometers of its borders with Kazakhstan in the north, 1,621 kilometers with Uzbekistan in the east, 744 kilometers with Afghanistan in the southeast, and 992 kilometers with Iran in the south (2004, CIA data).[1] The Caspian Sea, located on the western borders of Turkmenistan, is divided between Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Turkmenistan. The Turkmenbashy (former Krasnovodsk) seaport provides the only marine access for the country's international trade and connects Turkmenistan with seaports in Azerbaijan and Russia. The southern borders are framed by the Kopetdag mountain ranges that stretch along the border with Iran from the southeast to the northwest. Most of these ranges are in Iran. Nonetheless, the Kopetdag mountain ranges host Shahshah Mountain, one of the highest summits in Turkmenistan (2,912 meters, or 9,554 feet). The peak is located close to the Turkmenistan-Iran border in southern Turkmenistan.

The country has a land area of 488,100 square kilometers (188,455 square miles). Its territory, shaped as an uneven pentagon, lies between 35 and 42 degrees north of the equator—which is approximately the latitude of Spain, and between 52 and 66 degrees east of Greenwich meridian—which is just above Iran. Turkmenistan is the second largest nation in the Central Asian region after Kazakhstan, and it is in 47th place in the world if measured by the size of its territory. The total area of Turkmenistan is comparatively the size of Sweden and Denmark combined or the state of California in the United States.

There are several geographical factors that shape the country's climate. Most of Turkmenistan is located in the southern part of the vast Turan plateau with an average elevation of about 100 to 200 meters (approximately 330 to 660 feet). One of the largest deserts in the world—the Garagum (Kara Kum)—turns almost 80 percent of Turkmenistan's territory into a dry and inhospitable land. Yet, there are several distinctive parts in the country, as the Caspian Sea affects the climate and flora and fauna at the narrow strip of land in western Turkmenistan; the Kopetdag mountains influence the water distribution and climate in southern Turkmenistan; and the Amu Darya and Murgab Rivers shape water distribution and climate in southeastern and eastern Turkmenistan.

Contemporary Turkmenistan is divided into five administrative units—*welayats* (provinces, formerly *oblasts*): Akhal *welayat* (capital—Anau) is located in the south of the country, Balkan *welayat* (capital—Balkanabat) is located in the west, Dashoguz *welayat* (capital—Dashoguz) is located in the north, Lebap *welayat* (capital—Turkmenabat) is located in the east, and Mary *welayat* (capital—Mary) is located in the southeast. Ashgabat, the capital of the republic, is located in Akhal *welayat* in southern Turkmenistan, approximately 30 kilometers from the border with Iran. The city's close proximity to the low-range Kopetdag mountains helps to soften its dry continental climate and summer temperatures. Two major rivers—the Amu Darya and the Murgab—are vital for the country. They supply water to the population of Lebap and Mary *welayats* and through the Garagum Canal to the Akhal *welayat*. The basins of these two rivers are the most densely populated areas of the country.

The climate in Turkmenistan is continental and very dry. The temperature and condensation vary widely. In the valleys of southern and southeastern Turkmenistan the climate is relatively mild and dry, the

temperatures ranging from −6°C (19°F) to +6°C (43°F) in January and average daily temperature between +28°C and +35°C (between 81°F and 95°F) in July. The weather in the Garagum Desert, however, is characterized by extremes. In the Central Garagums the climate is dry continental with a temperature ranging from −18°C to +6°C (between −2°F and 43°F) in January, and between +30°C and +35°C (between 87°F and 95°F) in July. During especially cold nights in winter the temperature in the Garagums might drop below −28°C to −33°C (between −18°F and −27°F) and during sunny days in summer it might shoot up to +45°C to +50°C (between 113°F and 122°F). Rainfall might vary between 100 and 150 millimeters in central Turkmenistan to 250 and 300 millimeters in southeastern parts of the country.

The environmental changes of the 1980s and 1990s such as the global warming and drying up of the Aral Sea have produced a disastrous effect upon Turkmenistan. For several years in a row, a harsh drought plagued vast areas of northeastern Turkmenistan leading to a water shortage. Moreover, the summers became drier in southern Turkmenistan, and winters became much colder in some regions of the republic. Desertification of the steppe zone increased the chances of sand storms and salinization in many parts of the republic. If this trend continues, it may negatively affect Turkmenistan's ecosystem, especially its fragile oases and some agricultural areas. There are also some projections that by 2025–2030 the country might face a severe shortage of drinking and irrigation water.

Mother Nature compensated Turkmenistan for its harsh climate with rich natural resources. Significant deposits of gas and oil hold promise for Turkmenistan's prosperity. In fact, Turkmenistan possesses the second largest deposits of gas and fourth largest deposits of oil among the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) members. Other natural resources include deposits of coal, copper, mercury, antimony, lead, zinc, sulfate, and some other minerals. However, Turkmenistan's remoteness from world markets, its aging transportation infrastructure, and its political instability in the Central Asian region undermine its attractiveness to international investors. Gas and oil are the most significant resources in Turkmenistan, which are exported to international markets on a large scale.

The Turkmenistani government estimated that the country's oil reserves could be above 12 billion tons on the Caspian shore of Turkmenistan

alone. Preliminary drillings showed that there might be additional commercially viable oil fields in other parts of the country. Oil was first discovered on the Caspian shore of Turkmenistan in the medieval era and was extracted on a small scale, but the first industrial scale oil fields around Cheleken area were not opened until the late 19th century. They were producing 129,000 tons of oil annually for industrial consumption by 1913. According to official data, oil extraction gradually increased to about 5.3 million tons in 1960, to 15.57 million tons in 1975, and further to 24 million tons of oil in 2004.

According to the government's estimates, Turkmenistan's gas reserves could be between 20 and 23 trillion cubic meters. Major gas deposits were first discovered in central and eastern Turkmenistan in the 1940s and 1950s, and in the 1980s the republic became the second largest producer of gas in the former Soviet Union, after the Russian Federation. Turkmenistan steadily increased gas delivery from about 9.2 million cubic meters in 1940 to about 23.4 million cubic meters in 1960 and further to about 51 billion cubic meters in 1975.

Agriculture is another important sector of the national economy as it provides employment for a significant proportion of Turkmenistan's population. Because of the harsh continental climate only about 8 percent of the total land area is cultivated in the republic and around 11 percent of the territory is used for pasture.[2] Nonetheless, thanks to intensive irrigation, the agricultural sector produces enough crops to cover the country's food requirements. For about a century Turkmenistan has also been an important cotton producer, ranking second in the USSR and then in the CIS behind only Uzbekistan.

According to official estimates the population in Turkmenistan was 6,329,000 (March 2004), up from about 903,000 in 1922.[3] It has doubled since the 1970s due to improved health, longer life expectancy, and immigration of people from other parts of the USSR. According to the *CIA World Factbook*, the birth rate in Turkmenistan stood at 28.02 births per 1,000, while the death rate stood at 8.87 deaths per 1,000 (2003, CIA est.). The emigration rate stood at −0.92 migrant(s) per 1,000 population in 2003 (CIA est.), or approximately 5,000 a year (other sources put numbers to about 10,000–19,000 a year). Unlike Kyrgyzstan or Tajikistan, Turkmenistan did not experience large-scale emigration of people in the 1990s. [illegible] ar Service stated that between [illegible] received permission to move from

Turkmenistan to Russia, including ethnic Russians, Ukrainians, Turkmens, etc. The major destinations for migrants from Turkmenistan are Russia, Ukraine, Israel, Turkey, and Kazakhstan. The population growth rate in Turkmenistan was 1.82 percent (2003), and if the current projections in the fertility and emigration rate remain unchanged it is estimated that the population would double by 2030–2035.

Turkmenistan's population is unevenly distributed, with almost half of the population, or 3.1 million, living in the most densely populated *welayats* of Akhal and Mary. The average population density is about 10 people per square kilometer (32 people per square mile); however, it ranges between 40 people per square kilometer (103 people per square mile) in the Murgab River basin to two to three people per square kilometer (six to seven people per square mile) in the Balkan and Dashoguz *welayats*. Some parts of the central Garagum Desert are uninhabited due to the harsh climate and shortage of drinking water.

Throughout the 20th century Turkmenistan was an ethnically diverse country. This diversity was formed by Tsarist and later Soviet governments as they encouraged migration of people from Russia, Ukraine, and the Caucasus to Turkmenistan. This diversity declined recently, as in the 1990s and early 2000s some ethnic minorities, including Russians, Jews, Tatars, and some others opted to move back to their homeland. The Turkmens (singular—Turkmen) make up 77 percent of the population (2003, CIA est.), up from 72 percent in 1989. Ethnic Uzbeks, the second-largest ethnic group, make up 9 percent of the population; Russians comprise 6.7 percent, Kazakhs comprise about 2 percent, and various other groups, including Armenians, Azeris, Belujis, Tajiks, Tatars, Turks, and others together make up the remaining 5.3 percent of the population. Turkmenistan's population is young, with 36.8 percent below the age of 14, and just about 4.1 percent of the population is above 65 (CIA 2003 est.).

Turkmenistan is a moderately urbanized country. In 1999 just over 46 percent of the population lived in urban areas, up from 45 percent in 1979. The country's capital city, Ashgabat, is home to 789,000 people (2003, official est.) or 13 percent of the population. However, independent experts claim that this figure may be overstated.

After 70 years of the Soviet policy of atheism and secularism, religion in Turkmenistan has regained its importance. The majority of Turkmens, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, and Tatars are Sunni Muslims (in contrast

to Shi'a Muslims of Iran). In the 1990s several Christian missionary groups (Baptists and some others) attempted to promote their views among the Turkmenistani population. However, they faced difficulties in the society in conducting their activities and in the government in registering their groups. The level of the religious devotion in the country varies significantly between urban and rural areas as well as between western and southeastern regions of Turkmenistan. Traditionally the rural population and those living in the southeast are more pious Muslims than the population in the other parts of the country.

ECONOMY

Since its independence, Turkmenistan's economy has been resting on the three main pillars—agriculture, industries, and services that have contributed 23.0, 37.0, and 40.0 percent respectively to the gross domestic product (GDP) (2001, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development est.). Turkmenistan's exports are narrowly based on sales of raw materials in international markets. The country's main exports are gas, oil, and cotton but also include garments, textiles, electricity, and agricultural products, etc. The gas extracting enterprises are mainly concentrated in central and eastern Turkmenistan and most of the oil extracting facilities are situated on the Caspian shore. The country depends heavily on imports of machinery, industrial consumer goods, and food products. Despite the transitional recession and the disappearance of aid from the former USSR in the early 1990s, Turkmenistan's economy has grown in the late 1990s and early 2000s. Total external debt remained low due to the high oil and gas prices in the international market in the late 1990s and early 2000s.

Social conditions in Turkmenistan are in better shape than in other countries in the region, such as Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan. Nonetheless, according to World Bank calculations about 56 percent of the population lives below the poverty line. In the 1990s the social conditions were deteriorating rapidly, although they stabilized in the late 1990s. In 2003 the United Nations Development Program's Human Development Index (HDI) placed Turkmenistan in 87th place out of 175 (down from 34th place in the HDI in 1991), behind Russia and Kazakhstan, but ahead of Georgia, Azerbaijan, and some other CIS members.

The Turkmenistani government chose the strategy of state-led development associated with Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI) attempting to build a strong industrial base through diverting income from the gas and oil exports into building new industries and modernizing its infrastructure. It was among the few countries in the CIS that adopted a program of gradual economic reform and rejected the program of radical economic changes designed by the International Monetary Fund (IMF). The government focused on small-scale privatization, gradual liberalization in agricultural, housing and retail sectors, and selectively opening some of its sectors for international investors, although it quickly abandoned the centrally planned economy. It took several years to establish a partially convertible currency system (Turkmenistan's *manat* was introduced in November 1993) to halt the high level of inflation and to achieve some macroeconomic stabilization. At the same time, the state retained tight control in oil- and gas-related sectors and some control in the agricultural sector.

According to the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD), the structure of Turkmenistan's economy has changed significantly since 1991, as the contribution of agriculture to the country's GDP decreased from 48.0 percent in 1990 to 23.0 in 2001 (See table 1 in appendix A). Unlike Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, Turkmenistan experienced a further rise in the share of industry in the GDP, as the share of industrial sector input grew from 16.0 percent in 1990 to 37.0 percent in 2001.[4] The service sector also received significant investments, although it is still underdeveloped in terms of quality and diversity. For instance, the country ranked at the 93rd place in the world if measured by the number of telephones per 1,000 of the population (2001 est.). Tourism, for example, is in a rudimentary stage, although the government invested huge sums of money in order to update its transportation infrastructure and built new airports and hotels that meet international standards.

The transitional period of the 1990s was a difficult time even for resource-rich Turkmenistan due to the sudden disintegration of the Soviet Union, structural changes and the loss of trade, industrial, and technological links with the former Soviet countries. According to the World Bank, Turkmenistan's economy grew at an average annual rate of 1.5 percent between 1992 and 2002, although the growth rate significantly accelerated between 2002 and 2004. The country's economic

growth continues to be extremely dependent on the fluctuations in world prices of its major exports—gas and oil. The EBRD experts have suggested that Turkmenistan needs to restructure and liberalize its economy, develop its telecommunications sector, and attract considerable foreign direct investments to modernize existing technologies in order to become more competitive in the international market. The Heritage Foundation ranked Turkmenistan 150th out of 161 in its Index of Economic Freedom in 2004, positioning the country among the least reformed economies in the Commonwealth of Independent States.

HISTORY

Early History

The history of the Turkmen land is intriguing and it was enriched by interactions with the ancient civilizations of Greece, Persia, Central Asia, and the Middle East. Numerous ruins and remains of ancient cities may be found on the territory of what is now Turkmenistan, making the country one of the most fascinating destinations in the region for historians, archeologists, and curious tourists. Some architectural sites can be traced as far back as the sixth and fifth centuries B.C. Many cities, such as ancient Merv, were destroyed many times and reemerged literally from ashes, while others could never recover their past glories and left empty mausoleums, walls, ruins of palaces, and magnificent monuments buried in sand.

At the same time, it must be remembered that the early history of Turkmens began in a different place. Like other neighboring Turkic nations, the Turkmens trace their ancestors' homeland to the territory that is now northern Mongolia, Russian Altai, and southern Siberia. The history of the ancient Turks and their nomadic khanates is still hotly debated as it is very difficult to trace. The nomads did not leave substantial written scripts and they did not build big cities, towns, or castles. A significant part of their history is known from chronicles of neighboring countries, especially Chinese, Persian, and early Central Asian sources, while narratives spoken by *baghshy* (nomad bards) and accompanied by the *dutar* (musical instrument) illustrated the popular interpretation of major events of the past and provided some colorful details about popular perceptions of that history. As in all other Central

Asian republics, the history of the nation was and still remains a highly politicized issue in Turkmen society. During the Soviet era it was dictated by the ideological nature of the Soviet state, while since 1991 many parts of its history have been rewritten for various political purposes, including legitimization of the borders of the state, which were arbitrarily established in 1924, and to promote the legitimacy of various competing groups or clans in the political life of the republic.

Turkmen historians widely dispute their early history; yet, they managed to reach some consensus. Most of them agree that the Turkmen ancestors originally lived in southern Siberia and Mongolia, close to the basin of the Orkhon and Yenisey Rivers, but later mixed with the local indigenous population of Khorasan. Numerous Turkic speaking tribes were brought together by ambitious and capable khans who created vast but unstable Turkic empires between the sixth and eighth centuries A.D. and establish control over the territory of what is now southern Siberia, western China, and Central Asia. These Turkic empires waged numerous wars against the Chinese Empire and Central Asian city-states, but eventually the great Turkic Khanates disintegrated and gave way to new and more powerful conquerors—the Karakhanids. The Karakhanid Khanate in turn also disintegrated from external pressure in the 11th century A.D. Between the seventh and 11th centuries A.D. the ancestors of the Turkmens gradually moved from eastern Turkistan to western Turkistan[5] and reached what is now the territory of Turkmenistan. This process took several centuries during which the Turkic speaking tribes absorbed the local cultures and intensively mixed with the local populations.[6] Turkmen scholars consider that by the eighth to 10th centuries, some area east of the Caspian Sea was already inhabited by representatives of the Oguz tribal confederation, one of the tribal groups of Turkic origin. Eventually Seljuk ibn Dudak, a tribal leader from the Oguzs, obtained prominence and founded a powerful state, which was named after him—the Seljuk Empire. He and his descendants used intrigues, skillful diplomacy, and military power to acquire vast lands in Central Asia and the Middle East, including what is now northern Afghanistan, Iran, Iraq, and some others. The Seljuks also established their control over the jewels of the Central Asian civilizations—Khorezm, Merv, Herat, Balh, and some other cities on the lucrative ancient Great Silk Road, the old trade road between China and the West.

Many Turkmen scholars associate the rise of the early Turkmens and Turkmen identity with Oguzs and Seljuks, as they refer to some Central Asian historical chronicles that began to distinguish various Turkic-speaking tribal confederations. Probably sometime between the 11th and 12th centuries (some scholars put the date as early as the eighth and 10th centuries) the Turkmens began converting to Islam, the religion of numerous subjects of the Seljuk Empire and many Persian, Arab, and Turkic traders and warriors who traveled along the Great Silk Road. Various Sufi *tarrikats* (mystic orders) contributed greatly to this process. The conversion of the Turkmens to Islam was a long process and took several centuries, and even in the 15th to 17th centuries foreign travelers noticed significant elements of the pre-Islamic tradition in everyday life, rituals, and beliefs among the Turkmens.

In the late 12th century the Seljuk Empire declined and was enclosed in a new empire with its center in Khorezm. In turn, in the 13th century the Khorezm Empire was destroyed by the Mongols led by Genghis Khan. The Mongol invasion was particularly devastating as the Mongols not only destroyed the cities and towns, but also damaged the irrigation system, burned forests and gardens, and killed the entire population of districts and provinces. The ecological damage done by this conquest was so great that many oases and valleys were turned into deserts and were never recovered for habitation and cultivation until the modern era. Some Turkmen ancestors left Central Asia and settled as far as south Asia and the eastern outskirts of the Byzantine Empire.

An extensive consolidation of Turkmen tribes took place between the 15th and 17th centuries, when the Turkmens began to form a distinct language, identity, and culture. This process reached an advanced stage by the mid-18th century, when Magtymguly, one of the founders of contemporary Turkmen poetry, began systematizing the usage of the Turkmen literary language. Yet, even early in the 19th century foreign travelers noticed that the Turkmens had no single khan, a leader recognized by all the tribes, and that every tribe was ruled by its own khan. The Turkmens were organized into amorphous tribal confederations that spoke the same Oguz dialect of the Turkic language, shared a sense of common ancestors, and glorified their past in their oral epics, such as "Geroglu" and some others. The Turkmens fiercely resisted the Khiva Khanate's and the Persian State's attempts to establish control over their

land. Turkmen militia defeated Khivan and Persian troops on several occasions, but they were too divided and too weak to resist the Persian and Khiva regular armed forces.

TSARIST COLONIZATION

Political Development

Few Western explorers passed the "land of Turkomans (Turkmens)" between the 17th and mid-19th centuries. The vast territory under Turkoman control was associated with east of the Caspian Sea, from the mountain ranges of Kopetdag in the south to the Aral Sea in the north, and with numerous oases in the basins of the Amu Darya, Murgab, and Atrek Rivers. Those brave souls described this land as a frontier of the powerful Persian and Khivan states, dangerous for travelers and for traders. In fact, throughout the 17th and 18th centuries the Turkmen tribes were caught in the never-ending war between the Bukhara Emirate, the Khiva Khanate, and the Persian state. This territory did not have major natural barriers, such as impenetrable mountains or rivers, and was hard to defend, making this land a target for ruthless khans and begs in their military campaigns. Numerous wars and conflicts devastated the economy of the Turkmen land and mighty divided the Turkmen tribes, who became subjects of various mighty neighbors. The rulers of the powerful empires, Khanates, and even small principalities regularly recruited the young Turkmen warriors into their armies to fight in the numerous wars, often against one another.

Political division weakened the ability of the Turkmen tribes to establish their own unified Turkmen state. The Turkmens frequently revolted and waged wars against foreign conquerors fighting back against regular armies, ambushing military and trade caravans and storming cities and towns. But in the end, the heroic tribal militia could not defeat large better-equipped regular armies. Some Turkmens accepted political and military control of the Khiva and Persia, and some of their military commanders rose to prominence in the armies and palaces of those states. The others began seeking allies in the north. Already in the 18th century some Turkmen tribes on the shore of the Caspian Sea had intensive trade and political contacts with the Russian Empire. There were reports that leaders of

some Turkmen tribes several times contacted the Russian Tsardom looking for possible support. For example, in 1802 the representatives of Turkmen tribes from the Mangyshlak area traveled to Saint Petersburg with a letter requesting Russian protection. But the Russian Empire was slow to make moves in Turkistan, because it was invaded by Napoleonic troops in 1812 and it was later engaged in military campaigns in Europe.

The situation changed, however, in the middle of the 19th century. The Russians became increasingly interested in reaching the Central Asian market for their goods, securing the land trade routes with Persia and India and halting the British advance from their base in north India toward Afghanistan and Central Asia. This race for influence in Central Asia and bitter British-Russian rivalry became known as the Great Game. British strategists argued that the Russians might advance to Afghanistan and Persia threatening the maritime trade routes in the Middle East and might stir up mutinies in the Indian colonies in order to weaken the British Empire. Russian strategists in turn saw great economic and military benefits in advancing into Central Asia and farther to the south and considered that from this base they could project their military power into the British colonies and dependencies in case Russian-British relations turned sour.

After defeat in the Crimean War (1853–1856) and especially after abolishing serfdom (1861), Tsar Alexander II (1818–1881) and his ministers opted for Russia's advance into Turkistan through the Kazakh steppe. In 1868 the Russian troops defeated the Bukhara Emirate and in 1873 they defeated the Khiva Khanate. Some Turkmen tribes voluntarily accepted Russian protection and were peacefully assimilated into the Russian Empire. Others refused the Russian advance and organized fierce resistance. For example, in 1879 a coalition of Turkmen tribes led by Nurberdy-Khan forced the Russian expedition forces led by General Nikolai Lomakin to retreat with significant loses in ammunition and man power. Yet, in the important battle at Geok Tepe fortress in January 1881, the independent-minded Turkmen tribes were defeated with great losses in military manpower and among the civilian population. But it took several years before the Turkmens of Merv finally accepted Russian rule in 1884–1885.

Around the same time, the Russians and the British negotiated spheres of influence in the Central Asian region and in Persia, as the British government recognized Russian "interests" over western Turkistan, including the vast territories populated by Turkman tribes; and the Russians recognized the British interests in Persia and Afghanistan.

Economic Changes during the Tsarist Era

One of the major economic objectives of the Russian Empire in Central Asia, including the Turkmen land, was to tap into the natural and economic resources of the region and to integrate it into the Russian market. It also wanted to develop transportation and communication infrastructures and various industries in order to serve the military and economic needs of the Empire.

These were arduous tasks because much of the land populated by Turkmens was economically underdeveloped. By the end of the 19th century most of the Turkmens were engaged in a subsistence economy. Those who were engaged in semi-pastoral nomadic animal husbandry, raising horses (Turkmens were very famous for the Akhal Teke breed of horses), sheep, goats, and camels in the outskirts of the major oases and in the Garagum Desert were called *charva* (cattle breeder). Their technique, developed through hundreds of years, utilized the unique climate and land resources in their homeland without damaging them. The *charvas* skillfully searched for underground water and for the best pasture for their animals and seasonally migrated from one water-shaft to another. This semi-pastoral nomadism in the Garagum Desert provided a unique economic niche for the Turkmen tribes. Meanwhile, some Turkmens (called *chomur* [pronounced "chomu'r"] or settled peasant) were engaged in subsistence farming of wheat, barley, and oats, although they also cultivated some crops like cotton, rice, fruits (such as apricots and grapes), and vegetables. In some small towns and villages the Turkmens worked as craftsmen producing and repairing everyday equipment, clothes, weaponry, silk, etc. Some Turkmen women were making highly valued handmade Turkoman (Turkmen) carpets for domestic use and for sale or exchange in the large bazaars.

Among the very first steps of the Russian administration in the Turkmen land was building the Zacaspian railroad (1880–1888) from Krasnovodsk to Kizilarvat (now Serdar), Askabad (now Ashgabat), and farther to Merv (Mary) and Samarkand. With the introduction of the faster and cheaper transportation system, the dealers were able to place bigger orders for the goods that were in demand in Russian and European markets, such as cotton, thereby changing agricultural patterns in the region. Within a few decades the local economy experienced significant transformations and development that completely changed the economy, trade patterns and way of living among the Turkmens. Capitalism

created a powerful market force and economic incentives for the development of modern economy and consolidation of modern identities.

One of the most important consequences of the economic development from the 1890s until 1917 was in agriculture. The *chomurs* were increasingly turning to the most important commercial crop—cotton. The scale of the change was significant. According to official sources, for example, the farmers increased production of cotton from 300 tons in 1890 to 64,000 tons in 1913. Also, new technologies in land cultivation and a better quality of the agricultural equipment led to significant increases in productivity. Hundreds of small workshops and plants were opened in all major towns and cities, producing various products (like leather, karakul—astrakhan fur, etc.) not only for local consumption but also for exports to Russia, Iran, and some other countries.

Among the other important economic consequences of that era were monitarization of the economy and a significant increase in and diversification of trade between Turkmenistan and various parts of Turkistan and with Russia. In the early 1800s Russian trade caravans could spend weeks of dangerous travel through the Garagum Desert in order to reach the bazaars of Khiva, Bukhara, or Samarkand. The quantity of goods traded was limited, and the market was tiny due to continuous political instability and economic stagnation. The Zacaspian railway built in the 1880s provided Russian entrepreneurs with quick and inexpensive access to most important areas of Turkistan. The new mode of transportation made trade between Russia and Turkistan easier and faster. Steel, glassware, and other industrial goods, as well as grain, were brought to the Turkistan markets in exchange for agricultural products, such as leather, silk, karakul (astrakhan fur), cotton, etc.

Economic changes and the excesses of the early wild Russian capitalism contributed significantly to changing the social structures and to increasing the polarization of Turkmen society. More Turkmen families abandoned their subsistence activities and economic and cultural isolation and switched to commercial activities, such as commercial crop cultivation or animal husbandry. Local landlords, khans, and *bai*s concentrated a large portion of wealth in their hands. Meanwhile, many other social categories lost traditional tribal and communal support. Some of the poorest members of society left agriculture altogether in search of new sources of income. According to a survey conducted in 1914, about 50 percent of the farmers had no equipment of their own

and about 28 percent had no livestock of their own. Sixty percent of the poorest members of the society owned only about 21 percent of the arable land, while 11 percent of the richest members of the society owned 41 percent of the arable land.[7] Some poor farmers began abandoning agriculture and accepting wage labor at large plantations or in various workshops or plants, thus accumulating industrial and managerial skills. Others were trapped in misery, hunger, and hardship. The new economic realities also began to erode the tribal and regional isolation and affected the nucleus of traditional Turkmen society—the extended family—as people began to engage in various economic activities outside their families and tribes. Market relations also undermined traditional lifestyles and values among Turkmen people, who were previously mainly engaged in subsistence agriculture and animal husbandry, and in limited barter (exchange) trade with their neighbors.

Social and Cultural Changes

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Turkmen society experienced a profound social transformation that was partly brought on by the Russian Empire and partly by the indigenous social and political revival across Central Asia, the Middle East, and South Asia. In the early 20th century Turkmen society could witness the emergence of nationalism that, in Ernest Gellner's terms, was "the consequence of a new form of social organization, based on deeply internalized, education-dependent high culture . . . [and] some of the pre-existing cultures," in which a common language-based literacy was "the minimal requirement for full citizenship, for effective moral membership in a modern community."

The new economic environment and technological innovations in agriculture, trade, and industries that arrived at the region during the colonial era sharply increased demands for skilled and educated people. The Russian administration and businesses needed more educated representatives of the native population who were able to speak and write both in Russian and Turkmen and also capable of dealing with increasingly complex issues of local governance, taxation, management, and other matters. At the same time, there was a growing demand at the community level for literate people to calculate taxes, read official documents, and write letters, reports, and other documents. Responding to the demand, more people went to schools or colleges, studied the

Russian language, math, sciences, engineering, etc., and the educators themselves introduced changes in the curricula.

There was significant change in the structure of the educational system in the Zacaspian *oblast* in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. In the 19th century the educational institutions were primarily represented by a network of *mekdeps* (primary schools) and *medreses* (religious schools) unevenly distributed around the province. This network traditionally covered only old urban areas and some towns close to them. In the early 20th century both the Russian administration and the local communities invested in expanding the primary education network for both the Russian and Turkmen population. Wealthy individuals and local communities supported *mekdeps* and *medresses* and by 1915 their number had increased to 210 and 85 respectively. From a purely practical point of view, the quality and usefulness of the education at these schools was very low as the students were taught mainly religious subjects and practically no math or sciences. Between 1900 and 1917 Muslim reformers, inspired by the reforms in other parts of the Russian Empire, attempted to introduce new educational curricula (*usul-i dzhadid*) and included some secular subjects in the *mekdeps'* and *medreses'* curricula. By 1916–1917 some *mekdeps* began using the new curriculum and significantly improved the quality of education. At the same time the Russian authorities established a network of secular schools, the so-called *Russko-Tuzemnyie shkoly* [Russian-native schools], open for admission to Turkmen children. The education focused on secular subjects, such as math, geography, history, and some others, and they were taught primarily in Russian, although the Turkmen language was also included in the curriculum. According to the official statistics, there were 11 such schools in the Zacaspian *oblast* by 1908.

Yet, most of the Turkmen population could not afford even primary education and illiteracy was widespread. According to official reports in 1897 the literacy rate among Turkmen males was about 11.5 percent and among women it was only about 2.7 percent.[8] Very few Turkmens could read and write in Russian. The main obstacle was very limited funding for education from the Russian budget and limited resources available from local communities to maintain any kind of schools.

However, representatives of the nobility, especially of those in the Russian military services, and very wealthy families could afford to send their children to the best colleges in Saint Petersburg, Moscow,

Kazan (Russia), as well as to Istanbul (Ottoman Turkey) and some other places. Gradually a new literate and well-educated Turkmen intelligentsia began to emerge. Many of them began to join intellectual debates within their region and Russia in general and they started to think and to talk about themselves in profoundly new ways, rising above tribal identities and thinking in terms of a new national consciousness.

The newly born Turkmen intelligentsia began increasingly to turn to the press in expressing their ideas and thoughts. During the colonial era most of the newly established newspapers were published in Russian, including the oldest newspapers in the Zacaspian *oblast—Zakaspiiskoie Obozrenie* (established in 1895) and *Asgabad* (established in 1899). However, the Turkmen elite could also receive newspapers, journals, and books from Turkey, Persia, and such Muslim intellectual centers as Tashkent, Kazan, and Ufa, as well as some others that were published in various languages. In 1914 a group of native activists established the first non-Russian local newspaper, *Ruzname maverai bahri khazar* (Zacaspian Native Newspaper), that was published in the Turkmen and Persian languages.

With the arrival of mass transportation and communication systems, the Turkmens significantly broadened their knowledge about their own land and the land outside the Central Asian region. Many people began to travel beyond their traditional *auls* (villages) for education purposes, military service, various jobs, and trade opportunities. Some Turkmens abandoned their traditional lifestyles and often their professions, and settled down in cities and towns mixing with representatives of different tribes and different nationalities. The Turkmen elite, especially those who gained access to the Russian military service, completely changed their lifestyle and began rejecting the traditional tribal pattern of socialization. In this regard, the Turkmen elite had been in a privileged position, as according to an Imperial decree the Turkmens could join the military service in the Turkmen cavalry division (established in 1885), and some of them were accepted into the Imperial military college. At the same time even ordinary people began changing their lifestyle and working habits, as many people gave up seminomadic pastoral life and settled as peasants, building larger permanent houses and switching to different working patterns.

All together, these factors led to the emergence of new political groups and a new intellectual discourse. Among the most notable ideas

were those of Ismail Gaspirali (1851–1914) and other Muslim reformers (*Dzhadids*), who pioneered reforms within Islamic society through peaceful means, education, and cultural openness. Between 1905 and 1917 liberal and social-democratic ideas made their way into the Turkmen land. The Central Asian intelligentsia, which included some young Turkmens, was increasingly involved in intellectual debates with the various reformists and revolutionary groups and parties of the Russian Empire. Many of them became dissatisfied by the backwardness of their societies and their native land and were highly critical of colonial policies in Turkistan but they opted to accept the changes. Some of them called to learn and borrow the best achievements of Western civilization, including the Russian culture and language. Others showed their dissatisfaction with an increasingly materialistic culture and turned to Islamic values and to new interpretations of Islamic political and social thought. A very small group condemned social injustices and absorbed radical revolutionary ideas and joined the Bolshevik movement.

The growing dissatisfaction with the political and social order in all areas of the Russian empire led to a series of uprisings, strikes, and acts of disobedience between 1900 and 1916, and finally exploded in the liberal-democratic revolution of February 1917. Tsar Nicholas II was forced to abdicate and the *Duma* (Russian parliament) declared the establishment of the Russian Republic. Small liberal and revolutionary groups and intelligentsia in Central America cherished the peaceful revolution, although the general population in Turkmenistan ignored the event, which very soon radically changed the course of political and social development in the region in general and in the Zacaspian province in particular.

Administrative and Demographic Changes

Until the 19th century there was no clear delimitation in the territory populated by the Turkmen tribes. Powerful neighboring states frequently invaded the Turkmens and established their control over the various Turkmen tribes and their land only to face another conflict with each other or rebellion of the Turkmens. Neither the Khiva Khanate nor the Persian Empire could establish firm control over the Turkmen land or fix its administrative boundaries. Administrative and taxation duties at the provincial level often were entrusted to envoys whose main task was to keep tight military control over the Turkmen tribes and to collect

exorbitant taxes and repatriations. Administrative duties at the village (*oba*) and community level were given to loyal Turkmen tribal leaders or *aksakals* (respected elders) who were willing to accept the authority of the khans or shahs. They negotiated and settled conflicts over pastures or arable lands, or conflicts over migration routes during the seasonal movement of cattle. Traditionally people referred to the various administrative units as "the land of Yomuds," "the land of Tekes," or "the land of Salyrs."

The Russian Empire quickly established new administrative units and reshaped administrative borders according to its own administrative needs and thus crossed many centuries-old tribal boundaries. All Turkmen territory under Russian control (a significant part of the areas populated by Turkmens remained outside the Tsarist reach under Persian, Khivan, and Bukharan control) was brought into a single administrative entity—the Zakaspian *oblast* (province). This *oblast* in turn was subdivided into Askhabad, Merv, Tejen, Krasnovodsk, and Mangyshlak *yezds* (districts). The Russian Imperial administration adopted several incentives for local leaders to cooperate with the Tsarist administration. It left local administration and the judiciary system in the hands of the native tribal leaders (*khans, aksakals,* etc.), while local criminal justice was left in the hands of *kazys* (Islamic judges), who resolved small claims and disputes under *Shariah* (Islamic law) or *Adat* (traditional customary law). However, in the early 20th century the Russians introduced a new requirement demanding that the native administrators should derive their legitimacy from elections, not through inheritance or nobility. This was the most important political change, as the introduction of an electoral system on the *volost'* and *uyezd* level brought together different tribal and kinship groups replacing traditional inheritance of the leadership.

In addition to administrative changes the Russian authorities brought significant demographic and ethnic changes. In the late 19th century increasing numbers of Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, and others began to move into the region in search of employment and trading and business opportunities, or were simply exiled to the outskirts of the Russian Empire. Many of them were involved in the new administration, and in several construction projects, especially the construction and servicing of the Zacaspian railroad, and in the oil extracting industries in Krasnovodsk.

According to the census of 1897, about 372,000 people lived in the *oblast* including about 330,000 Turkmens.[9] In addition there were about 42,000 representatives of other nationalities, including Armenians, Azeris, Kazakhs, Persians, Russians, etc. The next census, conducted in 1913, showed significant changes in the ethnic composition in this area. According to the 1913 census, the population increased to about 443,000 people, whereas the Turkmen population decreased slightly to about 322,000 people. The number of other nationalities nearly tripled or increased to about 121,000.[10] The population was spread unevenly, as most of the Russians, Armenians, Persians, and some others lived in the major cities, such as Askhabad and Krasnovodsk, while Turkmens lived in the rural areas and small towns mainly in the southeast, east, and northeast parts of the *oblast*. The urban centers increasingly served not only trade but also the industrial needs of the local people, repairing and producing agricultural and other equipment. Many newcomers established medium-sized farms, specializing in commercial production of wheat and other grains, as well as potatoes and vegetables, and other crops. These centers also hosted the first medical and health facilities, which began the first-ever vaccinations against major diseases. The Zacaspian *oblast* also become a place of exile for many intellectuals and political activists, who were in opposition to the Tsarist regime, and who contributed significantly to the development of local education, culture, and intellectual exchange.

Relations between the newcomers and the Turkmens were not always smooth. The economic changes significantly disrupted the traditional ways of life and led to increasing social polarization. The local communities blamed the Russians for growing poverty, loss of lands and pastures, and various social ills. There were some newcomers who mistreated and exploited the Turkmen workers. There was also mounting anger against rampant corruption among local administrators, and especially tax collectors. The economic recession of 1900–1903 and the Russian Empire's defeat in the Russian-Japanese war in 1904 led to hardship and economic difficulties throughout the Empire. Many social groups, especially workers, were dissatisfied with deteriorating living standards, mismanagement, corruption, and mistreatment at their workplace. Various revolutionary groups, including Social Democrats (predecessors of

the Bolsheviks) attempted to direct sporadic strikes and uprisings into an organized revolutionary movement defending the workers rights and criticizing the Tsarist government. Between 1905 and 1907 the workers led by the various political groups organized several mass strikes, meetings, and demonstrations in major cities in the Zacaspian *oblast* and on the Zacaspian railway. Importantly, the first young Turkmens and the representatives of newly born Turkmen intelligentsia began gradually joining this revolutionary movement, although at that stage most of the ethnic Turkmens were not involved in any political activities.

The Tsarist administration managed to suppress the revolutionary uprisings of 1905–1907, but was unable to eliminate the revolutionary groups that continued their underground political activities. A new wave of social disturbances emerged in 1914–1916, as the Russian involvement in World War I negatively affected various groups of society and led to economic depression, skyrocketing prices for food and goods, high inflation, and a burden of new war taxes. This growing dissatisfaction finally gave way in mid-1916 to a major uprising triggered by the Tsar's decree to mobilize about 250,000 Turkistanis, including 15,000 people from the Zacaspian *oblast,* to carry out war-related duties in the unpopular war of Russia against Germany and its ally Turkey. Traditionally, the Turkmens maintained close relations with Ottoman Turkey, which was historically and linguistically close to the Turkic people and had enormous cultural and religious influence as the guardian of the Holy Places. This time many Turkmens were involved in the uprising, which became the largest anticolonial uprising in Central Asia. They rebelled in many small villages and towns and attacked the tax collectors, destroyed administrative centers and gendarmerie headquarters, and killed representatives of the local administration and police. It took nearly six months for the Imperial administration to brutally suppress the uprising by using the gendarmerie, its regular army, and Cossack regiments. Hundreds of people were arrested, beaten up, or forced out of their land and homes. Among the rioters were Babaklych, Esen-Khan, Mergen-Khan, Junaid-Khan (Dzhunaid-Khan), and others, who later played significant roles in the Basmachy movement against the Russian and Soviet administrations. Although the uprising was brutally suppressed in late 1916, some communities and organized revolutionary groups continued their actions well into 1917.

TURKMENISTAN UNDER THE SOVIET SYSTEM

Creation of Turkmenistan

The February revolution of 1917 and establishment of the Russian republic did not bring stability, order, or any improvement in the everyday life of ordinary people. The new government, however, did not end the war and conducted very limited political and economic reforms that barely had any effect on the ground. Very soon, though, the news about the new events—the Bolshevik Revolution—arrived at the Turkmen land. The Bolsheviks promised to bring radical changes by ending World War I, bringing peace, and distributing arable land among ordinary peasants. They confronted the Russian colonial administration with their demands to transfer the power to the newly created local legislature—the *Sovety*. These events profoundly affected the Turkmen land and deeply polarized the Turkmen population, as the confrontation between various political forces of the former Russian Empire quickly escalated into civil war and political anarchy. A rifle and revolver became one of the most frequently used arguments in that time and various political groups and sometimes simply gangs of criminals began fighting each other and brutalizing civilians in the merciless war.

Most of the Turkmen elite supported monarchists and anti-Bolshevik forces, simply because the elite would have been the first to lose their wealth and their influence if the Bolsheviks were to implement their threats to confiscate the properties and land of "bourgeois, landlords and other exploiters."[11] This support was not necessarily politically motivated, but often it was an attempt to preserve a preexisting order and way of life. Yet, very small groups of representatives of the native Turkmen population and Turkmen intellectuals supported various political parties, including Social Democrats and the Bolsheviks. The revolutionary groups in Krasnovodsk, Askhabad, and other urban areas organized their supporters and attempted to establish political and military control over the *oblast*, while their colleagues elsewhere in Central Asia and in Russia were energetically taking over the old administrative structures and creating new political institutions. Initially, ordinary people, especially native Turkmens, remained indecisive about the ideology and motives of the various political forces, although they were inclined to support their tribal and community leaders.

The revolution also gave a great impulse to the rise of anticolonial and proindependence sentiment and to the rise of nationalism in Turk-

men society similar to that of other parts of the former Russian Empire and in the British Empire. Some Turkmen intellectuals were involved in the regionwide debates about the future of Turkistan and Turkistan society, learning about various ideas from the nationalism of Alash Orda in Kazakh land to pan-Turkism and the pan-Islamic ideas of *Shuro-Islami* in Kokand and Tashkent. In the meantime, the Soviet authorities promised to support the national drive and to break with Tsardom's practice of suppressing cultural and political developments on the outskirts of the Empire. In this environment on April 30, 1918, the All-Turkistan Congress of Soviets declared the establishment of the Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (TASSR) with its center in Tashkent. The TASSR included the Zacaspian *oblast* as one of its administrative units.

By mid-1918 the situation had become even more complicated with the British involvement in the civil war. In the summer of 1918 the British expeditionary regiment led by General W. Malleson entered the Zacaspian *oblast* and occupied Merv, Askhabat, Kyzyl-Arvat (now Serdar), Krasnovodsk, and some other places. The British also provided military and financial assistance to all major anti-Bolshevik forces. With escalation of the civil war and fighting, both Bolshevik and anti-Bolshevik groups showed no mercy to their opponents, prisoners of war, or the local population, which provided support to opposite groups, killing political leaders, commanders, and even ordinary soldiers and their families. The White Guards regularly executed members of the Bolshevik party in the area under their control. In the most publicized event British officers presided over the execution of the commissars of the Zakaspian *oblast* in the outskirts of Askhabad in 1918. Meanwhile, the Red Army soldiers also systematically executed pro-Monarchist Russian officers and confiscated and damaged properties of wealthy individuals. With increasing atrocities most of the people in Turkistan and in the Zacaspian *oblast* had no other choice but to take sides. The native population often set up its own militia, frequently led by ambitious commanders, tribal leaders, or sometimes just adventurers, who were better known as the Basmachy fighters. The Basmachy (from the Turkic *basma*, "assault") fought either against the Bolsheviks or the representatives of the pro-Tsarist White Guards or both, resisting the imposition of any outside control in their land. For example, one of the most acclaimed *basmachi* Turkmen commanders—Junaid-Khan—successfully

established his military control over the Khiva Khanate and fought against the Red Army throughout 1918–1920. The *basmachi* attracted some professional warriors from overseas, including Turkish General Enver Pasha, who provided military expertise and attempted to unite the *basmachi* movement in order to establish a pan-Turkic Republic.

The Red Army troops suffered defeat, and in 1918 and 1919 they were pushed away from most of the territory of the Zacaspian *oblast*. Gradually, however, the Red Army and the Bolsheviks reemerged from the early setbacks and gathered strength on the promise to stop civil war, conduct wide-ranging economic and social reforms, including redistribution of land and water, and on the pledge of greater freedoms and opportunities for the local population. In fact, the Bolsheviks began to involve the local native population into the local legislature (*Sovety*) and local governments (*Ispolkomy*) and to form a representative provincial government recruiting many ethnic Turkmens. The Bolsheviks also introduced their nationality program promising greater cultural and political autonomy to the native population. By 1920 the situation in the Central Asian region had dramatically changed as the Red Army gradually restored its control over the most important strategic centers and drove White Guards and British troops out of the TASSR and defeated major basmachi groups. In 1920 the Red Army was also involved in the large people's uprisings in Bukhara against Sayyid Alim Khan, the last ruler of the Bukhara Emirate, and in Khiva against Sayyid Abdulla, the last ruler of the Khiva Khanate. With the direct assistance of the Soviet authorities, People's republics were established in both places.

In the next step the Kremlin introduced administrative delimitation in the Central Asian region and embraced the ideas of those Central Asian leaders who suggested dividing the region along vague ethnic lines. The idea of creating a Central Asian federation or pan-Turkic republic was firmly rejected by Josef Stalin, who presided over the project. In an important revision, the Zacaspian *Oblast* was renamed the Turkmen *Oblast* in August 1921. Then, on October 27, 1924, the Central Executive Committee (a branch of the Soviet government) issued a decree on delimitation of the Central Asian region and establishment of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (that included the territories of the Turkmen *Oblast*, western districts of the Bukhara People's Soviet Republic, and Khiva People's Soviet Republic).

This step signified an important change in the political development of the region, as Central Asia was divided exclusively along still relatively vague and weak ethnic identities. Yet, despite all controversies about the Soviet-style, nation-state-building project, it clearly contributed to consolidation of the national identity of the Turkmens and established a foundation for development of the political and social institutions of the modern state.

Between 1924 and 1926 the Soviet authorities completed a politically controversial border delimitation scheme, which was at the time hotly debated and contested. There were no serious delimitation problems along the borders with Iran and Afghanistan.[12] However, the territorial delimitation became a very difficult task in the areas with the traditionally mixed populations of the eastern provinces of Turkmenistan, especially in the Charjou (now Lebap *welayat*) and Tashauz province (now Dashoguz *welayat*). The Soviet leaders managed to convince the local elite that the borders would play purely symbolic roles due to the political and social integration and intraregional cooperation within the Soviet Union. For administrative purposes, the TSSR was divided into five provinces (then called *okrug*s): Charjouskii, Kerkinskii, Mervskii, Poltoratskii, and Tashauzskii. There were several changes in the administrative structure, and some provinces and major cities were renamed several times during the Soviet era, but this administrative division was preserved with some minor changes until present. Although this division was established primarily for administrative and planning purposes, it reflected both the peculiarities of economic geography and, in some degree, the tribal division of the Turkmen society.

Within the next few years the Soviet government introduced a series of political changes to consolidate political power and to alternate political identities that were traditionally formed along tribal, social, and ethnic lines. First, all political parties other than the Bolshevik (renamed later the Communist Party) were banned and some native political groups were amalgamated into the ruling Bolshevik party. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet authorities prohibited the tribal and community leaders and former Tsarist intelligentsia from holding any position in the state administration or in the Communist Party and later initiated deportation and execution of the most influential khans and *bais*. In the next step the former members of opposition parties were purged, including both those who joined the ruling party and those who retired

from politics, peacefully accepting the Soviet authorities. By the late 1920s political debates and political factions were banned within the ruling party. In the 1930s Josef Stalin's new series of purges within the party and the state administration took place. The scale of the purges within the party could be illustrated by the following figures—the membership in the Communist Party of Turkmenistan decreased from about 10,500 in 1930 to about 6,700 in 1935.[13] According to various estimates, in the 1930s between 10,000 and 20,000 party members were executed or sent to prisons or to *Gulag* labor camps in Siberia. In addition, between 20,000 and 50,000 ordinary Turkmenistani citizens disappeared in Stalin's concentration camps, were banished to political exile in Siberia, or were executed as "enemies of the people."

Secondly, the Kremlin attempted to involve the native Turkmen population in the administration and governance in order to win their political loyalty. Josef Stalin introduced and persistently implemented the policy of indigenization (*korenizatsia*) of the state administration at all levels. From the first days of the creation of the Turkmen SSR, certain positions at the local, provincial, and state levels were strictly reserved for the native population, although at the same time certain positions, especially in the party apparatus and the security services, were reserved for representatives of the Slavic nationalities. The policy of *korenizatsia* also included mass enrollment of Turkmens in the Communist Party of Turkmenistan and creation of a new class of national "Soviet" intelligentsia. Symbolically, with the establishment of the first Turkmen government in February 1925, ethnic Turkmen Nadirbai Aitakov was elected as the first chairman of the Presidium of the Central Executive Committee (i.e., head of the state) and ethnic Turkmen Kaigysyz Atabayev as the first Chairman of the Council of the People's Commissars (i.e., the prime minister).

Thirdly, the Soviet central government introduced completely new political and administrative systems in Turkmenistan that evolved around the ruling Communist Party of Turkmenistan (CPT). The CPT controlled the Supreme Soviet (Parliament), the Council of Ministers, the administrative apparatus of the state at all levels. Throughout the 1930s and 1940s Josef Stalin engineered the formation of the *nomenklatura*, the carefully selected cadres of the Communist Party, who were appointed to all key positions in the state apparatus and gained unlimited and unchecked control over resources and decision-making proce-

dures. During the Stalin era the highest positions in the Communist Party were frequently rotated, usually among non-Turkmens, although after World War II ethnic Turkmens—Sh. Batyrov and S. Babayev—were entrusted to lead the CPT.

Stalin's successor—Nikita Khrushchev (1956–1964)—attempted to reform the political system established by Stalin, introducing a wide range of reforms and denouncing terror and mass purges. Khrushchev-led political and economic changes significantly liberalized the political system, although these changes were inconsistent and did not last long. Khrushchev's appointees—Dzh. Garayev and B. Ovezov—implemented economic and social changes initiated by the Kremlin. The next leader—Secretary General Leonid Brezhnev (who led the USSR from 1966 to 1982)—rejected Khrushchev's political and social liberalization, although he stopped short of returning to the purges of Stalin's years. Brezhnev completely abandoned the Khrushchev style of erratic campaigns, but gave relative freedom to the national *nomenklatura* in terms of the cadre policy and redistribution of the national budget. He also showed indifference to growing corruption. Muhammetnazar Gapurov, who ruled the Turkmen SSR from 1969 to 1985, proved to be one of the Kremlin's most loyal communist leaders in the Central Asian region and a fairly effective administrator, although under his leadership political corruption in Turkmenistan began to penetrate all corners of the state and the Communist Party.

Yet, behind the glossy picture of Communist Party unity and comprehensive welfare system prosperity, the reality was very different. The Bolsheviks came to power with a promise to eliminate social injustice and exploitation, and initially they did try to force social equality, promoted most talented youth to the highest political and administrative positions, regardless of their tribal affiliation or social background, and gave free access to education, social, and other benefits to all people. However, gradually spreading nepotism and political corruption undermined the whole system, as the *nomenklatura* began establishing its exclusive control over all resources in the country. Thus, many party bosses amassed fortunes through bribes, embezzling public funds, or accounting manipulations. In the case of Turkmenistan, most lucrative and prestigious positions, even places at universities and public institutions, began to be taken by well-connected individuals or members of the patronage networks. Many appointments and promotions in Turkmenistan were determined not by the talents of individuals,

but by bribes, personal connections, or support from patronage (often tribal-based) networks. The Kremlin intended to eliminate tribal and regional competitions and rivalries in Turkmenistan, but old identities survived the harsh Stalin-era transformation and flourished under the indecisive leadership of Leonid Brezhnev.

The Soviet government under Secretary General Yurii Andropov attempted to fight corruption in the early 1980s; this move backfired. Turkmenistani party leaders and national intelligentsia, like leaders and national intelligentsia in other Union Republics, began to demand greater autonomy from the Kremlin, although for very different reasons. The *nomenklatura* wanted unlimited political and economic control in their republics, while the intelligentsia desired greater freedoms and was frustrated by the ineffectiveness of the state and by rampant corruption. In the mid-1980s Mikhail Gorbachev (who led the USSR from 1985 to 1991) attempted to address these and other problems through his policies of perestroika and glasnost. He tried to reduce political tensions in the USSR through greater pluralism and democratization. However, his attempt to fight corruption and put under more or less transparent control the power of the *nomenklatura* alienated conservative Communist Party leaders not only in Moscow but also in the Union Republics, while his mismanagement and inconsistency in the economic and political reforms alienated the entire population. In the meantime, the local Turkmen intelligentsia attempted to organize pressure on the conservative leaders of the CPT, organizing themselves into a popular movement—Agzybirlik, and demanding political changes in the republic. In the end these incomplete reforms, infighting between liberal and conservative factions within the Communist Party, complicated with nationalistic groups and liberal intelligentsia, led to political instability and consequently to severe political crises and rising tensions in all regions of the USSR, including Turkmenistan.

In this environment the Union Republics, including Turkmenistan, demanded to revise the Soviet Union Treaty of 1922 and the Soviet Constitution in order to gain greater sovereignty in their economic, social, and cultural policies. The debates and confrontations over the nature of these changes culminated in 1990 and 1991 in a bitter political struggle between the central government and the Union Republics, between conservatives and reformers. This confrontation diminished both the Kremlin's ability to control political developments and the Com-

munist Party's exclusive grip on power, and led to numerous constitutional changes at both the Union and Republic levels.[14]

Finally, the conservative members of the Soviet Politburo, the highest decision-making body in the USSR, launched a coup d'état in August 1991 in order to save the Soviet Union and bring the Union republics back under the Kremlin's control. They failed, but the Russian leadership under Boris Yeltsin declared its intention to dissolve the USSR. The peaceful disintegration of the Soviet Union gave Turkmenistan a chance to declare its independence. That is exactly what the Turkmenistani Parliament did on October 27, 1991, as it announced its independence from the USSR, effectively ending 70 years of the Soviet system.

Economic Changes in the Soviet Era

In their economic policies the Soviet authorities always emphasized the state-led development in which the centralized command economy was extensively used in mobilizing all resources of the state for rapid economic transformation. An important part of this policy was the focus on speedy industrialization, especially the heavy industries, and developing state-controlled large-scale agriculture. In the cornerstone of this system was the centralized economic planning. The five-year planning was ideally intended to produce accelerated and balanced development; in reality, though, these plans often emphasized large and prestigious projects ignoring cost-effectiveness and the rapid technological changes especially in the second half of the 20th century. In addition, the labor force and people's creativity was used inefficiently as the Soviet policies prohibited private entrepreneurship. The economic policies were designed to create full employment and this politically motivated concept combined with the centralized command planning undermined private incentives and consequently economic development and growth.

In the first stage during the 1920s and early 1930s the main objective was to rebuild the colonial era enterprises and transportation infrastructure and to restructure them according to the new demands of Central Asian and Russian economic development. Turkmenistan emerged from the calamities of the revolution and civil war with a totally destroyed economy and dysfunctional market. The civil war era rivals on

all sides randomly robbed the civilian population and destroyed properties, especially industrial enterprises and transportation infrastructure, thereby driving large segments of the population into subsistence economic activities. Large groups of skilled workers, owners, managers, and intelligentsia were forced to escape from the areas of the conflict and often chose to migrate to other countries. Thus, in addition to other problems Turkmenistan experienced a severe shortage of experienced and educated workers, especially engineers and managers. On the other hand, Turkmenistan had some advantages over other Central Asian republics, such as Uzbekistan and Tajikistan. Turkmenistan possessed large reserves of oil and other mineral resources. It was also allocated significant investments from the Soviet budget into its agriculture, especially such highly valued cash crops as cotton and silk. It had established transportation infrastructure, such as railroads, that was extended well into the strategically important Caspian Sea region. In addition Turkmenistan was relatively close to the prospective markets in Central Russia and Europe.

In the 1930s and 1940s the Soviet authorities directed large investments from the central Soviet budget into development of heavy and petrochemical industries and into machinery, textile, light manufacturing, and mining enterprises. According to the official reports, more than 90 new industrial plants were built in Turkmenistan during the first stage of industrialization (1928–1932), including textile and silk-processing factories, electric power stations, and many others.[15] During the 1930s, for example, oil extraction increased from about 8,000 tons in 1929 to 500,000 tons in 1937. The industrial production in the republic grew at an average annual rate of about 12 to 14 percent during the first three *piatiletkas* (five-year plans).

World War II negatively affected the economic development in the USSR, however, the Turkmen SSR remained outside of the main battlefields and it managed to avoid the huge economic decline that was experienced in western parts of the USSR, such as the Ukraine and Byelorussia. In fact, in 1941–1942 about 70 enterprises were evacuated from the western provinces of the Ukraine and Russian Federation and relocated to Turkmenistan, sometimes along with their workers, engineers, and technical staff. Some of these factories and plants remained in the republic after the war, and they became the backbone of Turkmenistan's heavy industry.

In the postwar period the central Soviet government allocated significant resources to Turkmenistan's oil and gas extracting sectors and to building long oil and gas pipelines to deliver these products to central Russia, the Caucasus, and the Ukraine. By 1989 Turkmenistan produced 23 percent of its GDP in the industrial sector, specializing in processing raw materials (oil, gas, etc.) and manufacturing agricultural machinery, electric motors, textiles, garments, and consumer goods.[16]

The agricultural sector, like industries, also received significant resources and subsidies from the central Soviet government. However, despite all efforts to create an efficient agricultural sector based on large state-controlled farming, the outcome was very different. The initial conditions in the agricultural sector in the post-civil war era were very similar to the situation in the industrial sector—large agricultural farms were destroyed and most of the people were engaged in the traditional subsistence farming and livestock breeding, often just able to cover personal and family needs in food but unable to produce anything to sell in the market. The land and water resources were distributed unequally and they were under different forms of traditional community and private ownership—*mulk*, *sanashik*, *vaqf*, etc.

In May 1925 the Soviet government abolished private ownership of the land. In 1926–1927 the reform regarding land and water were taken a step further as they were expropriated from the large and rich landlords and religious endowments and were distributed among the poor farmers. Yet, subsistence farming still dominated the agricultural sector in Turkmenistan. And a few years later—in 1929 and 1930—the Soviet authorities launched a campaign of collectivization, sedentarization, and sovietization of Turkmen *auls* (*auls* is a small village, where tribal and extended family units often settle together). Many Turkmen farmers resisted the expropriation of their land and their cattle into *kolkhozy* and many families chose to migrate to neighboring Afghanistan and Iran in order to escape the brutal excesses of collectivization and sedentarization.

The collectivization campaign had long-lasting consequences. First, it introduced large-scale farming and the mechanization of the agricultural sector, so that it became easy to control and direct the choice of agricultural crops and to specialize in certain products, such as cotton. This dramatically increased the output of agricultural products and elevated most of the farmers out of utter poverty and social disparity. Second, it allowed the imposition of changes in the social and political behavior

and the enforcement of the so-called cultural revolution (see the next section). Throughout the Soviet era Turkmenistan specialized in production of cotton, becoming the second largest producer of cotton in the USSR, and among important producers of wool, silk, fruits, and vegetables. By 1989 Turkmenistan produced about 43 percent of its GDP in agriculture.

The Soviet authorities often ignored the service sector and it remained relatively underdeveloped and inefficient during the Soviet era. The Soviet retail and hospitality sectors became notorious for their "Soviet" style low-quality services. By the 1980s the retail sector was seriously unbalanced and this led to a chronic deficit of consumer goods and a wide range of other products. Even the healthcare and educational services in which the Soviet authorities invested huge resources throughout the 1940s, 1950s, and 1960s were in decay in the 1980s. In this environment the black market burgeoned. In the 1970s and 1980s the shadow economy flourished providing access to retail, healthcare, and other services (that supposedly were free in the Soviet system) for cash.

Overall, the results of nearly 70 years of Soviet state-led development were quite mixed. On the one hand, the Soviet economic policy and centralized allocation of resources accelerated industrial development and economic growth to unprecedented rates. Turkmenistan's GDP was doubling every 12 to 15 years. The state provided most of the population with free training, lifetime employment opportunities, and the elevation of significant groups of the population out of absolute poverty. Famine and mass diseases became practically unknown after World War II. The government invested further into development of the free secondary, specialized, vocational, and high education and social welfare systems. On the other hand, the Soviet policies were implemented brutally and very often at very high human, environmental and economic cost. In the late 1970s and 1980s, along with the rest of the USSR, Turkmenistan entered a decade of stagnation, due to the accumulated distortions in the economy, unsustainable military spending, and the inability of the Soviet system to catch up with the latest wave of technological progress. Many government projects became dangerously underfunded, including housing, communication infrastructure, etc. Moreover, by the 1970s economic development increasingly relied on unsustainable exploitation of natural resources, ecologically damaging the monoculture of cotton.

The Gorbachev-Ryzhkov administration's economic mismanagement and mistakes in implementing reforms led to the collapse of economic relations between the republics in 1990–1991. The Turkmenistani government, along with the government of other Soviet republics, began to question the wisdom of centralized control over the economy. Gradually it demanded greater autonomy in economic decision making and in the usage of revenues from the export of natural resources and even raised the question of nationalizing properties and enterprises that were controlled by the large Moscow-based ministries and agencies. The peaceful dissolution of the USSR in 1991 gave to the Turkmenistani government a chance to take control of its economy and to introduce economic changes.

Migration, Urbanization, and Demographic Changes

During the 20th century the world experienced large-scale population movement due to the rapid urbanization in many developed and developing countries and large labor migration within and between various countries. For various political, ideological, and social reasons, the Soviet government attempted to control tightly both the population movements within the republic and the migration flow between Turkmenistan and other Soviet republics. It restricted directly and indirectly the movement of some groups of the population, such as peasants, former prisoners of war, and those who were repressed during Stalin's purges (the so-called *vragi naroda*—enemies of the people). At the same time, the Soviet government stimulated domestic migration of other categories of people, such as skilled labor, the Communist Party and military personnel, engineers, lecturers, factory managers, and some other groups. In addition, during the collectivization period, Stalin-led government ordered a forcible relocation of various social groups (such as *kulaks*—wealthy farmers, tribal and community leaders, etc.) during World War II and it ordered deportation of various ethnic groups (such as Volga Germans, Crimean Tatars, etc.) from other parts of the Soviet Union into Central Asian republics, including Turkmenistan. The policy of total control was particularly rigorously enforced during Stalin's era, but to some degree it was relaxed during Khrushchev's and Brezhnev's time in power.

When the Turkmen SSR was created in 1924, it was a vast country with a very small population of about 950,000 people, or about 1.9

people per square kilometer. The population was unevenly distributed, as it was concentrated in the small towns and cities in the southeast and east of the country and on the shore of the Caspian Sea. The urban centers were very small and populated mainly by the Russians, Uzbeks, Armenians, Persians (Iranians), and some others, while most of the Turkmens lived in rural areas engaged in agriculture and semipastoral animal breeding.

During the first years of collectivization and industrialization the Turkmen SSR lacked skilled labor, especially engineers, training personnel, factory and collective farm managers, state administrators, and many others. The Soviet authorities addressed this problem through two major measures. Firstly, they relocated significant numbers of people (both voluntarily and forcibly) from the European part of the USSR and sent them to the various provinces and districts of the republic. The scale of this immigration was extremely large for the Turkmen SSR. For example, the number of ethnic Russians in Turkmenistan nearly tripled between 1926 and 1939, from 75,300 to 232,900. Similar trends could be seen with the Ukrainians, Tatars, and some other ethnic groups. Secondly, the authorities launched a large-scale training and *vydvizhenchestvo* (native cadre promotion program) campaigns that aimed at intensive training of native Turkmens and promoting them to managerial, governmental, administrative, and other positions. Many Turkmens were sent to universities and technical colleges in Tashkent, Moscow, Leningrad, and some other cities in the Soviet Union in the 1920s and 1930s. In addition several hundred Turkmens were trained locally in the newly established technical and training schools and institutions.

Another wave of migrants arrived in Turkmenistan during the turbulent years of World War II, as the Kremlin ordered the relocation of several industrial enterprises and factories from the war-torn areas, along with their entire work-force (mainly people of Slavic origin). Between 1939 and 1959 the number of Russians in the Turkmen SSR increased from 232,900 to 262,700. The Soviet government also ordered the relocation of prisoners of war, such as Germans, Japanese, and some others, as well as some ethnic groups such Turks, Crimean Tatars, etc., to Central Asian republics, including Turkmenistan.

Yet, this immigration of people to the Turkmen SSR was on a smaller scale than in other Central Asian republics, such as Kyrgyzstan or neighboring Kazakhstan. The proportion of ethnic Turkmens remained

relatively stable at about 59 percent in 1939 and 60 percent in 1959 increasing to 65.6 percent in 1970 and to 72 percent in 1989. For comparison, the proportion of the ethnic Kyrgyzs in Kyrgyz SSR declined from 66.7 percent in 1926 to 40.5 percent in 1959; although it increased to 52.3 percent in 1989. The ethnic Russian population in the Turkmen SSR was growing in absolute and relative figures due to migration and natural increase from 7.7 percent in 1926 to 18.6 percent in 1939, but its proportion in the total population of Turkmenistan steadily decreased after 1939. For example, it declined to 17.3 percent in 1959 and further to 14.5 percent in 1970 and to 9.4 in 1989; although in absolute numbers it remained roughly the same fluctuating around 313,000 and 333,800 between 1970 and 1989. Throughout the Soviet era, the Uzbek community significantly increased, although it remained approximately the same in proportion to the total population fluctuating between 8 and 10 percent, making the Uzbeks the third-largest ethnic group in the Turkmen SSR after Turkmens and Russians.

At the same time, the ethnic Turkmen population grew steadily in absolute numbers due to high birth rates and improved healthcare services combined with a low emigration rate. The policy of stimulation of population growth in the 1970s and 1980s and comprehensive welfare system for large families also contributed to this process. Thus the ethnic Turkmen population doubled from approximately 719,800 in 1926 to 1,416,000 in 1970, and again to about 2,800,000 in 1991.

The strict control over population movements created a specific pattern of urbanization and population settlement. Traditionally most of the migrants settled in the urban areas forming ethnically cohesive enclaves in places such as Ashgabat, Krasnovodsk, etc., creating distinct social, economic, and cultural differences and divides between the urban and rural populations. Meanwhile ethnic Turkmens moved to the urban areas at a relatively slow rate, and many of them remained in the rural areas and small towns and villages. Due to the restrictive policies and to the pattern of investments, urbanization arrived at the Turkmen SSR relatively late in the 1950s and 1960s, and it largely stabilized in the 1970s and 1980s. According to official statistical reports, in 1989 the urban population was about 45 percent (or about 1.5 million).

Despite the Soviet attempts to involve the native Turkmen population in the industrial sector, mining, and some other skill intensive industries, the predominant majority of

sector and lived in rural areas. In the 1970s and 1980s, with the decline of agricultural subsidies and emerging environmental problems, many Turkmens began to face an increasing shortage of employment opportunities, a shortage of arable land, and lower incomes. In the meantime, the urban areas could not absorb the rapidly growing inflow of rural population due to shortage of housing, shortage of public services, imbalance in job opportunities, and some others. This development contributed to rising social discontent, increasing competition between various regional groups (often fueled by the strong tribal identities), and interethnic tensions. In 1989 and 1990 there were reports of social, intercommunal, and interethnic conflicts in some parts of the Turkmen SSR, although the Turkmenistani government managed to keep tight control over political developments in the country and avoided the escalation of tensions into large-scale conflicts.

Soviet Nationality Policy and Social and Cultural Changes

As in all other aspects of its oppressive rule, the Soviet central government attempted to establish total control over its nationality policy and orchestrated a large-scale nation-state-building experiment in accordance with Stalin's vision of national development. This nationality policy was a reflection of the Marxist-Leninist theoretical construction and vision of the nations and interethnic relations, as well as changing views within the Soviet ruling elite. By and large, in Anatoly Khazanov's words it attempted to "force the social, cultural, and linguistic unification of all nationalities in the USSR on the basis of Russian, or more accurately, Soviet-Russian culture."[17] The cultural and social changes introduced by the Sovietization policy had two dimensions that were intended to further strengthen the "Soviet Turkmen nation" and, gradually, to make it an inseparable part of the "Soviet nation." Firstly, during the seven decades of Soviet rule the Soviet authorities carefully crafted the education system, the "new" Turkmen cultural setting (including the written "scientific" history of Turkmens and Turkmen land and new forms of modern art), and the "new" social organization of society. Secondly, the Sovietization policy aimed to decrease social differences between Turkmens and Russians as these differences were perceived to be an obstacle in the way of consolidating the Soviet identity.

The Soviet authorities put particular stress on the elimination of illiteracy among the Turkmens and introducing a mass standardized education system. The campaign that targeted eliminating illiteracy was vigorously implemented throughout the 1920s and 1930s. One of the most important targets of this campaign was education among Turkmen women, who in the past were traditionally deprived of educational opportunities. The government also invested substantial resources in establishing a network of primary and secondary schools and training and retraining institutions, which by the late 1940s covered all cities and towns in the republic (comparatively, there were just 58 primary schools and 210 *mekdeps* and no universities in the Zacaspian *oblast* in 1913). Between 1924 and 1933 the first tertiary education institutions were opened in major Turkmenistan cities, which offered education in the Turkmen language as the primary language of instruction. At the same time the authorities attempted to expand the use of the Russian language, introducing it in schools, universities, media, administration, etc. The Soviet authorities also attempted to limit the cultural influences of the past through Turkmen language and Turkmen alphabet reforms. In the first step in 1929 the Soviet authorities changed the Turkmen alphabet from Arabic to Latin, and in 1940 from Latin to Cyrillic. Thus, the literature and art of the Turkmen SSR was mainly developed based upon the Cyrillic script. In the 1960s and 1970s the Kremlin leaders took the Russification policy even further by requiring that many subjects at schools and universities be taught entirely in the Russian language. Yet, according to the 1989 census only about 27.7 percent of the Turkmens (the second lowest proportion among the Central Asian nations, after the Uzbeks) claimed that they had an advanced knowledge of the Russian language.[18]

At the same time, the Kremlin paid special attention to the education of the "new" Turkmen intelligentsia and promotion of the "new" Soviet art and culture as a means of strengthening the national Turkmen and Soviet identities. Since the mid-1920s most talented young Turkmens had been regularly sent to major universities in Russia and other Soviet republics to study science, engineering, modern art, and other subjects. For example, many of Turkmen scholars, writers, and journalists who became prominent in the 1950s and 1960s received t
(now Saint Petersburg). These young
along with scholars, scientists, educa

from the various parts of the USSR, opened public libraries, theaters, art exhibitions, the academy of science, museums, etc.

Mass media became another area that the Soviet authorities developed vigorously. The first regular Turkmen newspapers, *Turkmenistan* (later renamed *Shuralar Turkmenistany* and then *Sovet Turkmenistany*) and *Turkmenskie Izvestia* (later renamed *Turkmenskaya Iskra*), were established between 1920–1924, gradually increasing their circulations from 2,000 in the 1920s to several hundred thousand in the 1980s. By 1989 the total annual print run of 66 newspapers (including 49 in Turkmen language) and 34 magazines and journals (including 16 in Turkmen language) in the Turkmen SSR reached 211 million and 13.6 million copies respectively. In 1926 the first film-producing center was established, which became an essential part of the Soviet ideological and cultural machinery. In 1927 the Turkmenfilm studio produced its first documentary motion pictures. In the late 1930s the studio began the translation of movies from Russian and other languages of the USSR into the Turkmen language. The newly established publishing houses produced thousands of books, newspapers, and magazines, initially mainly in the Turkmen language, but after World War II, an increasing number of publications in the republic were produced in Russian. For example, in 1989 alone 661 books and brochures (including 288 in the Turkmen language) were published with a total print run of 8.1 million copies (in comparison, before the revolution there was only one publishing house in Turkmenistan, which produced a few dozen titles).

But all these cultural changes were inseparable from the Soviet social experiment. During the 1920s and 1930s Stalin's regime eliminated the old Turkmen intelligentsia, as well as the religious, political, and tribal elite, first by sending them into exile in Siberia or other parts of the Soviet Union, and then by executing them in labor camps and prisons. The Islamic leaders were particularly targeted in this campaign, as from the 1930s the Soviet government persistently and brutally implemented the policy of atheism, closing mosques and *medreses* (*madrasahs*) and prohibiting religious practices. At the same time the Soviet leaders attempted to create a new Turkmen intelligentsia and a new national Turkmen elite by promoting the most gifted and ambitious young people from the lower strata of society. They were mostly promoted according to their talents and abilities rather than their social status or descent (as opposed to traditional society).

Despite these considerable social changes, and the success in industrialization and social engineering in the republic, Turkmen society preserved some important characteristics of the traditional lifestyle that curiously mixed with certain elements of modernity. The traditionalism in the Turkmen SSR showed its ability to oppose the innovations and social transformations that were imposed by the Soviet system. Despite all the social changes, the Turkmens continued to keep some of the features of the patriarchal society and strong tribal and kinship traditions. In this regard, some particularities of the Soviet modernization contributed to this. For example, the *kolkhozes* kept the extended family ties alive throughout the Soviet era as often whole Turkmen *auls* of relatives and members of the same tribal groups were brought together into *kolkhozes* during the collectivization campaign. Traditionally, the extended family social network provided support to all members of the *auls* and developed a kind of economic welfare net. The "patron-client" relationship outside the *auls* continued the traditional line of the Turkmen tribal regional confederations (the so-called clans).

Over time, however, the shortcomings of the Sovietization, nationality policy, pressure of Russification, and, especially, the increasing political corruption sparked a growing uneasiness among the Turkmen population and even among the Turkmen Russified intelligentsia. The situation was worsened by a growing gap between propaganda and reality. Huge amounts of money were wasted on a few prestigious projects while the state failed significantly to improve standards of living, and to provide employment opportunities for a rapidly growing population. Although the official propaganda declared that everyone in the society had equal rights and equal opportunities, the best educational places, best jobs, best housing, and many other things went to well-connected members of the *nomenklatura*. This deeply corrupt *nomenklatura* showed a disrespect for the local cultures and local needs and moved swiftly against any signs of discontent that appeared in the 1970s, alienating many ordinary people and intelligentsia. However, only Gorbachev's liberalization of the regime in the 1980s allowed people to express discontent openly. This discontent with the regime often took on a nationalistic flavor, as people were angered by the shortcomings of the Kremlin's policies. The Turkmen community began demanding greater respect for their cultural heritage, opening schools in Turkmen language; enhancing opportunities in higher education for

ordinary Turkmens by switching teaching in major colleges and universities from the Russian language to Turkmen. In addition they called for increasing the number of publications and television and radio broadcasting in Turkmen, as well as demanding that the Turkmen language become the state language in the Turkmen SSR.

Disintegration of the Soviet Union and Its Legacy

Mikhail Gorbachev's (1985–1991) political reforms unleashed unprecedented political activities and social grievances. The intelligentsia in every republic of the USSR hotly debated the past and future of the Soviet political system. Yet, the degree of politicization of the society was different in various parts of the Soviet Union. These debates were most vigorous in the Soviet Baltic states, while the Central Asian *nomenklatura* managed to keep a tight lid on the political and social development and public discourse. The social and interethnic tensions between 1989 and 1991 inflamed a series of deadly interethnic and intercommunal conflicts in Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan. The Central Asian leaders, while strongly supporting the existing social and political order and the integrity of the USSR, actively demanded more sovereignty in conducting domestic political and economic policies, including such issues as taxation, social welfare system, language, cadre and nationality policies, and in some other changes. The fate of the Soviet Union was, however, decided in Moscow, and not in Central Asia. After the unsuccessful military coup d'état in August 1991, the Russian Federation and then one by one other Soviet republics declared their independence and sovereignty. Despite some hesitations, the parliament of the Turkmen SSR finally gathered to discuss the pressing issue of the political future.

After intensive discussions between the government, party officials, and Turkmen SSR representatives in the All-Union Congress of People's Deputies, the Turkmen Parliament declared Turkmenistan's independence from the USSR on October 27, 1991. This step peacefully ended more than 70 years of the Soviet system in Turkmenistan and suddenly opened a world of opportunities and challenges for this newly independent state. Many issues had to be addressed immediately, such as economic anarchy, interethnic tensions, collapse of the centralized supply-and-distribution chain, breakdown of interrepublic trade, and

social discontent. Others, such as consolidating national identity among the citizens of the newly independent republic, relations with the national minorities, formulating political relations with Russia and neighboring countries, required long-term planning and a reassessment of the Soviet legacies.

Indeed Turkmenistan inherited an uneasy legacy from the Russian colonial and Soviet eras, including some very negative outcomes and other positive ones. Turkmen intellectuals highlighted several negative consequences of the colonial and Soviet eras. The division of areas of influence between the Russian and British empires left some territories that were populated by Turkmens in the past and significant numbers of ethnic Turkmens in Afghanistan and Iran. In addition, during the Soviet border delimitation between 1924 and 1926 some lands with small Turkmen minorities were transferred to other Soviet republics. Harsh measures against rebels, political opponents, and certain groups of Turkmen society forced those people to leave their homeland for other countries, especially for Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey. The Soviet authorities launched an industrialization program, massive construction projects, and extracted the natural resources on a large scale; yet, after the initial significant rise in living standards, they failed to deliver further growth in living standards to many groups in the Turkmen society. Government's attempts to control the size of the urban population often limited population movements from rural areas to the cities, leaving rural Turkmens stuck in the low-productivity and low-income agricultural sector. The Soviet authorities also brutally restrained intellectual discourse, especially in such areas that touched upon religious issues and national identities, and arbitrarily banned some Turkmen cultural sources and intellectual works that were considered unfit for the Soviet ideological system.

At the same time, there were significant social and cultural advances and achievements in the republic. Some groups of the Turkmen society highlighted the positive changes when they discussed the legacy of the Soviet era. The Soviet authorities succeeded in their state-building project, in establishing a cohesive political and territorial entity—the Turkmen SSR—and in developing the Turkmen national identity. The so-called cultural revolution brought the elimination of mass illiteracy—helping to build the modern Turkmen culture, literature, and standardized literary language—and introduced many forms of art that were unknown in the

past. The Soviet state also created the national intelligentsia, including large groups of administrators, educators, and scientists, and attempted to eradicate social inequality by creating opportunities for some social groups that were previously deprived in the society. During the 20th century the advanced educational system, science, technology, public health and a welfare system were established with significant contributions and help from other Soviet republics. Thus, despite stagnating and relatively low personal incomes in the Turkmen SSR, the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) considered that the HDI in the republic in the 1980s was well ahead of that of many developing states such as Afghanistan, Pakistan, India, Turkey, or Iraq. If measured by the HDI that takes into account the level of education, access to social and healthcare benefits, etc., the republic was in the 31st place in the global ranking in 1991.

Debates about the legacy of the past and its implication for the future divided many social and political groups of the Soviet society. On the eve of 1991 there were many communist hardliners who were vigorously defending the communist ideology and the Soviet system and who were calling for use of force by the army and security services to crush the political opposition and restore "order." However, the most important feature of the Soviet disintegration was that the Soviet leadership agreed to dissolve the Soviet Union peacefully, allowing the people and the republics to decide their future and to shape their political, social, and economic development.

INDEPENDENT TURKMENISTAN

Travelers who saw Turkmenistan during the Soviet era and who have visited there since independence would be surprised to discover that one and a half decades of independence have brought so many changes, but they would also be surprised to find a lot of continuity from the Soviet past. One of the most colorful places to observe these changes is a large oriental bazaar on the outskirts of Ashgabat. The bazaar symbolizes the arrival of the new consumer culture, as it offers products from all over the world and from all corners of Turkmenistan. At the same time, it indicates the arrival of a market-oriented system and an entrepreneurial culture, as none of the shops and retail outlets are controlled by the state, and traders try to offer the best competitive

prices and services for their goods. But if the travelers would visit the Turkmen *chaikhana* (teahouse), a local *aksakal* (a white-bearded elder) would probably tell them that the changes are not so profound, as the state still controls most of the economic activities outside this bazaar and the same leaders have been in charge of the post-Soviet transition for nearly 15 years.

Turkmenistan entered independence as a politically weak state neighboring one of the most unstable regimes in the world—Afghanistan—and having difficulties with many of its partners, both close and far away. Turkmenistan was seriously destabilized by emerging interethnic tensions, social discontent, and growing competition within the ruling elite. The economic anarchy and erratic transitional reforms of the late Soviet era manifested themselves in hyperinflation and a crisis in the retail sector, in empty shops, and in evaporating savings. The Ashgabat policy makers had to address a long list of the pressing issues in order to bring the country out of chaos and to consolidate the economy and the society.

Economic Policies and Economic Changes

By 1991 Turkmenistan was a middle-income developing country, if measured by the major economic indicators. The country had a purchasing power parity of about US$3,540 (GNP per capita of about US$1,440 [1991, UNDP est.]), fairly well ahead of Pakistan, Jordan, and Indonesia. In 1991 Turkmenistan was the smallest country in Central Asia by population, but it had the third largest economy in the region, behind only Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. It was the second largest producer of gas and among the top five producers of oil in the USSR (1991, official est.). Its agriculture was dominated by the monoculture of cotton (second largest producer of cotton in the region, behind only Uzbekistan)—a situation that created a serious environmental problem in the longer run, but in the short term generated much needed hard currency revenue. Although there was a shortage of some foodstuffs, Turkmenistan was self-sufficient in its basic food demands. Most importantly, Turkmenistan had a well-established social infrastructure; a solid educational system, including free technical and tertiary education; and a comprehensive welfare scheme, including accessible healthcare and a social support network. Its compulsory primary and secondary education covered all population

groups, both male and female, and the literacy rate was about 98 percent. On the eve of independence many local economists believed that the country might quickly become a "Kuwait of Central Asia" if it would sell its gas, oil, and cotton in the international market at world prices. They also believed that the country could be able to diversify its relatively narrow manufacturing sector by reinvesting the gas and oil revenue in modernizing its industries.

From the first days of independence President Saparmurat Niyazov's government had a strong belief that it could achieve a very quick economic transition from the centralized-command and Soviet-dependent economy into an independent wealthy and stable economy. The government therefore rejected the package of radical structural reforms designed by the IMF for transitional countries of the former USSR. This package—also known as the shock therapy approach—emphasized mass and rapid privatization, freeing all domestic prices, liberalizing external trade, opening the country to international investors, and providing some other measures. Nevertheless, the government accepted international consultations and international expertise in conducting reforms and changes in the areas of finance and currency and on some other issues.

The Turkmenistani government decided to implement "gradual economic reforms," modifying the reform agendas and retaining state control over the major sectors of the national economy. This aspiration was manifested in the government program, "10 Yyl Abadançylyk" (10 Years of Prosperity), that was adopted in December 1992. During the initial stage it allowed privatization in the housing area, as well as in the small retail and catering sectors. In the agricultural sector it eased state control over the production chain, allowed individual families to lease small plots of land for farming outside *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*, and studied plans for reorganizing the Soviet-style collective farms into efficient agricultural cooperatives.

The reforms in the industrial sector were the special focus of the government. In this area it persistently implemented policies that resembled the state-led development programs of many Third World countries in the postcolonial era, policies associated with the so-called Import Substitution Industrialization (ISI). The theoretical and ideological justification for the ISI has been that a developing country needs a strong industrial base in order to achieve its real independence and to minimize the country's dependence on rich industrialized neocolonial powers. Various

countries in Africa and Asia attempted to implement the ISI policies in the 1960s and 1970s by combining state planning with direct state control over national economic development, resource allocation, export revenue, and export/import operations. Many Third World countries failed in this approach, although some economists believe that several southeast Asian developing countries, notably Malaysia and Indonesia, were quite successful in the 1990s in developing their economies along the lines of the ISI scheme.[19]

Among the first steps of the Turkmenistani government was the reestablishment of firm state control over all industrial and agricultural enterprises. This included the takeover of those enterprises that were previously under direct Moscow control (the so-called all-Union enterprises). These actions were intended to roll back the effects of the economic liberalization conducted by the Gorbachev-Ryzhkov administration (the so-called *khozraschet* and decentralization of management).[20] The Turkmenistani government also imposed state control over the National Bank and other financial institutions. Through various protective measures it also attempted to minimize the impact of hyperinflation that affected the so-called Russian ruble zone in 1992 and 1993, as it continued the use of the Russian ruble as the main currency during the first years of independence. The switch to the world prices and inflow of hard currency for gas and oil brought in substantial sums to the country's coffers. Gradually, the government laid the ground for introducing its new currency, the *manat*, which was officially launched in November 1993. This action sparked another round of inflation, although at a much lower level than in 1992–1993. Macroeconomic stabilization became a very difficult task as it took about five to seven years before inflation was controlled and the exchange rate for the *manat* was stabilized.

However, the economic realities of the post-Soviet era proved to be very different from the government's plans and expectations. The collapse of the trade and technological links with the former Soviet republics and the fragmentation of regional and supraregional transportation and communication infrastructures, negatively affected Turkmenistan. The most important issue was the difficulty of transporting Turkmenistan's gas and oil to the international market. The major existing routes came under Russian control. Russia's Gazprom, a giant gas monopoly, emerged as a major competitor for Turkmenistan's

gas exporting sector, because it had its own stake in selling gas to the western European markets. It did allow the export of Turkmen gas to the CIS, but very often those states had no hard currency to pay for the delivery and had little to offer in exchange except for some of their own products in barter arrangements.

Ashgabat's plans to deliver its gas and oil from its territory to the international markets were fraught with a nearly a decade of diplomatic intrigues, international competitions, and disputes. Officials in Ashgabat discussed numerous international pipeline projects, including such routes as Turkmenistan-Iran-Persian Gulf, Turkmenistan-Iran-Turkey, Turkmenistan-Afghanistan-Pakistan, Turkmenistan-Kazakhstan-Russia-Europe, and even such exotic projects as Turkmenistan-Kazakhstan-China. Yet, none of the projects materialized during the first decade of independence, as they proved to be too costly or economically unviable, or were hampered by the security concerns and disagreements among major potential partners. In addition, in the 1990s the development of the gas and oil reserves on the Caspian Sea was significantly slowed down by disputes among littoral states over the Caspian seabed delimitation and conflicting demands over some oil fields, including heated disputes between Turkmenistan, Azerbaijan, and Iran. The achievements in this area were very modest, including a small gas pipeline to Iran, completed in the 1990s, and an electric power line to Turkey via Iran completed in the early 2000s.

Despite all these difficulties the gas and oil export revenue was quite substantial. The government chose to use the hard currency inflow for restructuring its industrial enterprises, updating transportation and communication infrastructures and undertaking large construction projects, especially in Ashgabat. The main intention was to rebuild factories and plants and public and individual housing and public buildings that had been neglected for nearly a decade prior to independence. The large state-funded projects and efforts to quickly restructure manufacturing did not save Turkmenistan from a transitional recession in many sectors of the national economy throughout the 1990s.

The situation changed significantly only in the early 2000s, as the economy experienced a sharp rebound between 2002 and 2005 due to the combination of many factors, including the rising world prices for oil and gas, and Turkmenistan's increasing gas and oil exports to the eastern European and CIS markets. According to official statistical re-

ports, the Turkmenistani economy posted the highest growth in the Central Asian region for three years in a row, although it is not yet clear if the rebound was fueled by serious changes in the national economy or by the increasing export of natural resources at the favorable world prices then prevailing. Sustainable economic development in Turkmenistan, as in all other Central Asian republics, depends on its future economic policies, good governance, including reducing red tape and corruption, successful development of trade and other relations with its neighboring countries, and a positive investment climate that would foster regional and domestic stability.

Political Changes

Throughout the 1990s Turkmenistan was one of the area's most cautious reformers, if not its most conservative. The political transition in post-Soviet Turkmenistan was particularly complex, and it combined continuity from the Soviet past with attempts to introduce institutions of a modern independent state. At the same time, to gain more legitimacy the Turkmenistani leadership made an effort to revive some traditional institutions of Turkmen society, including the councils of elders, all-Turkmen Kurultai (congresses) of representatives, and some others.

Throughout the past 20 years the leadership was firmly in the hands of Saparmurat Niyazov. He has totally dominated Turkmenistan's political arena since independence by playing the role of benevolent leader. Niyazov was appointed as the first secretary of the Communist Party of the Turkmen SSR in 1985, then the highest political position in the republic. He was elected to the newly established office of president as the only candidate in October 1990. In this capacity he led his country to independence in 1991. Gradually he transformed the old political system into the highly authoritarian regime (sometimes called a "sultanistic regime") in which he accumulated enormus power.[21] According to the 1992 constitution, the president has a broad authority that includes the following powers: to enact the constitution and laws and to ensure their strict execution; to manage the implementation of foreign policy, representing Turkmenistan in relations with foreign governments; to appoint and recall ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives of Turkmenistan in other countries and in intergovernmental and international organizations, and to accept the credentials

and order the dismissal of the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments; to submit annual reports about the state of the country to the People's Council and to provide information about the most important domestic and foreign policy issues; to present for review and approval to the Mejlis (Parliament) a governmental budget and a report on its utilization; and to sign laws. The president also has the right to return laws to the Mejlis, within two weeks from their adoption by the Mejlis, with his objections for additional discussion and a second vote; to schedule referenda approved by the People's Council and to convene the parliament ahead of schedule. He also appoints and recalls, with parliament's preliminary consent, the chair of the Supreme Court, the chair of the High Commercial Court, and the procurator general; grants pardons and amnesties; and adjudicates other issues referred to her or his jurisdiction by the constitution and laws. In addition the president is the supreme commander of the armed forces.[22]

The ruling Democratic Party of Turkmenistan (DPT) has been instrumental in this development. The DPT originated in the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR (CPT), which was in power for more than 70 years during the Soviet era. In December 1991 the CPT was renamed the Democratic Party of Turkmenistan and its congress elected Saparmurat Niyazov as its chairman. Although the DPT experienced some decline in its membership, it managed to stabilize its size by the mid-1990s and maintain its cells in all districts in the republic, in major enterprises and ministries. Despite the institutional continuity, there have been significant changes in the Turkmenistani government and in the ruling elite. The president has frequently rotated members of his administrative and political entourage, regularly dismissing those who showed, in his view, incompetence or disloyalty. By the early 2000s most of the representatives of the Soviet-era *nomenklatura* had left the government and state administration. They were replaced by representatives of the young generation of administrators and politicians. For example, the Cabinet of Ministers in 2003–2004 had many young ministers, often in their thirties, representing the new cadres, who received their education and training and grew up mainly in the post-Soviet environment.

The first Constitution of independent Turkmenistan was introduced in May 1992 and it contained social, political, and legal guarantees similar to those of neighboring Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.[23] Nevertheless,

throughout the 1990s and early 2000s various international organizations and human rights advocates regularly complained that the government did not honor the main provisions and guarantees of the Constitution. In addition, the government introduced a significant number of amendments to the existing constitution, including the extension of President Saparmurat Niyazov in his office without elections in 1995 and granting him the status of president for life in 1999. In a new round of constitutional amendments in August 2003 he became chair of the Khalk Maslahaty (People's Council).

The political opposition to the Turkmenistani regime remained very weak throughout the first decade of independence. The incumbent leadership firmly dominated the political scene in the republic throughout all these years, decisively acting against any opposition groups. The first political group—Agzybirlik—appeared in Ashgabat as far back as 1989; however, it was banned a few months later. The government did not allow the registration of any other political organizations or independent media outlets. Thus, the Turkmen opposition was largely driven into exile in several waves. Throughout the 1990s many influential intellectuals left the country for Russia, Sweden, Norway, and some other countries and formed several active opposition groups in exile. The Turkmenistani authorities prohibit their activities in the territory of the republic and do not allow any opposition or independent publications to be distributed in Turkmenistan. These harsh actions have led to condemnations and criticism from human rights groups, the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, and from some Western governments.[24]

In the meantime, the political competition within the republic took a different form. In the late Soviet era, various power groups and patronage networks (the so-called clans) dominated the government, local administration, ministries, and party apparatus. They were significantly weakened in the post-Soviet era by the profound economic and political changes, but retained considerable power behind the scenes. President Niyazov's government acted harshly against any signs of disloyalty, frequently moving and dismissing cadres within all levels of the administration and from various ministries, including power ministries.

After nearly 15 years of independence, the political regime still remains strong. It keeps a firm control over the political scene, and maintains

political stability, although there have been some signs of popular political discontent. For example, this image of stability and order was significantly shaken when a group of armed individuals attempted to assassinate the President in Ashgabat in November 2002. The assassination attempt failed and most of the armed assassins were arrested. The Ministry for National Security's investigation led to the arrest of several prominent opposition leaders and campaigns against opposition groups in late 2002 and in 2003. The former foreign minister Boris Shikhmuradov was accused of masterminding the attempt. He was brought to trial along with several other politicians and they were sentenced to lengthy terms in prison.

New Nationality Policy and Cultural Changes

The consolidation of Turkmenistan's people into the Turkmen nation has been the main objective of the Turkmenistani government. This was not an easy task for several reasons. First, many cultural and national symbols were introduced and legitimized during the Soviet era but they were unfit for the post-Soviet development. Secondly, the population of Turkmenistan remained multiethnic after 1991, as about 30 percent of the population belonged to various other ethnic groups. Thirdly, the Turkmens themselves maintain strong tribal and regional identities and there was a strong sense of competition between representatives of various groups. To overcome the existing problems Niyazov introduced his national policy that was represented by the slogan: *Khalk, Watan, Beyik Turkmenbashy!* (People, Fatherland, Great Turkmenbashy!).

Among the first steps of the Turkmenistani government was the introduction of Turkmen symbols and a greater emphasis on Turkmen identity. Already in 1990 the Turkmenistani parliament declared the Turkmen language as the state language in the country. Soon it announced the transition of the Turkmen language from the Cyrillic to the Latin alphabet, a change to be completed in several steps by 2000. During the first half of the 1990s in another highly symbolic move the government began changing the names of the provinces, districts, cities, and streets from Russian to Turkmen and from Russian transliteration to Turkmen. Thus, *Krasnovodsk* became *Turkmenbashy*, and *Tashauz* became *Dashoguz*. In addition there were persistent efforts to glorify the Turkmen legendary heroes and important personalities whose

names appeared in school textbooks and were given to streets and public projects. In the early 2000s the government went even further by changing the names of the months and the days of the week.

The new flag, new national anthem, national currency, and other symbols were also introduced to replace the old Soviet-era signs in order to legitimize and glorify the independence of the country. Turkmenistan's leaders further attempted to invigorate the national ideology through an extraordinary step. In 2001 President Saparmurat Niyazov published a book titled *Rukhnama* that was declared in Niyazov's words as "the source of spirit, creek of inspiration and wealth of grateful memory of our holy ancestors."[25] The book's five chapters present Niyazov's views on Turkmen history, Turkmen statehood, and the spiritual values of the nation. The *Rukhnama* was introduced into all curricula in schools and universities throughout the country to be studied by young people.

In its ethnic policy the Turkmenistani government adopted a very cautious approach. By 1991 the Turkmens enjoyed the absolute majority in their own country. (Meanwhile the situation was different in neighboring Kazakhstan where the Kazakhs were the minority in their own country.) Therefore there was no heated debate about the status of ethnic minorities in Turkmenistan. In the early 1990s, the Turkmenistani parliament granted citizenship to all people in its territory and became the only country in the Central Asian region to grant dual citizenship to ethnic Russians and to Russian military personnel and their families.[26] Initially the ethnic minorities retained education in their own native language (e.g., Russian, Uzbek, etc.), as it was arranged during the Soviet era, but gradually the government required switching to the Turkmen language in both schools and universities. In response, most of the Russian-speaking population began emigrating from Turkmenistan. There are no official statistics available, but various indirect estimates put the numbers anywhere between 2,000 and 10,000 people a year.

In addition, the Turkmenistani government emphasized a concept of *khalk* (people, nation) to promote the unity of all Turkmens, regardless of their tribal affiliation or identity. In the cadre policy there was an attempt to wipe out the patronage network and to establish a balance between representatives of different regions and districts of the country. Yet it proved to be the most difficult task, since at this time of significant economic, political, and social changes, the communal and tribal identities received a strong boost.

SOCIAL CHANGES

Economic changes, a transitional recession, and new post-Soviet realities significantly altered the social development in Turkmenistan and led to adjustments in the government's social policies. The social welfare and healthcare systems and free education, inherited from the Soviet era, became unsustainable in the absence of large social transfers and smaller government revenues. In addition there was a need to address such issues as the rapidly growing population, changing demands in the labor market, and the mobility of the population. The government attempted to streamline its social changes by reforming its welfare and migration policies, and at the same time it established some features of a paternalistic state.

The economic recession and the changes in the economic environment created new opportunities for some social groups while it posed challenges for others. Throughout the 1990s there were growing disparities in living standards, both horizontal (regional) and vertical (between various groups). In a trend familiar in many developing and transitional countries, most of the investments and businesses became concentrated in a few urban areas, such as Ashgabat, Turkmenbashy, and some others. Some people made fortunes through various lucrative deals, successful privatization of state properties, and numerous other transactions. Meanwhile, other regions, especially small rural towns and villages in central and northern Turkmenistan, experienced economic deprivation. This deprivation became particularly harsh as people began experiencing the negative impact of environmental changes, especially the harmful effect of the disappearance of the Aral Sea, the salinization of much arable land and consequent decline in soil productivity, and the desertification and advance of the sand of the Garagum Desert. Thus many people, especially in rural areas, lost their jobs and were forced to turn to subsistence agriculture as *Kolkhozes* and *Sovkhozes* were downsized or reorganized. Although there are no official figures available, experts estimate that the unemployment and underemployment rates could range between 10 and 20 percent of the working population. The lack of employment opportunities became especially pervasive among young people, who constitute about half of the population.

Mass poverty developed in Turkmenistan hand in hand with economic recession. As in all other Central Asian republics, unemployment

and underemployment particularly affected those groups of the population that were working in science, education, the healthcare systems, and in some other areas.[27] Another important consequence of the post-Soviet development was the end of the Soviet-era quota system for women in the public sector, in the administration and the workforce. Yet, the government refused to introduce broader economic reforms and further liberalization of economy; instead it introduced some unconventional policies, such as providing the general population with free water, electricity, and gas.

According to the World Bank, about 58 percent of the population lived below the poverty line (2003, World Bank est.), although this number was lower than in the mid-1990s. For several years in a row Turkmenistan's ranking in the UNDP-designed Human Development Index steadily declined, as Turkmenistan moved from 31st position in 1991 to 100th position in 1998 (out of 174 states), although it had moved up to 86th position by 2004.

Turkmenistan's Future

President Saparmurat Niyazov declared the 21st century as *Altyn Asyr*—the golden century of Turkmenistan. In 1999 the Turkmenistani leadership publicly presented and adopted its national "Strategy for Social-Economic Changes in Turkmenistan until 2010." In this program the government planned significant improvements in living standards and achievement of the level of development seen in the former communist Eastern European countries. President Niyazov also envisioned a significant rapid economic growth of all major sectors of national economy, especially in oil and gas extracting sectors, manufacturing and agriculture—all financed by the government's revenue from the sale of its natural resources in international markets and potentially also by international investors.

On the surface it looks as the country is led by strong leaders and a capable government that is able to maintain law and order and to deliver prosperity and stability. This leadership has been engaged in the systematic process of consolidating the formerly weak national identity of what one local scholar called a "nation of tribes"[28] into a strong national identity of the modern independent state. This process included the deconstruction of the Soviet identities and the Soviet

institutions that had been enforcing the ideology and concept of *sovetskii narod* [soviet nation]. The government also systematically sponsored development and strengthening of the national and nationalist symbols, such as the renaming of all major cities, towns, and streets, promoting Turkmen symbols and Turkmen historical and cultural personalities, and moving toward establishing the Turkmen language as the sole language of education, administration, and media. The government rigorously defends the national interest by meticulously negotiating all gas and oil contracts and investing revenues back into the national economy, into supporting generous social welfare system, and into raising the living standards of the general population.

The careful analysis of the development in this country, however, reveals a more complex picture. The promotion of the national symbols and strengthening of the national identities come with a price, as the government imposes a single party system and suppresses the opposition voices and independent media. For years international organizations and human rights advocates have condemned this regime for rejecting criticism of its policies and for not allowing freedom of speech, freedom of association, or freedom of religious practice. In turn, the absence of dialogue on and progress in democratization in Turkmenistan has led to political isolation of the incumbent government in the international arena throughout the 1990s and into the early 2000s. Until 2004 Turkmenistan remained the only country in the Central Asian region that required its citizens to apply for exit visas (government permits) to travel overseas, including travel related to education and international scholarly conferences. Freedom House regularly rated Turkmenistan among the 10 least democratized countries in the world.

There are many questions about the sustainability of the current path of economic development in Turkmenistan. It is true that during the first 15 years of independence the country has changed a lot. The government invests large sums into the development of infrastructure, including transportation and communications, into the creation of new enterprises, into modernizing existing factories and building large prestige projects, such as tourist attractions in the country, housing and pubic buildings in Ashgabat and in many other cities. However, it is not clear if those projects are evaluated for economic feasibility and if they are economically viable at the current stage of economic de-

velopment. The government, its agencies, state-controlled and state-connected enterprises manage most of the projects and there are a lot of questions about the efficiency of that management, as private initiative and private entrepreneurship are severely restricted. There are also questions about the public accountability of the government and its ministers.

In the social arena Turkmenistan has also generated mixed results. It managed to slow down and gradually reverse the declining social conditions in the country. In this regard Turkmenistani citizens enjoy relatively higher living standards than those of other Central Asian republics, such as Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, or Uzbekistan. However, poverty is still widespread and affects a significant proportion of the population. There are indicators that women and children are negatively affected by the economic and social changes, despite all paternalistic actions of the government. There are also indicators that the quality of education and technological skills are in sharp decline, as the government significantly lowered the educational standards, reduced duration of school education to nine years, and significantly reduced the annual intakes of students to the Turkmenistani universities and tertiary education institutions.

There are also concerns about the long-term environmental effect of extensive exploitation of the natural resources in Turkmenistan. For decades the Soviet authorities and then the government of independent Turkmenistan narrowly oriented its agriculture toward monoculture of cotton. This led to overexploitation of arable land and scarce water reserves, increasing environmental pollution, especially by very harmful pesticides, and increased the threat of salinization and soil degradation. The increasing extraction of oil in some parts of Turkmenistan without adequate environmental protection measures might also pose a threat of contamination of water and land resources and bring serious challenges in future.

Overall, the post-Soviet development of Turkmenistan produced more questions than answers. The county is still in the transitional stage and needs many more changes and reforms in order to achieve sustainable economic, political, and social development. Without further improvement the future of Turkmenistan is still uncertain and open to all sorts of calamities.

NOTES

1. There are some discrepancies in data provided by various sources. For consistency, I used the CIA data from the *CIA—World Factbook* (2004, online). For discussion of the issue of statistical data in Turkmenistan see the "Statistical Data" section in the Reader's Note.

2. In the past, semipastoral Turkmen tribes also utilized the wasteland of the Garagums, but most of the Garagums cannot be exploited for pasture in a large intensive scale without additional irrigation.

3. According to the *CIA World Factbook*, the population of Turkmenistan was estimated at about 4.775 million in July 2003.

4. There are significant disparities between the official Turkmenistani economic statistics and data provided by the international organizations. For this section I chose the data from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development and the World Bank. See European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, *Strategy for Turkmenistan* (Ashgabat-London: European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2002), and other sources.

5. Traditionally, eastern Turkistan is defined as the territory that is now Xingjian province of China and some parts of Russian south Siberia and Altai; western Turkistan is defined as the territory occupied now by the five Central Asian republics—Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan.

6. Anthropologically most Turkmens are quite different from neighboring Kazakhs or Uzbeks. Many Turkmen anthropologists argue that this might be evidence that the local indigenous population of Khorasan played a great role in the formation of the Turkmen anthropological features.

7. *Ocherki istorii Kompartii Turkmenistana* [Essays on the History of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan] (Ashgabat, 1965), 48–49.

8. *Narodnoie khoziaistvo SSR, 1922–1972* [The National Economy of the USSR, 1922–1972] (Moscow: Statistika, 1972), 669.

9. The Zacaspian *oblast* excluded some eastern and northeastern districts populated by Turkmens. These districts were under the jurisdiction of the Khiva Khanate and Bukhara Emirate.

10. *Turkmenskaia Sovetskai Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika. Entsiklopedia* [Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. Encyclopedia] (Ashgabat: Glavnaia Redaktsia Turkmenskoi Sovetskoi Entsiklopedii, 1984), 103.

11. For a historical account of this period see *Ocherki istorii Kompartii Turkmenistana* [Essays on the History of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan] (Ashgabat, 1965), 81–104.

12. Political and military development undermined the security of the Iran-Turkmenistan and Afghanistan-Turkmenistan borders for decades. In fact, the

anti-Bolshevik forces escaped to Iran from Central Asia in 1920–1921 and established their bases in northern Iran actively supporting the Basmachy incursions into the Turkmenistan territory. In response, the Soviet authorities sought to establish their influence in northern Iran in the 1920s and then after World War II (Soviet troops entered northern Iran to counter the Nazi influence in Iran during the war). In 1945 the Kremlin supported the Tudeh Party–led uprising in the Kurdish area with the center of Tabriz, and establishment of an autonomous Republic of Azerbaijan in Iran. However, under British and U.S. pressure the Soviet troops were forced to withdraw and the Tudeh Party was outlawed.

13. The figure also includes the so-called candidates to the Communist Party membership. See: *Turkmenskaia Sovetskai Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika: Entsiklopedia* [Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic: Encyclopedia] (Ashgabat: Glavnaia Redaktsia Turkmenskoi Sovetskoi Entsiklopedii, 1984), 165.

14. The political development in Turkmenistan between 1988 and 1991 was very complex, as various groups within the society were locked in a bitter struggle for power and political and economic influences and in a struggle with the powerful central Soviet government. For details see: John Anderson, *International Politics of Central Asia* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1997), and some others. For more publications see the bibliography section of this book.

15. *Turkmenskaia Sovetskai Sotsialisticheskaia Respublika. Entsiklopedia.* Ibid., 124.

16. These figures do not necessarily present an adequate picture of the industrial production in Turkmenistan, due to a peculiar ownership of the industrial enterprises. Some enterprises were under the Turkmenistani government jurisdiction; however, some strategically important enterprises, such as military plants, etc., were under central government jurisdiction and their production was often not shown on the local statistical data.

17. A. Khazanov, *After the USSR: Ethnicity, Nationalism, and Politics in the Commonwealth of Independent States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1995), 12.

18. *Narodnoie Khoziaistvo SSSR v 1989 godu* [National Economy of the USSR] (Moscow: FiS, 1989).

19. For a detailed discussion of the role of state intervention in economic development see World Bank, *The East Asian Miracle: Economic Growth and Public Policy (World Bank Policy Research Reports)* (Washington D.C.: World Bank, 1996).

20. In the late Soviet era, [illegible] substantially liberalized its cont[illegible]

giving significant freedoms to the workers' collectives and directors of the enterprises. But it retained the same forms of control through the so-called state orders. For economic and political changes in the late Soviet era, see David Lane, *Soviet Society Under Perestroika* (London: Routledge, 1992), 23–52.

21. See, for elaboration, H. E. Chelabi and Juan J. Linz, *Sultanistic Regimes* (Baltimore: John Hopkins University Press, 1998).

22. See sections on the president and his powers in the Constitution of Turkmenistan (Ashgabat, any edition).

23. Adrian Karatnycky et al., "Turkmenistan," in *Nations in Transit: Democratization in East Central Europe and Eurasia* (New York: Freedom House, 2003), 600–604.

24. For criticism of the restrictions on the media, NGOs, religious, and political organizations, see Karatnycky, Adrian, "Turkmenistan," 594–604.

25. Saparmurat Turkmenbashy, *Rukhnama* (Ashgabat, 2002), 22.

26. Turkmenistan unilaterally annulled the dual citizenship agreement in 2003.

27. For example, the number of people employed in science and research services dropped from 13,700 in 1991 to 5,200 in 1998; crediting, finance, and other related services dropped from 32,100 in 1991 to 28,800 in 1998. See Interstate Statistical Committee of the Commonwealth of Independent States, *10 years of Commonwealth of Independent States (1991–2000)* (Moscow: Statcommittee of the CIS, 2001), 607.

28. Phrase coined by Dr. Shokhrat Kadyrov in his book *Natsia Plemen* [Nation of Tribes] (Norway: Bergen, 2002).

The Dictionary

– A –

ACADEMICIAN (also *akademik*). The highest academic rank in Turkmenistan given to a scholar or a distinguished researcher in a field. Academicians are selected from eminent scholars nominated by universities or research institutions to become corresponding members or full members of the **Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan**. Traditionally during the Soviet era, to qualify for the rank, a candidate had to possess a **Doctor of Sciences** degree, make a recognized scientific discovery or contribution in the field, and have significant publications.

ACADEMY OF SCIENCES OF TURKMENISTAN. The first attempts to establish modern research centers and research facilities in Turkmenistan were made in the late 19th and early 20th centuries, when Russian scholars organized several expeditions to the Turkmen territory to study its history, geology, natural resources, and flora and fauna. For example, in 1892–1893 a small botanical station was opened in **Ashgabat** and in 1914 a meteorological station was established. At the same time several ethnic **Turkmens** were sent to Saint Petersburg and Moscow and to other institutions to study sciences and conduct research. For a decade after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 most of the academic studies were closed due to the civil war, political instability, economic chaos, and extremely limited funding for fundamental research in Turkmenistan. However, in the mid-1920s the Soviet authorities began to work systematically toward establishing modern research facilities in the country. The Soviet government established the Institute of Turkmenistan Culture in

1928, the Turkmenistan Commission of the Academy of Sciences of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1929, a botanical garden in 1930, etc. In 1941 the Academy of Sciences of the USSR established its branch in Ashgabat, utilizing existing research facilities of the republic.

In 1951 the Turkmen Branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR was reorganized and the Academy of Sciences of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** was established. It consisted of several research institutes that covered geology, botany, chemistry, water resources and energy, zoology, medicine, history, and **Turkmen language** and literature. Gradually, the Academy of Sciences became the most important research institution in the republic, as it received a significant share of its funding for research and development from the Soviet state budget. Experts from the academy contributed to the discovery of significant reserves of **gas**, **oil**, and other natural resources in the territory of the republic and conducted several feasibility studies for various **mining**, development, and construction projects. At the same time its researchers were engaged in writing Turkmen political and **economic** history, in Soviet economic planning, and in propaganda activities of the Soviet state.

The academy preserved its semi-independent status and its presidents were elected by an assembly of academicians. The academy included the following research institutions (as of 1986): Institute of Archeology and Ethnography, Institute of History, Institute of Linguistics, Institute of Philosophy and Law, Institute of Botany, Institute of Chemistry and Oil Technologies, Institute of Zoology, Institute of Geology, Institute of Economy, Institute of Mathematics, Institute of Physics, Institute of Minerals, Institute of Seismology, Institute of Water Resources, Institute of Public (Social) Sciences, Institute of Biosphere, Institute of Engineering and Electronics, Institute of Medical Problems, and the Botanical Garden. The academy maintained its own **library** collection and **archive**, and published several scholarly journals.

In the 1990s most of the research projects of the academy were closed or significantly downsized, due to extensive budget cuts and reforms in the **education** system. In 1997 the Turkmenistani **government** closed the Academy of Sciences and moved most of the research activities to appropriate ministries and agencies.

ADAT. Customary law in traditional Central Asian societies, guided by authoritative members of communities, usually councils of ***aksakals***. It is based on a tribal code of conduct and on centuries of experience in conflict resolution between individuals, communities, and **tribes**. The **Russian Empire's** colonial administration did not interfere with local legal practices and delegated the administration at the local community level to the councils of *aksakals*. So did the Bolsheviks during the first years after the revolution of 1917. The *adat* was practiced among the **Turkmens** and other peoples of Central Asia until the early 1930s, when the Soviet authorities banned the use of the *adat* and replaced it with the civil law. However, in some parts of the republic the *adat* was practiced well into the late 1930s, regulating minor communal disputes and disagreements. In the 1990s some communities in rural areas of Turkmenistan began to practice the *adat* again. This was largely due to a decay of legal and law enforcement institutions in many parts of the country. The new **Constitution of Turkmenistan** also contributed to this process, since it empowered some traditional institutions, such as councils of elders (*aksakals*), with some administrative authorities. *See also* SHARIAH.

ADMINISTRATIVE STRUCTURE. According to the present **constitution** (1992), Turkmenistan is a unitary republic and its territorial administration is divided into ***welayat*** (province), *etrap* (district), *shaher* (city), and ***oba*** (village) levels. There were several changes in administrative divisions and changes in the names of administrative entities during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras. As of 2004 Turkmenistan is divided into five *welayats* (*welayatlar* is the plural in Turkmen): **Akhal** *welayat* (capital - **Anau**). **Balkan** *welayat* (**Balkanabat**), **Dashoguz** *welayat* (Dashoguz), **Lebap** *welayat* (**Turkmenabat**), and **Mary** *welayat* (Mary). Each *welayat* in turn is divided into *etraps*. There are 47 *etraps* and 13 cities in the country.

The activities of local administrations and legislatures are regulated by the Law on Local Governance and Local State Administration in Turkmenistan. According to the law, the president appoints the *welayats'* ***hyakims*** (heads of provinces) and the *hyakim* of Ashgabat City administration. In the 2000s the World Bank attempted to promote local government reforms in the republic. In response, Turkmenistan's Institute of Democracy and Human Rights, under President **Saparmurat**

Niyazov, announced the development of a plan to strengthen local governance.

AFGHANISTAN. The country is located southeast of Turkmenistan. These two countries share 744 kilometers of common borders. Afghanistan has an area of 647,500 square kilometers and its population was estimated at about 28.7 million in July 2003. The Pushtuns account for 44 percent of the population, Tajiks about 25 percent, Hazara about 10 percent, Uzbeks about 8 percent, and others about 13 percent (2004, CIA est.). Between 500,000 and 800,000 **Turkmens** live in Afghanistan, mainly in the northwest provinces of the country, but some of them chose to move back to Turkmenistan after 1991.

Afghanistan's political and economic relations with Turkmenistan in the 20th century were overshadowed by the Russian and Soviet policies in the Central Asian region. After the anti-Tsarist **Popular Uprising of 1916** and especially after the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 several hundred thousand Turkmens, who did not accept the Russian and Soviet systems, escaped to Afghanistan. The Soviet **collectivization** and political campaign against **khans** and ***bais*** in the 1920s brought another wave of Turkmen migrants to Afghanistan and **Iran**. After World War II Afghanistan maintained significant border **trade** with Turkmenistan through the Soviet Ministry of Foreign Trade. In the 1980s between 6,000 and 10,000 Turkmenistani citizens were sent to Afghanistan among the Soviet troops and political advisers, and Turkmenistan became one of the major military bases for the Soviet troops operating in Afghanistan. However, Turkmenistan's **Permanent Neutrality Policy** contributed to generally friendly relations between **Ashgabat** and Kabul in the post-Soviet era. Throughout the 1990s there were intensive discussions about a possibility of building multibillion-dollar **gas** and **oil pipelines** from Turkmenistan to Pakistan through the territory of Afghanistan. There were also some reports that Afghan **drug** lords used the territory of Turkmenistan as a transit route for the shipment of their illicit drugs (mainly opium) to international markets. In the 1990s up to 20,000 refugees from Afghanistan moved to Turkmenistan, especially after the escalation of the civil war during the Taliban regime.

In late 2001 the **United States** requested and received rights to overfly Turkmenistan's airspace for nonmilitary and rescue opera-

tions in Afghanistan, as Turkmenistan limited those rights to humanitarian operations. Many international aid agencies used Turkmenistan as their base for conducting various activities in Afghanistan and for shipping medicine and foodstuffs to the northern and northwestern provinces of Afghanistan. In 2003 and 2004 Kabul and Ashgabat resumed negotiations over a feasibility study of the gas pipeline through Afghanistan territory. Since the fall of the Taliban regime in 2001 Turkmenistan has increased its trade with Afghanistan, selling electricity, gasoline, agricultural products, and other goods.

AGRICULTURE. Historically agriculture was one of the most important economic sectors for the **Turkmens**, as they accumulated fine skills and traditions in raising **sheep**, including much-valued **karakul** (astrakhan fur) sheep, and **horses**, especially the much-acclaimed Akhalteke horses. Turkmen farmers in southern and eastern provinces of Turkmenistan cultivate **cotton**, wheat, corn, barley, vegetables, fruits (including grapes, apples, pomegranates, and pears), and nuts (especially almonds), and some others. However, agricultural production in central and northern Turkmenistan is severely limited by a shortage of irrigation and drinking water.

At present, agriculture remains one of the most important contributors to the Turkmen **economy**, accounting for 26 percent of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP) (2004, est., up from 9.5 percent in 1997) and is a source of employment for between 50 and 55 percent of the **population**. In 2003 arable land was estimated at about 3.47 percent of the country's territory or about 17,500 square kilometers (1,750,000 hectares), most of it under intensive irrigation. Most of the farmers are engaged in producing two major crops—cotton and grains. At the same time, animal herding in Turkmenistan's vast deserts and water-scarce steppe is another important subsector. Herders engage in stock-breeding of sheep, horses, cattle, camels, and goats. The country is eighth place in the world if measured by the size of permanent pastures (2001, est.). Throughout the 20th century, most of the agricultural crops were successfully exported to neighboring countries, **Russia**, and—in small volumes—to the world market.

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important cotton and wheat. It directed significant subsidies to the cotton- and wheat-producing farmers and maintained the system of state quotas and state-controlled prices. The main objective of the government was to achieve and maintain self-sufficiency in food production. For this purpose Turkmenistan increased the land under wheat cultivation from 260,000 hectares in 1993 to 750,000 hectares in 2004. Turkmenistan's agricultural output fluctuated widely between 1991 and 2005. According to the **National Statistical Institute**, the production of grain increased from 0.52 million tons in 1991 to 2.9 million tons in 2004 (fluctuating between 0.63 in 1997 and 2.3 million tons in 2002); the production of cotton increased from 1.4 million tons in 1991 to 2.0 million tons in 2004 (Turkmenistan government estimates). In 2001 Turkmenistan also produced barley (45,000 tons), rice (34,000 tons), corn (20,000 tons), potatoes (30,000 tons), vegetables (538,000 tons), and some fruits. The Economist Intelligence Unit and some international agencies and experts dispute the government figures and argue that the real output is significantly lower. The rise in agricultural production was attributed to a combination of private initiative, restructuring of the agricultural sector, and increased government subsidies. Since the 1990s the state has maintained a significant presence and intervened in the agricultural sector in various ways.

A considerable number of farmers in Turkmenistan are engaged in animal husbandry. This subsector provides an additional source of income, everyday food, and a mode of **transportation** for the rural population. Exports of sheep wool and meat along with cotton contribute significantly to hard currency revenue. The rural Turkmen herders usually move around in the vast areas, during the hot summer season taking their horses, sheep, goats, and cattle to graze in the steppe pastures. During the winter they move back to their winter houses close to oases, to escape the freezing temperatures of continental weather. According to official estimates, in 2004 the number of sheep and goats in Turkmenistan reached about 11 million, up from 6.3 in 1993, and the number of cattle reached about 1.7 million, up from 1.1 million in 1993. In addition there were 128,000 camels and 30,200 horses (2004, government est.). However, some international agencies and experts dispute the figures and put the numbers 30 to 40 percent lower. In 2001 Turkmenistan produced 134,000 tons of meat, 830,000 tons of milk, 15,200 tons of eggs, 21,000 tons of wool.

The agricultural sector of Turkmenistan still bears the consequences of the ambitious Soviet **collectivization** and agricultural reform policies. In the 1930s most of the small private farmers were organized into large, mechanized, state-controlled farms (***kolkhozes*** and ***sovkhozes***), while the properties and animals of rich farmers were confiscated. By the 1980s these *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* were engaged in large-scale production of cotton, wheat, potatoes, and other crops for domestic consumption and export to the Soviet and international markets. The extent of agricultural monoculture could be illustrated by the fact that in the 1980s Turkmenistan produced more cotton per capita than any other country in the world. However, in the 1970s and 1980s many farms began to experience difficulties and productivity declined due to the absence of economic initiatives, cotton monoculture, and overexploitation of water and land resources in the republic. At the same time, intensive use of irrigation water and the shrinking of the Aral Sea contributed to a negative climate change, and a significant deterioration of the arable land, which included salinization and land erosion.

In the early 1990s Turkmenistan's government carried out several major reforms as the state reorganized the *kolkhozes* and allowed long-term leases of small plots of land for personal use. In 1992 and 1996 most of the *kolkhozes* were restructured, but the state preserved its control over the cotton and wheat production by establishing the system of compulsory quotas and state-controlled prices.

Economic difficulties of the 1990s, mismanagement, corruption, and unfavorable regional market conditions contributed to a recession in the agricultural sector and consequently in agricultural product-processing industries. Crop production fell sharply at the beginning of the 1990s, but recovered slightly by the late 1990s and early 2000s. Many farmers struggled to adapt to the new economic realities and turned to a subsistence economy. The World Bank's experts consider that the agricultural sector in Turkmenistan still needs substantial restructuring and reforms. However, the country has to compete for international investments with neighboring **Kazakhstan**, **Tajikistan**, and **Uzbekistan** as well as with major world producers. In 2002 the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) estimated that more than 55 percent of the rural population in Turkmenistan lived below the poverty line and the unemployment rate could run as high as 20 to 30 percent.

AIDOGDYEV, DORTGULY (1962–). Turkmen politician. Born in the village of Goyokcha in **Akhal** ***welayat***, Dortguly Aidogdyev graduated from the Turkmenistan Institute of National Economy in 1991. He started his career in the retail trade sector in Ashgabat in 1981. From 1982 to 1994 he was senior manager, deputy director, and director of a retail enterprise in Ashgabat. From 1994 to 1995 he held the position of deputy general director and general director of the state-controlled trade enterprise Turkmenbakaleia. In 1995 he was appointed deputy chairman of the stock exchange. From 1999 to 2001 Aidogdyev was the minister of trade. In 2001 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Germany. In 2002 he became the minister of the textile industry and the deputy chairman of the cabinet of ministers. In 2003 he was appointed minister of trade and foreign economic relations.

AIRLINES. Airlines connect Turkmenistan's major cities and link its capital—**Ashgabat**—with major international destinations. There were about 72 airports in the republic in 2002 (CIA est.), including small airfields in major cities and towns. Most of them were built during the Soviet era and are capable of receiving civil and military aircrafts. The civil aviation of Turkmenistan provides passenger and cargo **transportation** as well as medical access to remote towns and cities. The national carrier, **Turkmenistan Airlines**, established and heavily subsidized during the Soviet era as a branch of Aeroflot, experienced a severe decline in the early 1990s. The **government** of Turkmenistan made substantial investments in the national airline in order to rebuild it according to international standards. In the mid-1990s French contractors completed a new international airport, which was equipped with a modern aeronautical system. The airport's two 3,800-meter runways are capable of receiving large civil airplanes. Since the 1990s several international airlines have opened direct flights to Turkmenistan, including Aeroflot, British Airlines, Lufthansa, Turkish Airlines, and some others.

AITAKOV, NADIRBAI (1884–1938) (also Nedirbai Aitakow). Turkmen politician and first chairman of the Central Executive Committee (parliament) in the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR). Born in 1884 Nadirbai Aitakov did not complete a formal **edu-**

cation. He became a political activist during the civil war in Turkmenistan (1918–1920). In 1922 he joined the Bolshevik Party and played an important role in establishment of the Soviet political system in Central Asia and in the Turkmen land. In 1921 he was appointed the chairman of the Krasnovodsk Executive Committee and in 1923 he was appointed the deputy-chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the **Turkistan Soviet Socialist Republic**. In 1925 he became the chairman of the Central Executive Committee of the Turkmen SSR. He served in this position from 1925 to 1937. During Stalin's purges of 1937–1938 Aitakov was arrested and after a short trial he was sentenced to death. He was executed in 1938, but was exonerated posthumously after the death of Stalin.

AKHALTEKE HORSES. *See* HORSES.

AKHAL WELAYAT (formerly Ashgabat *oblast*). The most populous ***welayat*** in Turkmenistan. Its territory covers the southern and central parts of the country; it is bordered by **Mary *welayat*** in the east, **Dashoguz** and **Lebap *welayats*** in the north, **Balkan *welayat*** in the west, and **Iran** in the south. Ashgabat ***oblast*** was established in 1939 and reorganized in 1959 and 1973. Akhal *welayat* was formed in 1992 and consisted of 13 *etraps* (districts). Turkmenistan's capital **Ashgabat** is located in the south of the *welayat*, but the capital of the province is **Anau**. The total area of Akhal *welayat* is about 95,400 square kilometers, and it is the second largest *welayat* of the republic (about 20 percent of its territory). Its **population** stands at about 900,000 (2004, government est.—excluding Ashgabat), or about 15 percent of the country's population, up from about 826,000 (1985 est.). Local experts, however, estimate the population of the *welayat* at 700,000 to 800,000 people, including temporary workers, refugees, and displaced people. Akhal is the country's most heterogeneous *welayat* in terms of ethnic composition, as it has the largest proportion of non-**Turkmens** in the republic, including Russians, Ukrainians, Turks, Uzbeks, Kazakhs, Armenians, and others. Many of them arrived at the beginning of the 20th century, although a significant number of migrants left the *welayat* in the 1990s for various reasons.

Akhal *welayat* is the home of almost 30 percent of the industrial enterprises of the country. **Agriculture**, **industry**, **tourism**, and **mining**

are the main sectors of its economy. Since the Soviet era, Akhal *welayat* has specialized in manufacturing consumer goods, producing and processing agricultural products for Ashgabat and for export (including textile, home appliances, garments, etc.), machinery (equipment for **gas** and **oil** fields and for chemical industries, car assembly plants, etc.), tourism, and **services**. There is a large gas field, which provides gas for the capital. Several military plants manufactured various equipment during the Soviet era, but downscaled their production in the 1990s. According to official statistics in 2003 the *welayat* produced 750 million kilowatts of electricity, 27.6 billion cubic meters of gas, 27 million square meters of textiles, 733,000 square meters of carpets, etc. In the 1990s the *welayat* became one of the largest producer of vegetables, fruits, and wheat in the country.

In the early 1990s the *welayat* received a significant inflow of local and international investments due to the gas and oil boom and large-scale construction projects initiated by the **government**. The *welayat* reinvented itself when several large textile and garment factories were built in close proximity to the capital city. It attracted a large share of the Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs), coming third only after Ashgabat and **Balkan** ***welayat***. In the late 1990s and early 2000s the Turkmenistani government invested in building international quality highways, a major airport, several hotels, and other projects.

Important historical and tourist sites include the **Anau** archeological site, Anau Mosque (built in the 15th century, destroyed by earthquake in 1948), ruins of **Nisa** city, **Elken Depe**, Abiverd, Khivabad, Serakhs, and some other historical places.

AKHUN. 1. A title reserved for an Islamic religious person in Turkmenistan, who has deep knowledge and authority to interpret and to advise on various religious legal issues (***Shariah***). In **Turkmen** society *akhuns* traditionally had an undisputed authority. They often taught small groups of students at ***medreses*** or were in charge of sacred places. 2. In Turkmenistan sometimes this title was used to address a highly respected personality who traces his genealogy to the first Arab warriors or campaigners of Prophet Mohammad. In traditional society *akhuns* exercised a significant influence over the people and tribal leaders.

AKSAKAL (*Aqsaqal*, *Oqsoqol* in some eastern *etraps*; literally "white bearded" in Turkic). 1. Elders in a rural or town community or oldest member of an extended family. 2. Head of a craftsman shop or a craftsman order in Central Asia. 3. Administrator in a local neighborhood community in a town or village; elderly representative of a community in a local administration. Until the mid-1920s *aksakals* were elected members of the local administration and they often supervised the execution of the ***adat*** (customary law) in the rural areas. The institution of *aksakals* was officially abolished during the Soviet era, but in everyday life elderly people still maintained significant authority and high respect among the population. The institution of *aksakals* was revived after the introduction of the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** in 1992. The constitution endorsed the creation of the **Yashuly** Maslakaty, a consultative body under President **Saparmurat Niyazov**. Councils of elders were also created in all villages and towns as a part of the local government bodies. In Turkmenistan, people often use the term "*yashuly*" as a synonym for "*aksakal*."

ALAMAN (from Turkmen *al-* [take]). A short campaign often as revenge against competing tribes and extended families, or for seizure of properties and women in sedentary cities and towns in Persia (**Iran**), **Khiva Khanate**, etc. Traditionally, it was a short raid against herds belonging to other tribes, or against trade caravans, or unguarded settlements. It was often conducted by a group of young ***Yigits*** for political or economic purposes or in search of personal glory. The *alaman* was outlawed after the Russian Empire established its control over the Turkmen land.

ALMA-ATA DECLARATION (also *Almaty Declaration*). A declaration signed by Turkmenistan along with other former Soviet republics in Almaty, **Kazakhstan**, in December 1991. The Alma-Ata Declaration formally ended the existence of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and signified the beginning of independence for all members of the Soviet Union including five Central Asian Republics (CARs). The declaration established major principles in dealing with post-Soviet problems: "assurance of the territorial integrity and inviolability of national boundaries; creation of a

system of political security; creation of a military system of security, and stabilization of inter-ethnic relations within the former USSR." One of the most important outcomes of the Alma-Ata Declaration was that it endorsed the inviolability of existing political borders between the republics in principle and agreed that the regulation of the rights of ethnic minorities was an internal affair of each state. Initially Turkmenistan supported integrational initiatives within the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** grouping; however, since introduction of the **Permanent Neutrality Policy, Ashgabat** has distanced itself from all integrational economic and military multilateral agreements within the CIS.

ALTYN DEPE. A historical site in the **Akhal** *welayat* dated to the fifth through second millenniums B.C. Archeologists discovered ruins of a settlement and some public and private buildings dated to the Bronze Age. In this area, Bronze Age art archeologists also found some of the best examples of in the territory of Central Asia, including golden heads of a wolf and a bull.

AMU DARYA (also *Amudaria*, *Oxus*, *Jeikhun*—literally "wild"). This river is 2,540 kilometers long with a total basin area of around 450,000 square kilometers. It is the largest and longest river on the territory of Turkmenistan. The Amu Darya forms a part of the **Afghanistan**-Turkmenistan and Turkmenistan-**Uzbekistan** borders, flows from the mountains of northeast Afghanistan through a narrow valley into southeastern Turkmenistan, and then northward to the **Aral Sea**. In the upper basin, the river's highest flow is from June to August, when snow melts in the high mountains of Afghanistan, and its lowest flow is from December to February. However, numerous irrigation projects and canals affected the water flow in the lower basin of the river. In ancient and medieval times there were several changes in the course of the river, and, for example, for quite some time the Amu Darya sent its waters to the Sarykamysh lake (northwest of the **Dashoguz** *welayat*).

The Amu Darya is one of the most important sources of drinking and irrigation water in Turkmenistan, and the **Garagum Canal** takes water from the Amu Darya all the way to **Ashgabat**. During the Soviet era its water was used excessively for irrigation of cotton fields. The overexploitation of water resources and reclamation of land in

this extremely dry region led to the disappearance of *tugais* (river basin bushes of tamarisk, poplar, reeds, etc.) and the salinization of some areas around the Amu Darya basin in the 1970s and 1980s. In the 1990s the situation became even worse when southern Turkmenistan experienced several years of severe drought. In the 1980s and 1990s for several years in a row the Amu Darya River did not reach the Aral Sea, causing water shortages and environmental degradation in its lower delta area.

ANAU. 1. Town, capital of the **Akhal *welayat***, situated about 20 kilometers east of **Ashgabat**. 2. Archeological site excavated in the early 20th century first by an American expedition led by R. Pampelli and then during the next decades by numerous expeditions from various countries. The expeditions excavated such sites as **Altyn Depe**, Namazga Depe, and some others. Archeologists discovered settlements and cultural artifacts that became widely known under the name of the culture of Anau. Among the artifacts in this area were some of the best examples of the Bronze Age art in the territory of Central Asia, including golden heads of a wolf and a bull.

ARAL SEA (also *Aralskoie more* in Russian). Inland lake, located in close proximity to northern Turkmenistan. Its surface area is about 32,000 square kilometers (1996), down from approximately 67,000 in the 1960s. Its length from south to north is about 250 kilometers, its width from east to west is about 220 kilometers, and its depth is 15 to 25 meters on average. It contains about 54 cubic kilometers of salty (nondrinkable) water. In the past the lake was one of the world's largest, but its water level fell by about half (or by 15 to 19 meters) between the 1950s and 2004. The Aral Sea coastline is shared between **Kazakhstan** and **Uzbekistan**. The Aral Sea was famous for its fish catch in the past, but commercial fishing had ceased by the 1980s and the former major ports, Aral'sk and Muynoq, are now situated several kilometers away from the water.

At present the Aral Sea consists of two distinct parts—the Small Aral Sea in the north and the Large Aral Sea in the south. They separated in the 1980s due to a significant drop in the water level. The **Amu Darya** and Syr Darya rivers provided the main water inflow to the sea in the past. However, the introduction of intensive cotton monoculture

and large irrigation projects in Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and other Central Asian Republics in the 20th century led to excessive water consumption and consequently to the shrinking of the Aral Sea. The environmental impact of the disappearance of the Aral Sea includes the salinization of water and soil around the Aral Sea basin; the desertification of large areas around the lake in the deltas of the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers; and contamination of the soil and water by fertilizers, pesticides, and herbicides. The environmental degradation affected an area of about 400,000 square kilometers (155,000 square miles) with a total population of 4 million people in several districts in Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan as well as in the **Dashoguz** ***welayat*** of Turkmenistan. The international community recognized the region around the Aral Sea as an Ecological Disaster Zone. The salty dust from the former sea bottom, which is often carried by winds to northern Turkmenistan, is blamed for the rise of respiratory illnesses and throat and esophageal cancer.

If the drain of water from the Amu Darya and Syr Darya rivers and the Aral Sea's evaporation continues, the lake might be reduced to several small and disconnected extremely salty lakes within the next 40 to 50 years. The five countries affected by the Aral Sea disaster, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, and Turkmenistan, and in lesser extent Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan, with major help from the Asian Development Bank, World Bank, the United Nations, the **United States**, and some others, have been promoting several projects in order to halt the ecological disaster and to improve the living conditions of people around the lake.

ARCHITECTURE. From the medieval era Turkmenistan inherited two types of architectural constructions. One was a monumental architecture of grand palaces, mosques, and ***medreses***, which could be found among historical buildings in **Koneurgench**, **ancient Merv**, and other cities. The other was a mass residential architecture of the sedentary population, which was adapted to the local climate and traditional lifestyle. Both types could be seen in the country until present, and some of the cultural traditions still have a strong influence on private and small-scale housing projects in small cities and towns. This includes usage of local materials, such as a combination of clay and wood, flat roof, separation of houses into male and female areas, *aivans*, etc.

Many cities in Turkmenistan were expanded in the 19th and early 20th centuries on the sites of ancient towns and fortresses. However, Turkmenistan's contemporary architectural landscape was mainly formed in the 20th century. Russian and European architects and engineers laid out the modern landscape and architectural planning for cities like **Ashgabat**, **Mary**, **Turkmenbashy**, and others in the early 20th century. Large-scale investments in the construction sector arrived in several waves in the 1930s, 1950s, and 1970s, as many public and residential buildings were constructed along with numerous factories and industrial plants. In most cases, their architecture reflected a combination of Stalinist classicism and Soviet functionalism that was sometimes combined with Turkmen traditional ornaments. In the 1930s many **government** and cultural buildings were built in the semiclassic monumental style in the capital, but very few survived the devastating earthquake of 1948 in Ashgabat. In the 1960s many industrial centers were significantly enlarged and numerous four- and five-story apartment buildings were built in order to quickly resolve the shortage of dwellings. Most of the buildings were created of red bricks or concrete in a solid but faceless style (locals often call them *Khrushchevki*—after the name of the Soviet leader who promoted the building of mass and cheap accommodation).

The latest construction boom came in the 1990s and the early 2000s, as the government invested heavily in large prestige projects mainly in Ashgabat and in some major cities around the country. In an attempt to redevelop city centers in all major urban areas, the government ordered construction of a significant number of modern office buildings, hotels, department stores, numerous monuments in honor of President **Saparmurat Niyazov** and various historical personalities, in a composition of marble, glass, and concrete. Most of these new buildings were built by foreign contractors, especially from France, Turkey, and some other countries.

ARCHIVES. The Department of Archives under the Ministry of Education, Science and Culture (the State Archive Agency between 1992 and 1998) regulates the activities and oversees the collections of all major archives in Turkmenistan. As of 2004 the archival system in Turkmenistan consisted of a central archive and a network of archives in ***welayats*** (provinces), *etraps* (districts), and cities. They

managed more than 10,000 archival funds, which included several million archival entities. Officially, most of the archives are open to the public. However, scholars, students, and researchers may face various problems in accessing archival materials in the country. Most of the specialized archives, such as the archive of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, **National Security Ministry**, **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** (now **Democratic Party of Turkmenistan**), and some others operate under strict state control and are often inaccessible to foreign researchers.

The first modern archives were established in what is now Turkmenistan by the **Russian Empire's** colonial administration. These archives had depositories in major cities in Turkmenistan. The colonial administration made efforts to systematize some archives of the precolonial era, but most of the documents were taken to museums and archives in the Russian Empire. The contemporary Turkmen archival system was established in the 1920s, as the Central State Archive of Turkmenistan was established in 1920 in **Ashgabat**. Between 1929 and 1939 archives were established in all major ***oblast*** centers. In 1939 all archives came under the control of the Ministry of Internal Affairs (Russian abbreviation—NKVD), but in 1960 they were transferred under the control of the Council of Ministries of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (**TSSR**). During the Soviet era the archives were accessible to a very limited number of scholars and many collections were not open to the public at all. Instead, the government funded the publication of selected archival materials. Between 1960 and 2005 between 40 and 50 major collections of selected archival materials were published. *See also* LIBRARIES.

ARMY. Turkmenistan's defense forces have been developed since the early 1990s under a heavy influence of the Soviet-era experience and with some input from Western military advisers, particularly from Turkey. During the Soviet era Turkmenistan's male citizens of the conscript age of 18 were drafted into military service. The military service was compulsory and the conscripts were often sent to other Soviet republics or Soviet military bases overseas. By the 1990s a small group of ethnic Turkmen military officers of 1,000 to 2,000 people served all over the Soviet Union, usually at low- and middle-ranking levels. Most of these personnel returned to Turkmenistan be-

tween 1991 and 1993 and formed the core of the commanding military staff in Turkmenistan's newly created army. In 1992 the **government** of independent Turkmenistan decided to establish national armed forces, taking into consideration the geographic proximity of the republic to wartorn **Afghanistan** and **Tajikistan**.

In 1992 the Turkmenistani government issued an order to take control over all military facilities and equipment of the Soviet Army on its territory. In 1992 President **Saparmurat Niyazov** issued a decree establishing the Ministry of Defense and appointed its first minister of defense. According to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** the army consists of the infantry, defense air force, **border guards**, and military training schools. According to the International Institute for Strategic Studies (London), Turkmenistan inherited from the Soviet army 900 main battle tanks, 1,800 armored combat vehicles, 900 artillery units, 80 SU-17 fighters, 55 MIG-23 fighters, and 30 MIG-25 fighters.

In August 1992 President Saparmurat Niyazov signed a decree establishing the Border Troops of Turkmenistan. Later he signed a special bilateral treaty with the **Russian Federation**, which resolved early disputes over the status of the Russian officers and Russian border troops on the territory of the country. All military officers, who represented mainly officers of Slavic nationalities (Russians, Ukrainians, etc.), were granted dual citizenship (under the Dual Citizenship Treaty with Russia) and rights to transfer to the Russian Federation within five years. The border guards remained under the military command and control of the Russian Federation. Throughout the 1990s Turkmenistan made substantial efforts to train its own officers and to replace the departing Russian military personnel with local recruits. By the late 1990s locally and internationally trained (mainly in Russia, Turkey, Germany, and some other countries) Turkmen officers replaced most of the Russian officers in the army and navy.

According to the constitution, the **president** is the commander-in-chief and has rights to appoint and to dismiss the minister of defense and the National Security Ministry. The military doctrine is defined to defend the **Permanent Neutrality Policy** of the country. It declared that the country would not join any military alliances. Turkmenistan was among the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) countries, which joined the Partnership for Peace

(PfP) of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO); however, it refused to participate in the PfP-sponsored peacekeeping exercises between 1997 and 2001. The republic refused to participate in any multilateral actions by the **Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty**, citing its neutrality policy. It also refused to join or support directly the United States–led war against the Taliban government in Afghanistan, although it opened its airspace for U.S. and NATO humanitarian flights. The Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimates the country's military expenditure was around US$90 million in 1999. However, in January 2004 President **Saparmurat Niyazov** stated that the country spent about US$200 million for military purposes, including the purchase of new weaponry, training personnel, and other military activities. Yet, in the early 2000s the morale in the army suffered from chronic underfunding, inadequate training, and disciplinary problems, including bullying. According to the official media reports, in 2003–2004 the government began using conscripts for various nonmilitary public services, for example, police traffic control, nonessential work at public hospitals, etc. *See also* MILITARY DOCTRINE, MILITARY FORCES.

ASH (pronounced "a-sh" [*a* as in "ask"]). 1. A refreshment or food, usually the term refers to whatever food is on the table. 2. Main dish at dinner or lunch (i.e., *chorba*, popular soup made of lamb; *govurma*, stir-fried lamb meat; *polov*, popular dish made of rice). *See also* ASH-KHANA.

ASHAR. *See* HASHAR.

ASHGABAT (also *Ashkhabat*; *Askhabat* until 1919, and *Poltoratsk* between 1919 and 1927). This is the capital of Turkmenistan, the largest city in the republic. The city is located in southern Turkmenistan, about 30 kilometers north of the border with **Iran**. It lies in an oasis south of the **Garagum Desert** and it is situated at the same latitude as the city of San Francisco (U.S.A.) or Athens (Greece). It encompasses 100 to 120 square kilometers, most of it elevated 300–500 meters above sea level. Its population stands at about 789,000 (2003, official est.), up from about 356,00 (1986, official

est.), although some experts argue that the actual figure might be lower. In 2004 the population of the capital consisted mainly of **Turkmens**, Turks and Russians, but it also included significant communities of Ukrainians, Tatars, Armenians, Azerbaijanis, Iranians, Kazakhs, and some others. Ashgabat is an important industrial and **transportation** center in southern Turkmenistan with light **industries**, machinery factories, consumer goods, and garment production. It also hosts several large higher **education** institutions, including the **Turkmen State University** (founded in 1950), Turkmen Medical Institute (founded in 1931), Turkmen Agricultural Institute (founded in 1930), and some others.

Ashgabat is one of the youngest capital cities in Central Asia. It began as a small village and administrative center of the area. In 1881 it became a Russian military and administrative center in the **Zacaspian *oblast*** (province). In 1885 Ashgabat was connected to the strategically important railroad from Krasnovodsk (now **Turkmenbashy**) and grew rapidly to about 13,000 (1891), hosting new industries and businesses. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 the city became the Bolsheviks' stronghold in this part of Central Asia, but was lost for nearly a year to the Russian White Guards in 1918. After the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** Ashgabat became the capital of the newly established **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic**. The Soviet authorities invested significantly in the development of light and heavy industries in the city during the 1930s. They relocated a large portion of Russian workers together with several large industrial plants during World War II, making Ashgabat a leading powerhouse. However, the city was completely destroyed by a devastating earthquake on October 6, 1948, when more than 30,000 people died (other estimates quote figures up to 100,000). It took nearly a decade to rebuild the city and the city got a new boost when the **Garagum Canal** brought irrigation water to Ashgabat in 1962.

During the Soviet era people of different nationalities moved to the city, including a significant number of Russians, Ukrainians, Armenians, and some others. There were serious interethnic tensions in the late 1980s and early 1990s, although Turkmenistan avoided a militant confrontation. Since 1991 a large proportion of the Slavic and non-Turkmen population has left the city, although at a much slower rate than in other Central Asian republics.

The **architecture** of modern Ashgabat consists of a combination of Soviet classicism, traditional Turkmen housing, and Western modernism. The city was greatly expanded during the 1930s (almost no buildings of that era survived the 1948 earthquake) and between the 1950s and 1970s, and buildings of that era still dominate some parts of the city. In the 1950s the **government** introduced the semiclassic monumental style. In the 1960s the city grew significantly, and several districts of four- and five-story apartment buildings were built of red bricks or concrete in the faceless "*Khrushchevki*" style. At the same time with the arrival of the much needed Garagum Canal, the city administration ordered planting of numerous trees and bushes.

In the 1990s the city center was redesigned by French, Turkish, and other contractors and was rebuilt in a bright composition of marble, glass, and concrete: new buildings include the Carpet Museum, National Museum of Turkmenistan, Four Points "Ak Altyn" Hotel (1994), Sheraton Grand Turkmen Hotel (1995), Gara Altyn Hotel, Olympic Stadium, Turkmenbashy Rukhyet Palace, 118-meter-tall Monument of Independence, International Airport, several monuments in honor of President **Saparmurat Niyazov**. Despite economic difficulties in the 1990s the city remained safe for international tourists and its expanding expatriate community.

ASH-KHANA. A traditional café, restaurant, or teahouse, which serves national dishes such as *govurma*, *gara-chorba*, *polov*, *chishkebap*, *tamdyrlama*, green tea, and others. Customarily, it also is a place for social networking and celebrations. *See also* ASH.

ATA. 1. Grandfather, oldest man in the family, or ancestor. 2. Polite term used as a reference to respected oldest person. 3. The word used with the names of saints—celebrated patron of a clan, community, tribe, or craftsman order, e.g., Gaytarmysh-Ata—patron who protects from misfortune.

ATABAYEV, KAIGYSYZ (1888–1937) (also Gaigysyz Atabayew). Turkmen politician and first chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR). Born in 1888 Kaigysyz Atabayev received a formal **education** from the Tashkent teachers' seminary. He became a political activist

during the civil war in Turkmenistan (1918–1920). In 1919 he joined the Bolshevik Party and played an important role in establishment of the Soviet power in Central Asia and in the Turkmen land. He also was actively involved in the campaign against the **Basmachy movement**. In 1924 Atabayev was elected as chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, becoming the first prime minister of the Turkmen SSR. He served in this position from 1924 to 1937. In the mid-1930s he was accused of anti-Soviet activities. Atabayev was executed in 1937, but was rehabilitated posthumously after the death of Stalin.

ATAEVA, AKSOLTAN (1944–). Turkmen politician and diplomat. Born in **Ashgabat**, Ataeva graduated from the Turkmen Medical Institute in 1968. She also completed the *aspirantura* (doctorate studies) at the Institute for Social Hygienic and Health Care Management (Moscow) in 1989, and the *doktorantura* (full doctorate studies) at the same institute in 1996 (both by correspondence). Since 1968 she has held various managerial positions in Turkmenistan's health care system specializing in **women** and maternity care. From 1985 to 1991 she served as deputy minister for public health. From 1991 to 1994 she was the minister for public health. In 1994 she was appointed minister for social security and concurrently president of **trade unions** of Turkmenistan. In February 1995 she was appointed the permanent representative of Turkmenistan to the United Nations and has served in this position for nearly 10 years (as of 2004), becoming the longest serving representative of the republic in this position.

Ataeva played an important role in the shaping of the republic's relations with the United Nations after Turkmenistan's independence; and she participated in various negotiations with the **United States** and Western governments and international institutions. She headed the Turkmenistan **government's** delegations to the Cairo International Conference on Population and Development (September 1994), the Tokyo Conference of Development Strategy (April 1996), the FAO's World Food Summit in Rome (November 1996), and the Treaty Signing Ceremony and Mine Action Forum in Ottawa, Canada (December 1997). She has also been a member of the **Democratic Party of Turkmenistan** (since 1992) and the ***Khalk Maslahaty***, Supreme People's Council of Turkmenistan (since 1993).

Ataeva holds the rank of extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador. She was awarded several **orders** of Turkmenistan, including the Gurbansoltan Eje order, the Gairat medal, and the Love for Motherland medal. She has authored about 100 articles and academic research papers on the health care system in Turkmenistan.

ATAMURADOV, BEGENCH (1962–). Turkmen politician. Born in the town of Atamurat in **Lebap** ***welayat***, Begench Atamuradov graduated from the Voronezh Lesoteknik (Forest Technology) Institute (**Russia**) in 1984. He started his career as a forestry officer at the Sunt-Khasagard National Park in 1984. From 1989 he was appointed as a senior engineer of the Ministry of Forestry. From 1989 to 1998 he held various managerial and senior managerial positions in different branches of the ministry and the ministry administrative apparatus. In 1999 he was appointed deputy minister for protection of natural resources. From 2001 to 2002 Atamuradov was ***hyakim*** of the city of Abadan. In 2002 he was appointed executive director of the International Fund of the President of Turkmenistan. In 2002 he was appointed the minister for **agriculture** and concurrently appointed deputy chairman of the cabinet of ministers.

ATAYEV, ASHIR (1953–) (also *Ataev*). Turkmen politician. Born in the village of Bagir in **Akhal** ***welayat***, Ashir Atayev graduated from the faculty of law of the **Turkmen State University**. In the 1970s he worked as an inspector and then senior inspector at the Ministry of Internal Affairs of Turkmenistan. Between 1990 and 1999 he held senior managerial positions in the militia (police). In 1999 he was appointed head of the police department of **Ashgabat**. In January 2002 he became the deputy minister of internal affairs. In January 2003 he was appointed the minister of internal affairs and concurrently the rector of the police academy of Turkmenistan (since December 2003).

Atayev has a rank of major-general and he has been awarded several state orders.

ATAYEV, REJEPDURDY (1952–). Turkmen politician. Born in the town of Kara Yab in **Mary** ***welayat***, Rejepdurdy Atayev graduated from the Turkmen Polytechnic Institute in 1974. He started his ca-

reer as an engineer in the Minneftegazstroi ministry in 1974 and gradually grew to a senior managerial position in the Minneftegazstroi. From 1985 to 1987 he worked at the Mary ***oblast's*** **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** Committee. In 1988 he was appointed the senior engineer and then the head of the Shatlykgazstroi enterprise. In 1993 he was appointed the head of the Maryneftegasstroi enterprise. In 1996 Atayev was appointed the deputy chairman of the state-controlled concern Turkmenneftegazstroi. In 1998 he was appointed the chairman of the concern. In September 2003 he was appointed the minister for construction, transportation, and communication and concurrently deputy chairman of the cabinet of ministers.

AWARDS. *See* ORDERS.

– B –

BABA. 1. Father, grandfather, or ancestor. 2. Polite reference to the respected oldest member of an extended family. 3. The title used with the names of many architectural monuments or holy places usually related to respected historical or legendary persons, ***akhuns***, leaders of the **Sufi** brotherhoods, or a celebrated patron of a clan, community, or tribe (e.g., Idris Baba ***medrese***). 4. Saint or patron, e.g., Zengibaba—saint of cattle, Musababa—saint of sheep, etc.

BAGSHY (pronounced "bag'shy"; also *Bakshi*). A professional singer and bard who devotes his entire life to memorizing and reciting the traditional Turkmen epics, such as ***Gorgut Ata***, ***Gorogly*** (Gerogly), and others. The epics and ***dessans*** are often accompanied by ***dutar***. *Bagshys* always enjoyed an honorable and influential position in Turkmen society, as they were considered important guardians of the Turkmen culture and tradition. They often had great influence over tribal and military leaders and voiced concerns and grievances of ordinary people. Since 1991 the Turkmenistani **government** has promoted and supported the revival of the national musical traditions, and *bagshys* have received greater attention.

BAI. 1. Rich person; sometimes used together with a person's name to show respect (i.e., Serdar-bai). 2. The term refers to rich and influential community leaders among various Central Asian people and among **Turkmen tribes** in pre-Soviet society. 3. In the Tsarist colonial administration it referred to native heads of local administration or to landlords.

BALKANABAT (also *Balkanabad*; formerly *Nebit-Dag* or *Nebitdag*). Balkanabat (then Nebit-Dag) was granted the status of city in 1946 and it became the center of the **Balkan *welayat*** (then ***oblast***) in 1991. A city on the crossroads from **Turkmenbashy** (formerly Krasnovodsk) seaport to **Ashgabat,** Balkanabat is located in western Turkmenistan, about 400 kilometers northwest of Ashgabat. Its population stood at about 100,000 (2004, official est.), up from about 81,000 (1985, official est.), consisting mainly of **Turkmens**, Russians, Kazakhs, and some others. It is an important **railway** and **oil**-processing center in western Turkmenistan. There are oil-processing plants, mechanical and spare parts plants, the Balkanabat-Aliabad power transmission line, **educational** institutions, **libraries**, post offices, hotels, the headquarters of the *welayat* security forces, and **police**, etc.

A small railway station has existed on the site of Balkanabat since the late 19th century. During the Soviet era it grew, becoming an important railway center of the Krasnovodsk district and then *oblast*. Its importance was enhanced by the discovery and development of oil and **gas** fields in close proximity to the city. In the late 1980s and early 1990s the city experienced visible decay and mass emigration of skilled workers due to the economic recession and a steep decline in investments. However, Balkanabat has received large inflows of **government** subsidies and investments since the mid-1990s for rebuilding its infrastructure, especially its **transportation**, communications, and oil-and gas-related facilities. In 1997 the Nebitchi, the first Western-style four-star hotel, was constructed in the city.

BALKAN WELAYAT. The largest **welayat** in terms of territory and the smallest in terms of **population** in Turkmenistan, located in the western part of the republic, bordered by **Akhal *welayat*** in the east, **Dashoguz *welayat*** in the northeast, **Uzbekistan** and **Kazakhstan** in

the north, the **Caspian Sea** in the east, and **Iran** in the south. Balkan (then Krasnovodsk *oblast*) was established in 1952, and reorganized in 1955 and 1973. Balkan *welayat* consists of six *etraps*. The *welayat* has a total area of about 138,500 square kilometers, or over 28 percent of Turkmenistan's territory. Its population stood at about 450,000 in 2004 (government est.), up from about 341,000 in 1985, or 9 percent of the country's population. Balkan is a relatively homogeneous *welayat* in terms of ethnic composition, and it consists of **Turkmens**, Uzbeks, Russians, Kazakhs, Tatars, and some others. The majority of the people (70 percent) live in urban areas. During the early 1990s a significant number of skilled workers of Slavic nationalities left the *welayat* permanently or temporarily in search of jobs; however, with the **gas** and **oil** boom there were many new arrivals. In 2001 the birth rate stood at about 17 births per 1,000, one of the lowest birth rates in the republic.

Oil and gas extraction, **agriculture**, and **mining** are the major sectors of Balkan's economy. During the Soviet era the *welayat* specialized in sulfate mining in Garabogazgol (the oldest field in the republic), oil, and gas extraction. The agricultural sector is the least diversified and includes animal husbandry and limited grain and fruit production. Fishing and fish processing also play an important role in the province's **economy**. A sizable part of the *welayat* suffers from a permanent shortage of drinking water and is extremely inhospitable for human living and commercial agriculture. The *welayat* also faces significant environmental problems, including desertification and salinization of land. Recreational and adventure **tourism** is a growing sector of the province's economy and is mainly based on recreational facilities of the Caspian Sea coastline.

The *welayat* received significant attention in the 1990s, as it became one of the major gas-producing centers not only for Turkmenistan but also for the **Commonwealth of Independent States**. With the completion of a gas **pipeline** to Iran, Balkan *welayat* became Turkmenistan's major exporter of gas to Iran. According to the Turkmenistani **government** the *welayat* has significant oil and gas potential, especially at its Caspian Sea offshore zone. According to official estimates in 2003 the *welayat* produced 1.9 billion kilowatts of electricity, 18.7 million tons of oil, 19.5 billion cubic meters of gas, 91,300 square meters of carpets, etc. In the late 1990s

the Turkmenistani government invested heavily in building a network of modern Western-style hotels in major cities and recreational areas in the *welayat*. However, the international potential of this sector was undermined by rigorous visa restrictions for foreign citizens that were introduced in 2002.

Important historical and tourist sites include the ruins of **Dekhistan's** cities, Shir-Kabir mosque (also called Mashat-Ata), an ancient cemetery (dated about the ninth to 12th centuries A.D.), the minaret Abu Jafar Akhmad (dated about the 11th century), and some others.

BANKING. Throughout the 1990s Turkmenistan was reluctant to liberalize its banking sector. Therefore as of 2004 practically all banks operate under strict **government** control. The banking system law was introduced in 1992 and it allowed the operation of independent commercial banks. The banking regulations require registration of all commercial banks with the state-controlled Central Bank of Turkmenistan, which awards them a general license and permission to operate with hard currency. By late 1990 several state banks and their branches were privatized and commercialized. Most of the banks opened corresponding accounts with foreign banks. By the early 2000s they operated with most of the Western currencies, traveler's checks, and internationally recognized credit cards, such as Visa and MasterCard. However, the ***manat***, the local currency, is not freely convertible (as of 2004) and local and foreign citizens experience difficulty changing their currency at the banks.

There are two types of banks in the country: state commercial banks and joint stock open-end commercial banks. The banking sector, however, proved to be weak as the republic experienced a steep economic recession and decline of living standards. Additionally, people preferred to keep their savings in U.S. dollars outside the banking system, as they faced very high inflation rates throughout the 1990s. The official exchange rate for foreign currency remains under strict government control. The official exchange rate for the *manat* was significantly higher than in the black market throughout the 1990s. In this environment a vibrant black market emerged. By 1999–2000 the total number of commercial banks was reduced from 69 to 13, mainly through acquisitions and closures. In 2000, for example, the Obabank, a joint stock commercial bank, was closed.

As of 2001 there were 13 commercial banks. The state controlled banks are the Turkmen Vnesheconombank (capitalization $24.6 million), Halkbank (savings bank), Turkmenistanbank, Turkmenbashy-Bank (capitalization $6.5 million), and Daykhanbank (as of 2003). The joint stock commercial banks are the Senagat Bank (capitalization $2.1 million), Garashsyzlyk Bank (capitalization $2.2 million), and Garagum Bank. The Turkmen-**Russian** Kreditbank and Turkmen-Turkish bank are joint stock banks with foreign participation. One Pakistani and one **Iranian** bank have a status of foreign banks in Turkmenistan. In 2000 the Presidentbank was established with a primary goal of offering credit to small- and medium-scale commercial projects.

BASMACHY MOVEMENT (singular *Basmach*—"bandit," "robber"). The name used by Soviet authorities to describe a popular political and military opposition to the establishment of Soviet rule in Central Asia in the 1920s and 1930s.

The Basmachy emerged as a popular movement in response to the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917–1918, although some armed groups had acted against the **Russian Empire** administration since 1915–1916. Gradually the confrontation between the Soviet authorities and local political groups escalated, and by 1918–1919 various political groups and influential **tribal** and communal leaders had organized armed resistance in various parts of the region. The Basmachy were particularly active in the **Khiva Khanate** between 1918 and 1922. Their ideological support came largely from such native political movements as Shura-i-Islam and Shura-i-Ulema and the nationalist elite of the **Bukhara Emirate**, although the Basmachy could never formally unify. They also received substantial backing from the anti-Bolshevik Russian forces (Russian White Guards) and allegedly from the British military forces led by general **Wilfred Malleson**. The Turkmen land became the only area in Central Asia directly occupied by British troops between 1918 and 1919. At its peak the Basmachy movement in Turkmenistan territory represented a powerful military force of between 20,000 and 30,000 people. The movement lasted until 1929–1932.

In Turkmenistan the most prominent Basmachy group was led by **Junaid-Khan** (Dzunaid-Khan), a talented military commander who

established his base in the Khiva Khanate in early 1918. He received substantial assistance from the Russian White Guards, British and Turkish governments and established capable military forces. He also benefited from the presence of the British troops in the territory of **Zacaspian** ***oblast*** from 1918 to 1919. However, in early 1920 the Red Army led by **Mikhail Frunze** defeated the Khiva Khanate troops and established control over Khiva. Junaid-Khan managed to escape with around 1,000 to 1,500 supporters. In 1924 the Basmachy, led by Junaid-Khan, organized a large uprising in the Khiva Khanate, but they were defeated. The movement never recovered from this defeat, although occasionally it attempted to launch major offensive attacks in various parts of Central Asia from **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. In 1925 Junaid-Khan formally ended his opposition to the Soviet authorities and opted to remain in Turkmenistan. However, after a series of clashes with the Red Army Junaid-Khan and his close supporters were defeated again and retreated to Afghanistan.

After this major setback the movement lost most of its spiritual leadership and gradually degenerated into small unconnected groups of fighters. They continued regular assaults against the Soviet administration, major **transportation** and communication lines, killing supporters of the Soviet regime and destroying crops. In order to contain Basmachy's military supply the Soviet authorities imposed an "**iron curtain**" on the borders with Afghanistan and Iran in the late 1920s. At the same time a redistribution of land and improvement of living standards combined with repression against Basmachy sympathizers undermined the movement's support base in the region. During the **collectivization** campaign (1929–1932) and World War II (1939–1945) the Basmachy attempted to revive their attacks in Soviet Central Asia, but were defeated again.

In the post-Soviet era there were attempts to revise the history of the civil war in Turkmenistan and the role of the Basmachy movement there. However, this issue proved to be politically sensitive and the idea of revision did not fully materialize.

BATYR. 1. Warrior, strong man, hero. 2. The term refers to a professional warrior or commander among **Turkmens**, equivalent to the knights in Europe. To become a *batyr* a person should possess exceptional military skills and capabilities or be born into a family of

batyr, though in the latter case the status of *batyr* was not given automatically. 3. Professional warriors in the service of **tribal** leaders. In present-day Turkmenistan, the expression is often used as a cheerful reference to a boy or young man.

BEG (also *bek*). 1. The title used to refer to the **tribal** leader in Turkic society. 2. The title used in the medieval era to refer to the tribal and local administration leader in the **khan's** (king) service. 3. In Turkmenistan the title is sometimes used with the name of a male person to highlight his honorary position in society (Sapar-beg), equivalent to *master* or *sir*.

BEGLIK (also *beklik*). A semi-independent principality established by a powerful warlord or given as reward for service by **khans** and sultans. Several powerful *begliks* were established by the Turkmen **tribal** leaders in the Middle East and in Anatolia between the 10th and 13th centuries. They carried on numerous wars against the Byzantine Empire and ultimately contributed to the demise of Byzantium.

BERDYEV, ATAMURAD (1964–) (also Atamurat Berdiew). Turkmen politician. Born in the village of Muradov in **Mary *welayat***, Atamurad Berdyev graduated from the Moscow Energy Institute (**Russia**) in 1990. From 1990 to 1994 he held various positions at one of the largest enterprises in his *welayat*, the Mary Power Generating Plant. From 1994 to 1999 he was the chairman of the private enterprise Shamir. From 1999 to 2002 he held various managerial positions in the Abadan Power Generating Plant and rose to the position of plant director. In early 2002 he was appointed as the director of Mary Power Generating Plant. In November 2002 Berdyev became minister of energy and industry.

BORDER DELIMITATION IN 1924–1926. A program of the Soviet government to divide the ethnically diverse **Bukhara People's Soviet Republic (BPSR)**, **Khorezm People's Soviet Republic (KPSR)**, and **Turkistan Soviet Socialist Republic (TSSR)** into several national entities. These nation-state entities were created along a relatively vague ethnic line, as the Soviet leaders both in Moscow and in the region rejected the idea of creating a Central

Asian federation or pan-Turkic republic. Prior to the state delimitation the **Turkmen Autonomous *Oblast*** (TAO) was established in 1921. In 1924 a special commission consisting of high-ranking officials of the Central Soviet government, representatives of the TSSR, and local officials from the Turkmen Autonomous *Oblast* established the borders with **Kazakhstan** and **Uzbekistan**.

During the delimitation process Turkmenistan received most of the territory of the former **Zacaspian *oblast*** and the western provinces of BPSR and KPSR. It took, however, almost two years from 1924 to 1926 before the territorial delimitation was completed in ethnically mixed areas. In some cases the border lines in the ethnically mixed areas were set arbitrarily, as there were no clear criteria for determining the borders between the republics, and the Delimitation Commission used various measures, primarily focusing on ethnic and language identities. These borders did not play passport or custom control roles and had no political or economic significance until the late 1980s. However, the differences in economic policy approach and economic potentials among the Central Asian republics in the late 1980s and the disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) created a basis for building border barriers for trade and travel. *See also* BORDER DELIMITATION IN THE 1990s.

BORDER DELIMITATION IN THE 1990s. A decade-long process of clarifying borders with neighboring Central Asian countries in order to settle all border disputes. **Turkmenistan** inherited from the Soviet past highly disputed borders with practically all its neighbors, which became a major bone of contention in political relations, especially with Azerbaijan and **Uzbekistan**. The most important negotiations on the Turkmenistan's land border delimitation were held with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. There were also intensive negotiations with **Kazakhstan**, **Russia**, Azerbaijan, and **Iran** on delimitation of the **Caspian** seabed. Unlike the neighboring Central Asian Republics, which resolved the differences within the multilateral framework of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, Turkmenistan decided to focus on bilateral negotiations. By the early 2000s **Ashgabat** finalized differences and officially signed the agreement on border delimitation with Astana and Tashkent. How-

ever, in 2001 the tensions between Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan erupted over the disputed Kyapaz and Serdar **oil** fields in the Caspian Sea, and these disagreements led to political and military confrontations between the two countries. *See also* BORDER DELIMITATION IN 1924–1926.

BORDER GUARDS (also *serhet goshunlary* in Turkmen, *pogranvoiska* in Russian). Until 1992 Turkmenistan's external borders with **Afghanistan** and **Iran** were guarded exclusively by Soviet border guards under centralized Soviet control from Moscow. The situation changed with disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in December 1991. Turkmenistan established its Border Guards force in 1992, although due to financial constraints and absence of border guarding experience it relied largely on Russian assistance. In 1992 Turkmenistan and **Russia** signed an agreement that settled the issue of responsibility for guarding Turkmenistan's 1,750-kilometer-long borders with Afghanistan and Iran. According to the agreement, Russia and Turkmenistan jointly controlled and financed the border troops on the borders with Afghanistan and Iran. Russia also provided training to the Turkmen personnel and officers. Turkmenistan relied heavily on the Russians in acquiring border control equipment and ammunition. In exchange Turkmenistan signed the **Dual Citizenship Treaty** with Moscow, granting dual citizenship to the Russian border guards and their families in 1993. Formally, the border guards came under joint Russian-Turkmenistan command. In the meantime, Turkmenistan assumed responsibilities for guarding its borders with neighboring **Kazakhstan** and **Uzbekistan.** In the late 1990s the Turkmenistani government decided to take full control of the country's borders. After a series of negotiations with Russia, Turkmenistan replaced the Russian border guards with Turkmen border guards in 1999.

Turkey and some North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) countries also provided equipment and limited training for the Turkmen Border Guards. The **United States** transferred some equipment and a patrol boat to the Turkmenistani border guards in the early 2000s. In 2001 there were reports that the Turkmenistani **government** was negotiating the purchase of 20 new patrol boats from the Ukraine (to be delivered within five to six years).

The situation changed, however, after the beginning of the United States–led war against the Taliban regime in Afghanistan and the assassination attempt on the life of President **Saparmurat Niyazov** in 2002. In 2002–2003 the Border Guards enforced a tight control on the borders, including those with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan. As of 2004 the main personnel of Turkmenistan's border guards reached about 5,000. The border guards are equipped mainly with light arms, night vision equipment, small armored carriers, and patrol boats (to guard coastal borders in the **Caspian Sea**). Nevertheless, many experts argued that the border guards could not effectively seal the borders with Afghanistan, and that Turkmenistan became one of the important transit routes for illicit **drugs** from Afghanistan to Russia, western Europe, and the United States.

BUKHARA EMIRATE (official name *Bukhoro Amirligi* or *Bukhoro* [*Bukhara*] Emirate). A Central Asian feudal state with its center in Bukhara (present-day **Uzbekistan**). The emirate was established in 1557 by a **khan** from the Sheybani family, after the defeat and disintegration of the Timurid state. At its zenith the state controlled vast territories of contemporary Central Asia, Persia (now **Iran**), and **Afghanistan**, including the part of the territory populated by Turkmen **tribes**. In 1753 a khan from the Uzbek tribal dynasty Mangyt captured Bukhara, but his successors exhausted the emirate's army in a series of wars with Afghanistan, Iran, and the neighboring Central Asian states.

The **Russian Empire** defeated Muzzafar Khan, then the ruler of the Bukhara Emirate, in a series of battles in the 1860s. In 1868 the emirate became a Russian protectorate, maintaining autonomy in internal affairs but surrendering its foreign policy. In 1920 Sayyid Alim Khan, the last ruler of the emirate, was overthrown and escaped to Afghanistan, where he headed some Basmachy groups. The **Bukhara People's Soviet Republic** existed between 1920 and 1924. The territory of the Bukhara was divided between Uzbekistan, **Tajikistan**, and Turkmenistan during the **border delimitation in 1924–1926**.

BUKHARA KHANATE. *See* **BUKHARA EMIRATE.**

BUKHARA PEOPLE'S SOVIET REPUBLIC (BPSR) (*Bukhoro Khalq Sovet Respublikasi* in Turkmen). The republic existed be-

tween October 1920 and September 1924. The Bukhara People's Soviet Republic was officially founded in October 1920 with its center in the city of Bukhara (now **Uzbekistan**). It was established as a result of the Bukharian revolution, when the Communist Party of Bukhara with assistance from the Red Army overthrew the last emir (ruler) of the **Bukhara Emirate**, Sayyid Alim Khan. The republic covered about 180,000 square kilometers and included some territories of present-day **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, with a total population of about 2.2 million people (1920 official est.). In 1921 the government of the BPSR introduced a new constitution and between 1921 and 1924 conducted a series of economic and political reforms. However, the country's development was significantly undermined by the military activities of the **Basmachy movement**.

The BPSR was officially reorganized into the BSSR in September 1924, but was abolished in October 1924 due to the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** in Central Asia, when it was divided into Central Asian Soviet Republics. The western territories of the BPSR/BSSR, namely Charjou, Kerki, and Kelif *tomans* (districts), populated mainly by the **Turkmens**, were transferred to the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic**.

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CALENDAR. According to the decision adopted by the ***Khalk Maslahaty*** (People's Council) on August 8, 2002, the Turkmenistan calendar was changed. The names of the months were renamed as follows:

January—**Turkmenbashy**. In honor of the president.
February—Baidak. In honor of the national **flag**.
March—**Nowruz.** Spring.
April—Gurbansoltan. In honor of the president's mother.
May—**Magtymguly**. In honor of the Turkmen poet Magtymguly.
June—Oguz. In honor of **Oguz-Khan**, one of the founders of the early Turkmen state.
July—Gorgut. In honor of the Turkmen epic hero **Gorgut-Ata**.
August—Alp-Arslan. In honor of the legendary Turkmen commander, one of the founders of the early Turkmen state.

September—**Rukhnama**. In honor of the president's book *Rukhnama*.
October—Garashsyzlyk. In commemoration of independence.
November—Sanjar. In honor of Sanjar-Khan, one of the founders of the early Turkmen state.
December—Bitaraplyk. In commemoration of the country's neutrality status.

CARPETS (*khaly* in Turkmen). The handicraft of carpet making plays an important role in Turkmen national tradition. **Turkmens** use carpets widely in everyday life. They cover floors, walls, and doors in the ***yurts*** (traditional nomadic woolen tents) and in their permanent houses. They also cover **horses** (these carpets are called *at-khaly*), and camels for weddings (*asmalyk*). Turkmen carpets with traditional national Turkmen (Turkoman) patterns or pictures can be subdivided into three major groups (although some experts subdivide them into five). The first includes Tekin, Akhaltekin, and Pendi carpets. The second includes Yomud and Chovdur carpets. The third comprises Beshir, Ersarin, and Gyzylayk carpets. These carpets differ by their pattern and the number of knots per square unit. In contrast to the Persian carpets, the Turkmen carpets use fewer colors, more geometrical patterns, and no flowery ornament. According to government statistics Turkmenistan produced 1.1 million square meters of carpets in 2004 (including 0.4 million square meters of handmade carpets), and it projected to produce 1.9 million square meters of carpets in 2010 (including 0.42 million square meters of handmade carpets).

CASPIAN SEA (also *Khazar* in Turkmen; *Daryaye Khezer* in Persian; *Kaspiyskoye Morye* in Russian). Inland sea (also often called a lake) located west of Turkmenistan. Its surface area is about 386,400 square kilometers (149,200 square miles), down from 422,000 square kilometers in 1930. It stretches from north to south, up to 1,200 kilometers (750 miles) in length, and its width is about 320 kilometers (200 miles). Its maximum depth is up to 1,000 meters in the southern sections and 30 to 40 meters in the northern sections of the sea. The Caspian Sea is the world's largest inland sea, although its water level fell by about 2.5 meters between 1929 and 1980. However, in the 1980s the water level began to gradually rise threatening to flood some coastal areas in Azerbaijan, **Kazakhstan**, **Russia**, and Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan's coastal area is about 600 kilometers in length. Several important offshore **gas** and **oil** fields were discovered in the Turkmenistani section of the Caspian seabed in the 1920s. Turkmenistan's gas reserves of the Caspian Sea shelf were estimated at about 5.5 billion cubic meters and oil reserves at about 11 billion tons (2004, est.), although some local experts tend to double that amount. The sandy beaches of the sea have been used for recreational **tourism** since the 1950s. The Caspian Sea is also an important **transportation** route for Turkmenistan, as its most important port—**Turkmenbashy** (formerly Krasnovodsk)—provides a sea route for regional **trade** with **Russia**, Azerbaijan, and some other republics. The Caspian is also linked to the Baltic Sea by the Volga River and a series of canals. It is noted for rich maritime life, as more than 800 kinds of animals and fish can be found here. Sturgeon, herring, pike, perch, and sprat are fished for commercial purposes.

The maritime borders between littoral states (**Iran** and Soviet Union) were regulated by several treaties signed in 1921 and 1940. Since the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 the Caspian Sea littoral states (Azerbaijan, Iran, Kazakhstan, Russia, and Turkmenistan) have been locked in a bitter dispute over the **Caspian Sea border delimitation**, and ultimately over greater control of the Caspian Sea's resources, especially its gas and oil.

CASPIAN SEA BORDER DELIMITATION. Since the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991 Turkmenistan along with other Caspian states has faced a problem in defining the legal status of the **Caspian Sea**. The bilateral Soviet-Iranian agreements of 1921 and 1940 were annulled since three littoral republics of the former Soviet Union—Azerbaijan, **Kazakhstan**, and Turkmenistan—became independent in 1991. Throughout the 1990s all five Caspian Sea states were actively involved in multilateral negotiations over the legal status of the Caspian Sea and delimitation of its seabed. Azerbaijan, **Iran**, Kazakhstan, **Russia**, and Turkmenistan disagreed deeply on how to divide the potentially **gas**- and **oil**-rich Caspian seabed between the five bordering countries. One option was to divide it equally among all five, granting each country 20 percent of the seabed. The other option was to delimit the sea according to the coastal line and international arrangements of the coastal economic

zones. Turkmenistan supported the second option and disputed Azerbaijani claims over several offshore gas and oil fields. These disputes led to the diplomatic tensions between Turkmenistan and Azerbaijan over the Osman and Omar oil deposits in 2001 and 2002, and between Iran and Azerbaijan over the Alborz oil field in 2001. In one occasion Iran even sent its border patrol gunboats to the disputed areas in order to stop Azerbaijani companies from drilling in the disputed fields. In 2003 and 2004 these tension slightly decreased, as the governments agreed to continue diplomatic negotiations. *See also* BORDER DELIMITATION IN THE 1990s.

CENTRAL ASIAN ECONOMIC UNION. *See* CENTRAL ASIAN FORUM.

CENTRAL ASIAN FORUM (CAF) (also previously known as *Central Asian Union* and *Central Asian Economic Union*). Representatives of **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyzstan, **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, and **Uzbekistan** established the Central Asian Union (CAU) during an informal meeting in Alma-Ata on June 23, 1990. The CAU initially aimed promoting cultural, political, and economic cooperation within the region and coordinating a common stand in negotiating their relations with the Soviet Central government during the revision of the Soviet Union Treaty. The informal negotiations finally led to the joining of the **Alma-Ata Declaration** in December 1991, which endorsed mutual acceptance of existing borders, renounced any mutual territorial claims, and guaranteed equal rights to ethnic minorities.

Between 1992 and 1994 the CAU was largely inactive, and Turkmenistan left the organization due to changes in its domestic and foreign policy orientations. In April 1994 Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan relaunched the union as the Central Asian Economic Union (CAEU). Despite numerous attempts by Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan to persuade the Turkmenistani leadership to return to the CAF, **Ashgabat** remained firm in its policy of distancing itself from any integrational processes in the region, although it periodically sent its observers to the CAU/CAEU events. The CAEU collapsed in late 1998, when Kyrgyzstan unilaterally negotiated its entry into the World Trade Organization (WTO). Consequently the region faced a new cycle of conflicts over customs duties, import tariffs, cross-border trade, com-

plications over **border delimitation**, border mining, and entry visas. In January 2001 the CAU/CAEU was reconstituted as the Central Asian Forum (CAF). The new institution was intended to promote greater coordination and informal talks between government institutions, businesses, and various regional **nongovernmental organizations** (NGOs).

Unlike other Central Asian republics, Turkmenistan focused exclusively on bilateral agreements and treaties. In 2001 Ashgabat canceled visa-free entry to Turkmenistan for CAU/CAEU members and introduced strict entry visa regulations for citizens of all Central Asian Republics. *See also* COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES; PERMANENT NEUTRALITY POLICY.

CHAGATAI (also *Jagatai*). 1. Name of a large **tribe** in Central Asia, which traces its origin to the Mongols and was later assimilated by the Turks. 2. Extinct language, which was considered the lingua franca among Central Asian Turkic people in the 19th and early 20th centuries. In the early 20th century some local newspapers in Central Asia were published in the Chagatai language. 3. Descendents of Chagatai (?–1241), second son of Genghis Khan, who formed a house of Chagatai and established the Chagatai Khanate. The Chagatai dynasty ruled Central Asia for several centuries after the death of its founder, but was destroyed by Timur (Tamerlane) in the 16th century. The Turkic tribes had assimilated the Chagatais by the 18th century.

CHARJEW CITY. *See* TURKMENABAT.

CHARJOU CITY. *See* TURKMENABAT.

CHOMUR. 1. An expression used in **Turkmen** society to refer to settled farmers. 2. It is sometimes used as a synonym for *peasant*.

CLAN. 1. In public life in Turkmenistan the term often refers to a group or network of groups that act together to achieve political or economic advantages. The clans are often based on the regional patronage network and on close association by work in the same ***welayat*** but not necessarily on descent from a common ancestor. 2. It sometimes refers

to a kinship group based on actual or perceived descent from a common ancestor and is often used to identify members of an extended family or group of families or **tribes** (Teke, Yomud, etc.). In post-Soviet Turkmenistan clan membership (often based on a strong tribal identity) increasingly implies mutual support and defense of businesses or other social, political, and economic activities. The clan factor also plays an important role in arranging marriages. 3. It also refers to several large political groupings in Turkmenistan. These groups traditionally compete for power and influence in the political arena and in the **government** of Turkmenistan. People are usually accepted into the political clans according to the perceived common regional or tribal identities and political influence, and not due to ideological inclinations.

COAT OF ARMS. The **Mejlis** (parliament) officially adopted the national coat of arms of Turkmenistan in February 1992 to replace the Soviet-era symbols. Until August 2003 the coat of arms consisted of three rings, each within another, but in August 2003 the octagon replaced the rings. The centerpiece of the coat of arms is a **horse** against a blue background, which symbolizes the Akhalteke horse. There are five main **carpet** patterns in their traditional colors inside the second golden colored ring. There are seven open **cotton** heads with green leaves, and ears of golden wheat in two rows inside of the largest ring. There is also a white crescent with five white stars.

COLLECTIVIZATION. Soviet policy in the late 1920s and 1930s that aimed to create large agricultural enterprises (***kolkhozes*** and ***sovkhozes***) capable of producing **agricultural** crops on a large scale. In Turkmenistan, the collectivization also aimed at bringing together small mainly subsistence farmers and sheepherders, eliminating wealthy feudal lords and landlords (***begs*** and ***bais***), and sedentarizing **pastoral nomads**, as well as establishing the Soviet local administration and Soviet political system in the rural areas of the republic.

A mass collectivization campaign in Turkmenistan began in 1928–1929, and by 1937 nearly 90 percent of the **population** had joined *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes*. Initially the policy of forceful collectivization and deportation of *bais* and wealthy individuals to Siberia, Kazakhstan, and some other regions met with considerable resistance, but

it was subdued. It is believed that between 20,000 and 30,000 individuals perished during the campaign and another 20,000 to 30,000 escaped to neighboring **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. Some experts double those numbers, but thorough archival studies have not yet been done, and the figure is open to wide interpretation. On the positive side, the Soviet government invested heavily in developing the rural infrastructure and in producing modern machinery and developing farming techniques. All together these efforts significantly lifted living standards among the rural population. During the Soviet era, Turkmen collective farms specialized in the production of meat, **karakul** (astrakhan fur) sheepskins, wool, **cotton**, silk, vegetables, and fruits. The extensive agriculture and overexploitation of arable land led to negative **environmental** changes in Turkmenistan, including the disappearance of the **Aral Sea**, salinization, and desertification of land.

In the early 1990s Turkmenistan, with assistance from the Asian Development Bank and World Bank, conducted a program of gradual decollectivization, breaking up most of the *kolkhozes* and distributing land to the farmers.

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS) (also known as *Sodruzhestvo Nezavisimykh Gosudarstv* [*SNG*] in Russian). The organization was established on December 21, 1991, from the remnants of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR), as the latter was dissolved following the collapse of negotiations on the new Union Treaty. It consists of 12 members: Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Moldova, **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyzstan, **Russia**, **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, the Ukraine, and **Uzbekistan**. The heads of states and government are required to meet at least every six months to discuss economic, political, security, **foreign policy**, and other issues. However, the decisions of the Council of Heads of State and the Council of Heads of Government are not binding. Turkmenistan was among the founding members of the organization and the signatories of several binding documents, including the visa-free travel regime (amended in 2001), but it began distancing itself from the CIS in the mid-1990s.

Turkmenistan's **trade** with the CIS members accounted for between 50 and 80 percent of its total foreign trade in the 1990s. In 2002 the value of Turkmenistan's trade with its CIS partners was estimated at about US$2.2 billion, or approximately 55 percent of its

trade. Turkmenistan intensively uses **gas pipelines**, which go through the CIS members' territories, and exports its gas in large volumes to Russia, the Ukraine, and some other CIS members. Since the mid-1990s the CIS was increasingly fragmented into subregional organizations, such as the **Central Asian Forum**, GUUAM grouping, **Customs Union**, and Eurasian Economic Community.

COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES COLLECTIVE SECURITY TREATY (also known as the *Dogovor o kollektivnoi bezopastnosti* [*DKB*] in Russian). The Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty was signed on May 15, 1992, in Tashkent in order to coordinate military reforms and security responses in the post-Soviet space. The **government** of Turkmenistan refused to join the organization, declaring that it would work through bilateral negotiation and agreements with all treaty members. As of 2003 it consisted of six members: Armenia, **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyz Republic, **Russia**, **Tajikistan**, and Belarus (**Uzbekistan** left the organization in 1999). The Collective Security Treaty was enacted on April 20, 1994, and registered at the United Nations Secretariat on November 1, 1995.

The treaty obliges the signatory states to refrain from using force against one another and from joining military alliances. In April 1999 all members extended the treaty for another five-year period. There are two major consultative bodies: the Council of Defense Ministers and the Council of Foreign Ministers. The Committee of National Security Council Secretaries was established in May 2000 in order to coordinate specific operations spearheaded against international terrorism. National presidents chair the Collective Security Council during the sessions. There is a post of the secretary general of organization. According to the official website, www.dkb.gov.ru, in April 2003 Nikolai Borduzha was appointed secretary general.

The treaty members established the Collective Rapid Deployment Forces, which were designed to counter terrorism in Central Asia. Formerly the Russian military bases in Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan operated under the organization mandate.

In 2003 the CIS Security Treaty was reorganized into the international regional organization. In order to counterbalance Russia's influence in the post-Soviet territory, Georgia, Ukraine, Uzbekistan, Azerbaijan, and Moldova established their own grouping, known as

the GUUAM (abbreviation of names of member states) in 1997. *See also* CENTRAL ASIAN FORUM, COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES.

COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKMEN SSR (CPT) (*Turkmen SSR Kommunistik Partiasy* in Turkmen). A political organization established in 1920 after the creation of the **Turkmen Autonomous Oblast**, as the **Oblast** Party Bureau of the ruling Communist (Bolshevik) Party. The first *oblast* Congress of the party took place in August 1920, representing about 2,600 party members. When the Turkmen *oblast* was granted the status of **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic (TSSR)** in 1924, the organization was transformed into the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of the Turkmen SSR, and its first congress was held in February 1925. However, the **Turkmens** were significantly underrepresented in the party membership and in the party apparatus until the 1950s, despite *korenizatsia* (recruiting local cadres) campaigns in the 1920s and 1930s. To ensure centralized control, the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR established branches in every district, town, or city and maintained its party cells in every public organization, ministry, public enterprise, and ***kolkhoz***.

The **Congress of CPT**, which was called regularly, was the highest decision-making organ of the party. It endorsed appointments to the Central Committee and the most important political, social, and economic decisions. The Central Committee of the Communist Party managed day-to-day activities of the party between congresses, and the first secretary of the Central Committee acted as the head of the republic. During Josef Stalin's era (1922–1953) the first secretary was traditionally appointed by the Kremlin and was approved by the Congress of the CPT. During the reign of Nikita Khrushchev (1953–1964) there were frequent changes in the Communist Party leadership at the republic and *oblast* levels due to the regular rotation of cadres. Leonid Brezhnev (Soviet secretary general, 1964–1982) changed the practice, and **Muhammetnazar Gapurov** was elected as the first secretary from the local *nomenklatura* and remained in power from 1969 to 1985.

Party membership rose as high as 115,000 in 1990 (up from 78,000 members in 1976), relatively evenly representing all ethnic and social groups and all regions of the republic. Despite the fact that it was a one-party political system and political competition was

strongly discouraged, there was enormous rivalry between various personalities and groups in the Communist Party. The power of these groups was based on extensive patronage networks (often called **clans**), which had strong roots in the traditional **tribal** rivalries (e.g., between Teke and Yomud and others).

Mikhail Gorbachev, the Soviet General Secretary from 1985 to 1991, replaced the long-standing leader of the Turkmen SSR, Muhammetnazar Gapurov, and appointed **Saparmurat Niyazov** as the first secretary of the Communist Party in December 1985. Niyazov enjoyed the full confidence of the Kremlin and was entrusted to reform the one-party political system and later to transfer political power from the party to the parliament. In 1990 Turkmenistan introduced the post of president, and the parliament elected the first president. Saparmurat Niyazov became the first person to be elected to this post (he was reelected by a popular vote in 1992). In December 1991 he reformed the Communist Party, renaming it the **Democratic Party of Turkmenistan**. In the 1990s the Democratic Party remained the ruling party in Turkmenistan, with about 115,000 members in 2003. However, the party gradually lost its exclusive political power and privileges, which were transferred to the state bureaucracy.

CONGRESSES OF THE COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKMEN SSR. The party Congress, which was convened regularly, was the highest decision-making organ of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** during the Soviet era. It endorsed the appointments to the Central Committee, **five-year plans**, and most important political, social, and economic decisions.

1st Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Turkmen SSR—February 14–19, 1925.
2nd Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Turkmen SSR—December 3–9, 1925.
3rd Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Turkmen SSR—November 15–22, 1927.
4th Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Turkmen SSR—January 2–10, 1929.
5th Congress of the Communist Party (Bolshevik) of Turkmen SSR—June 8–14, 1930.
6th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 10–15, 1934.

7th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—July 7–16, 1938.
8th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—February 20–25, 1939.
9th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—March 11–17, 1940.
10th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—August 18–22, 1950.
11th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—September 20–23, 1952.
12th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—February 13–15, 1954.
13th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 20–22, 1956.
14th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 18–20, 1958.
15th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 19–20, 1959.
16th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—February 16–17, 1960.
17th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—September 12–14, 1961.
18th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—December 26–27, 1963.
19th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—February 24–25, 1966.
20th Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—February 19–20, 1971.
21st Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 23–24, 1976.
22nd Congress of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR—January 16–17, 1981.

CONSTITUTION OF TURKMENISTAN. The constitutional and legislature traditions of Turkmenistan have roots in the Soviet law-making experience, which goes back to the first constitution of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** of 1927. The first post-Soviet constitution of Turkmenistan was introduced on May 18, 1992. The constitution declares that Turkmenistan is a "democratic secular state operating under the rule of law whose **government** takes the form of a presidential

republic." The constitution stipulates major principles, such as the supremacy of the rule of law, independence of the judiciary, basic human rights and freedoms, equal civil rights of men and **women**, distribution of powers, and others. It also guarantees "freedom of religion and faith and the equality of religions and faiths before the law." The constitution also declares the president as the head of state, who is directly elected by universal adult suffrage for a five-year term, and whose powers are balanced and checked by the legislature and judiciary.

The constitution stipulates that all citizens over 18 years of age are eligible to vote, and all citizens over 25 years of age are eligible to be elected to the Mejlis (parliament). There are no restrictions based on grounds of ethnicity, race, or length of residency, though the Turkmenistan constitution bans all parties and associations from participation in the political process if their goals include "violent change in the constitutional order, allowing violence in their activities, agitating against the constitutional rights and freedoms of citizens, advocating war, racial, national, social, or religious animosity, encroaching on the health or morality of the people, or forming militaristic associations or political parties based on national or religious traits."

Several significant amendments to the Constitution of Turkmenistan since 1992 have been confirmed through national referendums. On January 15, 1994, a referendum extended without elections **Saparmurat Niyazov's** term in office until 2002; however, in 1999 he was declared the president for life. Throughout the 1990s opposition groups and human rights activists regularly complained that some actions of the Turkmenistani government violated constitutional principles and guarantees. They also claimed that the law makers automatically endorse laws and legal and institutional changes prepared by the government officials.

COTTON. Cotton was introduced in the oases in the Turkmen land in ancient times, but was cultivated in small volumes due to the shortage of irrigation water. In the early 20th century the **Russian Empire's** colonial administration promoted cotton cultivation as a cash crop, and in 1913 cotton production reached 69,000 tons. Between the 1930s and 1990s the Soviet authorities invested significantly in the building of irrigation systems and new irrigation canals, includ-

ing the **Garagum Canal**, virtually making cotton cultivation the monoculture. By the 1970s Turkmenistan became the second largest cotton producer in the Soviet Union, behind **Uzbekistan**, producing 1,077,000 tons of cotton (1975). This policy ignored **environmental** damages and led to rapid land degradation and salinization in many areas. In the 1990s the Turkmenistani **government** attempted to introduce new irrigation technologies and expanded the land used for cotton, and targeted production of 2.0 million tons of cotton in 2004.

CUSTOMS UNION (also known as the *Tamozhennyi Soyuz* in Russian). The organization was established on May 26, 1996, in order to simplify **trade** and currency conversion and to coordinate the tariff regime and economic cooperation among the signatory members. It consists of five members: Belarus, **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyz Republic, **Russia**, and **Tajikistan** (joined in February 1998). However, the idea of upgrading the economic cooperation into economic integration similar to that of the Free Trade Agreements in Europe or North America failed due to economic and political disagreements. In October 2000 the members decided to transform the organization into the Eurasian Economic Community. The Turkmenistani **government** refused to take part in the multilateral trade negotiations and focused instead on bilateral trade relations. *See also* CENTRAL ASIAN FORUM; COMMONWEALTH OF INDEPENDENT STATES.

– D –

DASHHOWUZ. *See* DASHOGUZ.

DASHOGUZ (formerly *Daskhowuz*, *Tashauz*). The fourth largest city in the republic, the capital of **Dashoguz** *welayat*. The city is located in northeastern Turkmenistan on the major **railway** from Central Asia to Russia, about 530 kilometers northeast of **Ashgabat** and a few kilometers from the Turkmenistan-**Uzbekistan** borders. Its **population** was estimated at about 150,000 (2004, official est.), up from about 105,000 (1985, official est.), consisting mainly of **Turkmens**, but it also included Uzbeks, Karakalpaks, Kazakhs, Russians, and some others. It is an important **transportation** and commercial

center in northern Turkmenistan. There are light **industries**, **agricultural** processing plants, and, newly built, a cotton-spinning factory, textile producing complex, and metallurgical factories. It also hosts the pedagogical college, secondary schools, **libraries**, theaters, museum, international class Hotel Dashoguz, and an airport.

A small fortress and a trading center existed a the site of Dashoguz most probably for centuries, as it was situated on one of the **trade** routes from the **Khiva Khanate** to the north. In the early 19th century the Khanate controlled the fortress. In the 19th century it took several decades for the Tsarist military forces to establish their political control over the Khiva Khanate land.

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries Dashoguz became an important administrative, military, and transportation center in this area, as the Russians built the railroad. After the Revolution of 1917 it took several years for the Bolsheviks to establish their full control in the area around the city. The Soviet authorities invested heavily in the development of the industrial sector, including electrical and agricultural products processing industries throughout the 1920s and 1930s, making Dashoguz (then Tashauz) the ***oblast*** center of the newly established Tashauz *oblast*. The importance of the city was further enhanced as **gas** and **oil pipelines** were built through the *oblast's* territory.

DASHOGUZ WELAYAT (formerly *Tashauz oblast* in Russian; also *Dashhowuz*). A ***welayat*** in northern Turkmenistan, bordered by **Uzbekistan** in the north, **Lebap** ***welayat*** in the east, **Akhal** ***welayat*** in the south, and **Balkan** ***welayat*** in the west. Dashoguz *welayat* has an area of about 73,600 square kilometers (29,000 square miles), or over 15 percent of Turkmenistan's territory; it is the smallest *welayat* in the country. Its **population** was the second largest and was estimated at about 1,060,000 (2004, official est.), or about 17 percent of the country's population, up from about 628,000 (1985, official est.). Dashoguz *welayat*'s population consisted mainly of the **Turkmens** but also included Kazakhs, Uzbeks, Russians, Karakalpaks, and others (2004, est.). Dashoguz *oblast* was originally formed in the 1930s. It consists of eight *etraps*, and the city of **Dashoguz** as the capital.

Agriculture (animal husbandry, **cotton**, rice, and vegetables, etc.), food processing, **industry**, and **services** are the main sectors

of its **economy**. During the Soviet era Dashoguz *welayat* was an important cotton-producing province, though cotton output dropped significantly in the 1980s. It also specialized in producing and processing agricultural products for local consumption and for export. Since the 1970s and 1980s some areas of the *oblast* have been negatively affected by the environmental impact of the **Aral Sea's** decline.

In the 1990s Dashoguz *welayat* received significant investments in the agricultural sector and construction, but its industrial enterprises experienced financial difficulties. The strategically important Central Asia-Center and Bukhara-Ural **gas pipelines** run through the *welayat's* territory.

Important historical and **tourist** sites include **Koneurgench**, the ruins of ancient Dowkesen City (Vazir), the ruins of medieval Shasenem City, the ruins of ancient Diyarbakir City, the ruins of the Ismamut-Ata **architectural** complex (10th–12th centuries and 16th–18th centuries), and some others.

DAYKHAN. 1. Peasant. 2. A farmer working on land and cultivating **agricultural** products, unlike a **pastoral nomad**, who moves with his herds in the mountains throughout the year.

DEKHISTAN. One of the oases, which flourished in what is now the **Balkan *welayat*** (southwestern Turkmenistan) in ancient and medieval times. It experienced several zeniths and nadirs and built its fortune on **agriculture** and **trade** on the **Great Silk Road**. Its center—the city of Mesrian—became a large trading center in the ancient times. Despite numerous wars and destructions it survived well into the 13th century, when it was destroyed by the Mongols, who also ruined the fragile irrigation system of the oasis. After the Mongol invasion the oasis never recovered its past glories and by the 16th century it was deserted. Several examples of the ancient **architecture** survived, including Shir-Kabir Mosque, minaret Abu Jafar Akhmad, and some others.

The ruins of the ancient cities of Dekhistan were excavated by Russian and Turkmenistan archeologists in the 1940s and 1950s and in the 1990s. In 1991 the **government** of Turkmenistan established in this area a historical and cultural park protected by the state.

DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF TURKMENISTAN (DPT) (*Turkmenistanyn Demokratik Partiyasy* in Turkmen). A political organization established on December 16, 1991, as the successor of the ruling **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**. At the founding congress President **Saparmurat Niyazov** was elected as the chairman of the DPT. Although all members of the Communist Party could join the DPT, a significant number of people opted not to do so. The party maintains branches in every district, city, and town and maintains its party cells in every public organization, ministry, and state administration at all levels. It plays an important role in the political life of the republic as the ruling mass political party. The congresses of the DPT are held on an irregular basis. According to official estimates there were about 115,000 members in 2004.

DEPE (also *bayyr*). 1. A hill usually in the site of the ancient burial place of a prominent leader or **khan**. 2. A hill erected as a foundation of a fortress, e.g., **Altyn Depe**.

DESSAN (also *destan, dastan*). 1. Traditional epic or poem, or combination of poetry and prose popular among the Central Asians, including **Turkmens**. It is often performed by ***bagshys*** accompanied by ***dutar***. There are heroic, fantastic, or romantic epics. Some contemporary Turkmen scholars consider the epic ***Oguznama*** as one of the earliest and most acclaimed *dessans* about the **Turkmens** and Turkmen land. 2. In classic Persian literature romantic poems are often called *dessans* (e.g., *Leila and Mejnun*, etc.). 3. Verses and songs produced and recited by *bagshys*.

DESTAN. *See* DESSAN.

DESTERKHAN (also *sachak* in Turkmen). 1. Refreshments, dinner or lunch. 2. Tablecloth or special piece of fabric on the floor, ground, or low-height table. Traditionally Turkmen families had their meals on the *desterkhan* on the floor.

DOCTOR OF SCIENCES (*Doktor Nauk* in Russian). The highest academic degree in Turkmenistan. The degree is awarded by the Specialized (Science) Council upon the successful completion of the *dok-*

torantura (doctorate studies), which involves the writing and public defense of a doctoral dissertation. The Specialized State Commission must register and approve the dissertation. *See also* EDUCATION.

DON (*chapan* in eastern areas). Traditional Turkmen cotton-quilted dressing gown or buttonless overcoat. The *don* usually reaches the ankles and is worn by both men and women, though the style and color of men's *dons* differ from women's. *Dons* are often handmade and, therefore, they vary in colors and design. It was customary among **Turkmens** to present a brightly colored *don* to an honorable guest or relative as well as to give it to members of the family who were leaving for a long trip. This tradition still exits in some parts of Turkmenistan.

DOVLET. 1. The term refers to the state or **government** administration. 2. Political power of the state. 3. First name for male.

DRUGS. Until the early 20th century some **Turkmen** farmers produced illicit drugs (mainly marijuana and opium and its products) for medical purposes and personal consumption. By the 1930s the cultivation and possession of illicit drugs was prohibited, although there were reports of limited production of opium and marihuana for private consumption and episodes of smuggling attempts from **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. In the 1970s and 1980s some experts reported a rise in illicit drug usage and drug addiction in the republic, although the Soviet authorities denied it. There were unconfirmed reports that in the 1980s a significant amount of drugs was smuggled from Afghanistan, as Turkmenistan became one of the major bases for the Soviet troops involved in military actions in that country and one of the major routes for the Soviet **trade** with Afghanistan.

According to some international organizations, since the 1990s Turkmenistan has gradually become an important transit country of illicit drugs originating in Afghanistan. In the early 2000s there were reports of opium growth in remote areas of Turkmenistan, although the republic was not named as a significant source of illicit drugs. However, the United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC) Opium Survey (2002) named Turkmenistan among other Central Asian states as one of the major routes for smuggling Afghanistan's

illicit drugs to **Russia**, Europe, and other destinations. There are no precise figures available for 2003–2004, but various estimates indicate that the income from drug trafficking generates significant revenue for the shadow **economy**. In 2002 the **United States** provided supplemental funding to acquire equipment and worked with UNODC to train Turkmenistani officers in drug trafficking and smuggling controls along Turkmenistan's border with Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan signed an UNODC-sponsored Memorandum of Understanding in Sub-regional Drug Control Cooperation in Central Asia (1996) and hosted the UNODC-sponsored fourth review meeting of high-level officials on drug fighting in **Ashgabat** on December 13 and 14, 2002. The main topic of the meeting was the establishment of a regional antidrugs intelligence and coordination center. In 2004 the International Narcotics Control Board (INCB) criticized Turkmenistan for failing to take part in several regional and subregional drug-control activities and for not actively participating in those cooperation arrangements that it had formally joined. A combination of widespread poverty, corruption, and a low level of law enforcement contributed to an increasing involvement of Turkmen citizens in drug trafficking.

In 1997 Turkmenistani **police** and **border guards** confiscated 39,555 kilograms of various drugs, including 15 kilograms of opium and 1,888 kilograms of heroin. In 2000, 5,245 kilograms of hashish, 129 kilograms of opium, and 50 kilograms of heroin were seized. According to the International Narcotics Control Strategy Report, in 2001 the Turkmenistan law enforcement agencies seized about 146,000 kilograms of precursor chemical Acetic Anhydride (AA).

DUAL CITIZENSHIP TREATY. Signed by Turkmenistan and the **Russian Federation** in December 1993, the treaty granted Russian citizenship to citizens of Turkmenistan (including those of non-Russian origin and military and **border guard** personnel) residing in Turkmenistan. According to **mass media** reports, between 25,000 and 60,000 people applied for dual citizenship between 1994 and 2003. In mid-2003 the Turkmenistani **government** withdrew from the treaty, causing some diplomatic tensions between the countries.

DUTAR. A Turkmen traditional plucked stringed musical instrument with a pear-shaped body and a long neck. The *dutar* resembles the two-

stringed lute and is customarily made of wood. The *dutar* is traditionally used by ***bagshys*** and *dutarchys* (literally "*dutar*-players"—national bards) during various major events and family gatherings. Traditionally, *dutarchys* were invited to sing the songs of heroes and to cheer people up during various public events.

DYKMA-SERDAR, OVEZMURAT (1825–1884?). An influential tribal and military leader of **Turkmens** in the **Akhal** area in the 19th century. Ovezmurat Dykma-Serdar participated actively in political and military developments in the Turkmen land in the second half of the 19th century. He participated in several military expeditions against neighboring countries and was acknowledge for his personal bravery. From 1879 to 1881 he played a prominent role in the war against **Russian** troops. In 1880–1881 he was one of the commanders of the **Geok-Tepe** fortress and organized fierce resistance to the troops led by general **Mikhail Skobelev**. He surrendered only after the Russian conquest of the Akhal region. He was amnestied and received the rank of major in the Russian administration.

DZHUNAID-KHAN. *See* JUNAID-KHAN.

– E –

ECONOMIC COOPERATION ORGANIZATION (ECO). An organization established in 1985. It included **Afghanistan**, **Iran**, Pakistan, and Turkey, although its original roots can be traced to a regional grouping established in 1964. The ECO was officially established to promote regional economic cooperation. In 1992 the newly independent Azerbaijan, **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyzstan, **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, and **Uzbekistan** were invited to join the ECO. The total population of the ECO members is about 300 million and their territories cover over six million square kilometers (twice the size of India). Almost immediately after its membership grew to 10, the ECO declared that it was "directed against no country or group of countries."

Turkmenistan sought to open an ECO market for its **gas** and **oil** and to obtain another route for **transportation** of its natural resources to

international markets. The Turkmenistani **government** also hoped that **trade** with ECO partners would reduce its dependency on the **Russian** and **Commonwealth of Independent States** markets. The ECO adopted the Quetta Plan of Action (February 1993), the Istanbul Declaration (ECO Long Term Perspectives) (July 1993), the Almaty Outline Plan for the Development of the Transport Sector in the ECO Region (October 1993), the Ashgabat Declaration of 1997, the Program of Action for the ECO Decade of Transport and Communications (March 1998), and the Transit Transport Framework Agreement.

Among the major projects sponsored or supported by the ECO was the Tejen-Mashhad-Serakhs **railway** line (1996), which opened up railway traffic on the northern line of the Trans-Asian Railway of the "East-West" Transport Corridor, and on the "North-South" Transport Corridor linking Central Asian Republics with the ports of the Persian Gulf; and the development of an infrastructure for the "East-West" (including Europe-Caucasus-Asia) and "North-South" Transport Corridors. In 2002 the ECO members announced completion of several projects, including the opening of a container route Kazakhstan-Turkmenistan-Turkey (Istanbul) through the Trans-Asian Railway route, international passenger route Almaty-Tashkent-Tehran-Istanbul and Almaty-Tashkent-Turkmenabat-Istanbul. In March 2004 the ECO Council of Heads of Customs Administrations (CHCA) discussed the establishment of a Data Bank on Smuggling and Customs Offenses, and the Transit Trade Committee discussed a Transit Trade Agreement. The experts discussed measures to simplify and harmonize customs procedures for the development of trade among ECO member states.

ECONOMY. During the 20th century the economy of Turkmenistan was on the periphery of the international markets. By the early 20th century most of the Turkmens were engaged in small-scale farming, producing **cotton**, grains, vegetables, and fruits and in a subsistence economy, raising **horses**, **sheep**, goats, and camels in the outskirts of the major oases and in the **Garagum Desert**. In some small towns and villages the Turkmens worked as craftsmen producing equipment, clothes, weaponry, silk, highly valued handmade **carpets** for domestic use and for sale or exchange in the large bazaars. The **Russian Empire** colonization brought major changes, as it invested in

building the Zacaspian **railway** (1880–1888). With the introduction of the faster and cheaper **transportation** system, the **Zacaspian *oblast*** became an important supplier of cotton and some other products. During this period, the local economy experienced an important transformation that completely changed the economy, **trade** patterns and way of living among the Turkmens. The scale of the changes was significant. For example, the farmers increased production of cotton from 300 tons in 1890 to 64,000 tons in 1913. Hundreds of small workshops and plants were opened in all major towns and cities, producing various products for local consumption and for exports to Russia, Iran, and some other countries.

During the Soviet era the Kremlin directed large investments from the Central Soviet budget into development of the heavy and petrochemical **industries** and into machinery, textile, light manufacturing, and **mining** enterprises. According to official reports, more than 90 new industrial plants were built in Turkmenistan during the first stage of industrialization alone (1928–1932), including textile and silk-processing factories, electric power stations, and many others. The industrial production in the republic grew at an average annual rate of between 8 and 14 percent during the first five *piatiletkas* (**five-year plans**), but significantly slowed down during the last Soviet *piatiletkas*. Between the 1940s and 1970s the national economy was boosted by discovery and development of large **gas** and **oil** fields, although much of the revenue was taken to the central budget. Due to economic mismanagement, inadequate planning, and shortages in the retail sector, Turkmenistan, like all other Soviet republics, experienced the rise of shadow economy, which was based on tax evasion, account manipulations, market arbitration, misuse of public funds, and, later, on the sale of **drugs**.

In 1991 Turkmenistan became independent and emerged as a middle-income developing country, if measured by the major economic indicators. The country had a PPP of about US$3,540 (GNP per capita of about US$1,440 [1991, UNDP est.]), fairly well ahead of Pakistan, Jordan, and Indonesia. In the 1990s the **government** focused on production of gas and oil, becoming one of the major exporters of these resources in the region. The **agriculture** sector did not experience significant changes and was still dominated by the monoculture of cotton (second largest producer of cotton in the region, behind Uzbekistan),

although it significantly increased production of grains. Most of the nation's economy remains under state control, although there was limited privatization of small- and medium-size enterprises. *See also* BANKING; SERVICES; TOURISM; STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN TURKMENISTAN UNTIL 2010 PROGRAM.

EDUCATION. The current Turkmenistani educational system has a strong Russian/Soviet influence and is provided for free to the general **population**, although during the last decade considerable efforts were made to revamp the educational system according to the latest political and economic changes in the country.

Until the 19th century the **Turkmens** were educated mainly in small ***mekdeps*** and ***medreses*** (mainly in Arabic), primarily in large cities in what is now **Afghanistan**, **Iran**, and **Uzbekistan**. In addition, some technical skills and professional expertise were passed on by ***ussats*** or *khaypas* (mentors) at craftsman orders, while ***akhuns*** passed spiritual knowledge to their students at religious centers. The **Russian Empire** invested in the establishment of modern schools on the territory of present-day Turkmenistan and introduced a few dozens new Russian-language schools, *Russko-tuzemnie shkoly*, and native-language secular *mekdeps* for the native population and allowed religious *medresses*. Russian universities, including military academies, accepted the most talented Turkmen children (mostly males) from rich and noble Turkmen families and clans. Yet, in the early 20th century there were only 58 primary schools and 210 *mekdeps* in the **Zacaspian *oblast*** and the illiteracy rate was above 90 to 95 percent.

During the Soviet era (1918–1991) a comprehensive educational infrastructure and modern educational system provided free education emphasizing sciences, mathematics, and practical skills. In 1922 the first teachers' college was opened in **Ashgabat**, and by 1924 about 300 schools provided education to around 5,600 Turkmen students. In 1930 there were already 1,051 schools with 67,545 pupils, including girls. By the late 1930s the **government** had eradicated mass illiteracy, and primary education became compulsory. The literacy rate in the republic grew from about 14 percent in 1926 to 77 percent in 1939. In 1959 secondary education became compulsory in

Turkmenistan. According to the 1970 census 99 percent of the Turkmenistani population was literate.

According to official statistics, in 1981 more than 704,700 students (out of a total population of about 3.6 million people), or approximately 20 percent of the population, attended approximately 1,700 schools. More than 35,000 teachers taught at schools in the republic. About 45,000 students attended 122 specialized secondary schools and technical colleges. In addition, 31,000 students attended six institutes of higher (tertiary) education. Yet, the knowledge of Russian, which was the medium of instruction at most tertiary institutions, was one of the lowest in the Central Asian region, as only 27.7 percent of Turkmens stated in 1989 that they were fluent in Russian, the second lowest percentage in the region after Uzbekistan.

After independence in 1991 the educational system in Turkmenistan underwent three major changes. First, there was a conversion of the Turkmen alphabet from Cyrillic to Latin and a transfer from Russian to the **Turkmen language** as the medium of instruction, after the Turkmen language became the official language of the state. Second, there was a considerable reduction of state funding of the educational system. Third, the government reformed the higher education system by downsizing many universities and closing many research projects.

The **Constitution of Turkmenistan** (1992) stipulates that "every citizen has the right to education" and that "elementary and high-school education are compulsory and everyone has the right to receive such education free of charge in governmental educational institutions." It also states, "Education is separate from religious organizations and is secular in nature." Turkmen is the major language of instruction in schools, colleges, and universities, although Russian is also used sometimes as the medium of instruction. There were considerable efforts to improve the quality of teaching of the English language, though the government restricted the education of Turkmen citizens overseas, and in 2002–2003 Turkmen students were required to obtain special permission to travel overseas for educational purposes. In January 2004 these restrictions were formally lifted. In May 2004, however, the government ordered reevaluation of degree certificates of all students that were received overseas after 1993 in order to assure their compliance with the educational standards in Turkmenistan.

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At the age of seven, children begin a nine-year compulsory education program, composed of a three-year primary schooling (*sovat*) and a six-year secondary schooling (*bilim*). After the completion of the nine-year educational cycle, students may continue their education in various technical or professional programs of various lengths. According to official statistics, in 2002 about 1.1 million students (out of an officially estimated total population of about six million), or approximately 20 percent of the population, attended about 1,700 primary and secondary schools. According to official statistics, approximately 95 to 98 percent of all those between the ages of seven and 16 were enrolled in some kind of educational institution, although the dropout rate was high.

After completing secondary school, students may enter a tertiary educational institution (university or institute). According to Technical Assistance to the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (TACIS) statistics, in 2002 about 21,000 students attended 16 higher education institutions, down from 41,000 students in 1991. According to the new regulations the duration of studies at universities was decreased from five years to four years, and students in higher education have to spend two years in a workplace to get work experience. Since the number of universities in the country is limited, many wealthy Turkmenistani parents send their children overseas. According to media reports about 5,000 students completed their studies at various universities overseas between 1992 and 2003, most of them in Russia, Turkey, and the **United States**.

Throughout the 1990s the quality and accessibility of the educational system in Turkmenistan declined considerably due to the lack of qualified teaching cadres and difficulties of transition and educational reforms. Many teachers and professors left the republic for **Russia** and other countries. The post-Soviet statistics on education in Turkmenistan are fragmentary and some key indicators are unavailable, as the state tightly controls the release of all statistical data. Therefore, there are significant discrepancies in the statistical data on education provided by various agencies and organizations.

ELKEN DEPE. A historical site in **Akhal** ***welayat*** dated to the sixth-third centuries B.C. Archeologists discovered ruins of a fortress, city

square, and some public and private buildings. Some historians associate Elken Depe with the ancient Parthian city of Patigraban.

ENVIRONMENT. Turkmenistan has diverse biophysical resources and a very fragile ecological environment. Throughout the 20th century, economic development in Turkmenistan focused on the exploitation of the mineral and water resources and arable land, which was used for such crops as **cotton**, grain, and some others. Very often environmental issues were ignored or addressed inadequately. This led to an accumulation of serious environmental problems. By the late 1990s Turkmenistan faced several issues, such as desertification and salinization of the arable land in all ***welayats***; environmental pollution, especially from pesticides; petrochemical pollution of the Turkmenistani shore of the **Caspian Sea**; and some others. The northern and northeast *welayats* have also experienced the negative effects of the disappearance of the **Aral Sea**. There are serious concerns about the issue of drinking water, as the country might experience a severe water shortage by 2030–2040, if vital water preservation measures are not adopted.

In the 1990s the **government** introduced the National Environmental Program, which includes measures on reforestation, water preservation, and recycling. The government also adopted several laws that regulate the exploitation of the natural resources in the country and protection of the environment, including the Law on Protection of Nature (1991), Law on State Ecological Expertise (1996), and some others. In 1996 Turkmenistan ratified the Protocol of Convention on Preservation of Biodiversity. The government established eight state preservation parks (*zapovednik*) that cover a total area of about 820,000 hectares of land.

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FIVE-YEAR PLAN FOR THE DEVELOPMENT OF THE NATIONAL ECONOMY (also *piatiletka*). Five-year plans of economic and social development were introduced in Turkmenistan as part of Soviet planning. These plans were prepared by experts at the Turkmen GosPlan (State Planning Committee), with contributions of

economists from the **Academy of Sciences**, various ministries, and the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**, subject to approval by the GosPlan of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). After that the five-year plans were subject to approval by the **Congresses of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** and by the Congress of the People's Deputies of the Turkmen SSR. The Turkmenistan **government** introduced the five-year plans in 1928 and abandoned centralized planning in 1991, although it retained some degree of long-term planning and adopted several long-term programs. There were 12 *piatiletkas* in Turkmenistan:

The first, from 1928 to 1932.
The second, from 1933 to 1937.
The third, from 1938 to 1942.
The fourth, from 1946 to 1950.
The fifth, from 1951 to 1955.
The sixth, from 1956 to 1960.
The seventh, from 1959 to 1965 (actually seven-year plan).
The eighth, from 1966 to 1970.
The ninth, from 1971 to 1976.
The tenth, from 1976 to 1980.
The eleventh, from 1981 to 1985.
The twelfth, from 1986 to 1991.

FLAG. The **Mejlis** (parliament) of Turkmenistan officially adopted the national flag of Turkmenistan in February 1992 to replace the Soviet era red and green flag. The Turkmen flag is green. On the left side of the flag is a vertical red band. The band includes five main **carpet** patterns in traditional colors, symbolizing five major **tribes** (tribal groups) of the Turkmen nation. There are two crossed olive branches at the bottom of the red band—the symbol of Turkmenistan's neutrality. There are a crescent and five stars on a white background in the upper left corner of the green part of the flag. *See also* COAT OF ARMS.

FOREIGN POLICY. After the unexpected dissolution of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991, the Turkmenistani **government** focused on building its foreign policy capabilities with an emphasis on three major priorities: first, peacefully resolving all

disputes and building sustainable bilateral relations with the former Soviet republics and neighboring countries—**Afghanistan**, Azerbaijan, **Iran**, **Kazakhstan**, **Uzbekistan**, and **Tajikistan**; second, establishing international political and economic relations with the Western countries, including the **United States**, and Western Europe; third, securing safe means for delivery of its natural resources, namely **gas** and **oil**, to the international market through multiple routes. However, there were some changes in the country's foreign policy over this time.

In the early 1990s Turkmenistan maintained close ties with the former Soviet republics and supported economic integration among these states. The country joined the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) in December 1991, but declined joining the **Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty**, though the treaty was initially a key institution to deal with the security issues and provided an institutional framework for relations with neighbors. In 1992 Turkmenistan joined a summit of Turkic nations in Istanbul in order to extend economic and cultural relations with Turkey. This opened the door for growing **trade**, investments, and **tourism**, and for cooperation on **educational** and cultural issues between the two countries, and Turkey became one of the key international partners of Turkmenistan. Meanwhile, **Ashgabat** regarded with suspicion any new attempts at political integration among the CIS members, since it viewed that the CIS treaties and binding agreements might limit Turkmenistan's sovereignty. Yet, it had close bilateral relations with the **Russian Federation** and was among the first countries in the CIS to sign a **Dual Citizenship Treaty** with Russia at Moscow's request in 1993. Turkmenistan was among the founding members of the Central Asian Union (CAU), which was created in 1990 as a consultative body for the Central Asian leaders.

The situation changed radically in the mid-1990s, as the government adopted the **permanent neutrality policy**. In December 1995 the United Nations approved the permanent neutral state status of Turkmenistan, and the Turkmenistani government adopted its Concept of Foreign Policy of Turkmenistan as a Neutral State. This step initiated its distancing from all collective efforts by the CIS states in the Central Asian region or international arena. About the same time Turkmenistan left the CAU. Despite strong pressure from Kazakhstan

and Uzbekistan, Ashgabat stopped supporting any integrational processes in the region, although it regularly sent observers to various CAU meetings.

Regarding two key issues—resolving border disputes with its neighbors and dividing the **Caspian** seabed—Turkmenistan focused on bilateral negotiations. This was in a sharp contrast to neighboring Kazakhstan, Russia, Tajikistan, China, and Kyrgyzstan, which formed the "Shanghai Five" organization in 1996 in order to build a regional security architecture. Ashgabat also refused to join any regional or supraregional organization in dealing with the security threats, such as **terrorism**, illegal **drug-** and arms-trafficking, national separatism, and religious extremism. Turkmenistan was the only CIS country that did not condemn the Taliban regime (1996–2002) in Kabul and maintained friendly relations with all political groups in Afghanistan until the United States–led war in Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan's relations with Western countries were also complex, and the development of these relations was quite uneven. Turkmenistan's gas and oil attracted the interest of major transnational corporations and Western countries. Since 1992 many Western countries have been actively involved in intensive negotiations with Turkmenistan over major investment projects in the gas and oil sector, although major corporations left the country in the late 1999s citing unfavorable investment conditions and the absence of progress in privatization of the oil and gas sectors. Since the mid-1990s Western governments and multilateral organizations, such as the **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)** and others increasingly criticized the Turkmenistani government for its handling of the opposition, elections, and human rights issues.

Since the September 11 terrorist attacks in New York, however, the relations between George W. Bush's administration and Ashgabat have warmed significantly, as President **Saparmurat Niyazov** expressed his full support for U.S. actions against "international terrorism" and offered Turkmenistan's territory and airspace for American humanitarian action in Afghanistan and for emergency landing for the aircrafts of the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO). In return, Washington temporarily refrained from direct criticism of President Saparmurat Niyazov's administration. However, Turkmenistan

refused to offer its territory for a U.S. military base or for NATO troop operations in Afghanistan. Also, Ashgabat did not join the "alliance of the willing" in the United States–led war in Iraq in 2003–2004.

During the 1990s Turkmenistan made special efforts to diversify its foreign **trade** and secure new routes for delivery of its gas and oil to the international market. Ashgabat relations with Moscow over this issue were complicated due to differences over gas delivery, transit fees, and some others factors. For several years Turkmenistan has been significantly reducing its gas deliveries through Russia. Turkmen companies managed to build small gas and oil **pipelines** from Turkmenistan to northern Iran, but a project for a major transit pipeline through Iran to Turkey or the Persian Gulf was stalled for years due to the United States–imposed sanctions against the political regime in Iran. A project for a pipeline from Turkmenistan to Pakistan via Afghanistan was also discussed but was delayed due to political instability and civil war in Afghanistan. Yet, Turkmenistan managed to substantially increase the share of its trade with countries outside the CIS from virtually zero to 50 to 55 percent. Between 1992 and 2002 Turkmenistan was able to attract foreign investments to its gas and oil sector. However, due to a lack of statistical data and discrepancies in key figures, it is very difficult to evaluate current trends in external economic and trade relations.

Citing its permanent neutrality policy Ashgabat resisted multilateral integration processes and distanced itself from many political and economic initiatives promoted by the Central Asian Republics or the CIS. Between 2002 and 2004 Turkmenistan was criticized by international **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** and human rights advocates, by the OSCE, and other organizations for human rights violations, including arrests of dissidents and political restrictions imposed on the political opposition. These actions further isolated Turkmenistan in the international arena.

FREE ECONOMIC ZONES (FEZs) (in Turkmen; *Svobodnaya Ekonomicheskaya Zona* in Russian). Areas in Turkmenistan where goods, production, and other economic activities are exempted from profit taxes and can be landed and reexported freely. The Turkmenistani **government** began establishing free economic zones in

1992–1993, modeled after China's strategy, in order to attract investments evenly to all provinces of the country. By the mid-1990s **Ashgabat** had approved the creation of several free economic zones in the country, although due to the slow privatization and absence of large local private enterprises their activities did not create the expected effect. Economic activities in the free economic zones are regulated by the Turkmenistan Law on Economic Zones for Free Entrepreneurship, which was introduced in 1993 and revised in 1994, and by some other laws. The law provides several initiatives for Turkmen and international companies to operate in these zones, including the following: preferential tax status; exemption from profit tax if profits are reinvested in export-oriented enterprises; repatriation of after-tax profits; exemption from customs duties on products of foreign origin; etc. According to media reports there are 10 such zones in the country: Mary-Bayramali, Okarem-Hazar, **Turkmenabat**-Seidi, Bakharden-Serdar, Ashgabat-Annau, Ashgabat-Bezmein, Serakhs, Guneshli, Ashgabat International Airport, and **Dashoguz** Airport.

In the late 1990s and early 2000s, however, Turkmenistan refused to take part in multilateral negotiations for a free-**trade** zone between the **Commonwealth of Independent States** members and did not sign the free-trade zone pact in December 2003.

FRUNZE, MIKHAIL (1885–1925). Commander of the Red Army troops in Central Asia and one of the founders of the regular Soviet Army. Born in Pishpek (now Bishkek) into the family of a Moldavian medical practitioner, Mikhail Frunze graduated from the Vernyi (now Almaty, **Kazakhstan**) Gymnasium in 1904 and joined the Saint Petersburg Polytechnic Institute. While a student he joined the Bolshevik Party and was arrested several times for his revolutionary activities. In 1916 he was recruited in the Tsarist Army to fight against the Germans in World War I. After the Bolshevik Revolution of 1917 he became one of the most prominent Red Army commanders and successfully fought against the Russian White Guards and other anti-Bolshevik groups in various campaigns.

In 1919 Frunze was sent to Central Asia to battle the combined troops of the Russian White Guards and native Central Asian military regiments. His troops successfully fought against the large White Guard army of General Alexander Kolchak on the territory of present-

day Kazakhstan and the Russian Ural region. In mid-1919 Frunze was appointed commander of the **Turkistan** Front. A combination of his knowledge of Central Asian traditions and customs, his ability to deal with the native Central Asian commanders, and his personal popularity helped him to organize several successful operations in Turkistan, including a series of operations against the **Basmachy movement** in the Ferghana Valley in 1919. He was also actively involved in the planning and executing of the offensive campaigns against the **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate** and afterward against the substantial Basmachy movement in the territory of present-day **Uzbekistan** and Turkmenistan.

In the fall of 1920 Frunze was transferred to the Ukraine, where he commanded the Red Army troops in the military campaign against General Petr Vrangel. In 1921–1922 he led the Ukrainian delegation to Turkey to conduct the peace negotiations between the Ukraine and Turkey. Between 1922 and 1925 he held various military positions. He authored several books and articles on tactics and offensive operations in contemporary 20th century wars, which became textbooks at all Red Army military colleges during the Soviet era. Commander Frunze died in 1925 under suspicious circumstances, allegedly by poisoning at the order of Josef Stalin.

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GALKYNYSH. A popular movement established in January 1994. At the founding congress President **Saparmurat Niyazov** was elected as the chairman of the movement. The movement's main goal is the spiritual development of the nation. Galkynysh brings together representatives of the major political and public organizations, and maintains branches in every district, town or city, and ***welayat***. According to official estimates the movement brought together about 70 public organizations and unions in 2003.

GAPUROV, MUHAMMETNAZAR (1922–1999). Turkmen politician. Muhammetnazar Gapurov led the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR) from 1969 to 1985 as the first secretary of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**. Born in a small village

close to Charjou (now **Turkmenabat**) in Charjou ***oblast*** (now **Lebap *welayat***) in 1922, he spent his entire career in the **Komsomol** and Communist Party apparatus, becoming one of the republic's most influential politicians for almost two decades in the late Soviet era. He graduated from the Pedagogical Institute in Ashgabat in 1954. From 1941 to 1943 he was on active duty in the Soviet army during World War II.

In 1948 Gapurov joined the Communist Party *nomenklatura* as head of the Propaganda Department at the district level in Charjou *oblast* and gradually climbed the party ladder. From 1951 to 1955 he worked as the first secretary of the Komsomol organization, and later he held various party posts before assuming the leadership of the republic. In 1969 he was appointed first secretary of the Communist Party of the Turkmen SSR. He governed the republic during the late Soviet era, when the republic received considerable investments in its modernization of the **gas** and **oil** sectors, and the general **population** experienced a significant rise in the living standards. However, the excessive centralized control over economic development and macroeconomic mismanagement led to a stagnation of economic growth in most sectors of the Turkmenistani **economy** in the late 1970s and early 1980s. In addition, the Gapurov era was marked by the further growth of nepotism, regional rivalries, and corruption.

Gapurov was removed from his post and sent to retirement in 1985, as Mikhail Gorbachev introduced his policy of **perestroika** and glasnost. Gapurov never returned to the political arena and held several minor positions in the late 1980s. He authored several books and articles during the Soviet era mainly on various Communist Party and Turkmenistan development issues. In the 1990s Gapurov began working on his memoirs, but had not completed them when he died in 1999.

GARABOGAZGOL (also *Kara-Bogaz-Gol, zaliv Karabogazgol, Kuli Darya*). This is a large shallow gulf off the **Caspian Sea** in northeastern Turkmenistan. Its total area is between 7,000 and 10,000 square kilometers (2000, est.), down from about 16,000 to 18,000 square kilometers at the beginning of the 20th century. Its average depth is between 2 and 3.5 meters. The Garabogazgol is connected with the Caspian Sea by a narrow shallow water passage. For cen-

turies the gulf acted as a natural evaporation ground, drawing off the water of the Caspian. According to hydrological estimates, 10 to 15 cubic kilometers of Caspian Sea water evaporated every year in the Garabogazgol, depositing large amounts of salt and various other minerals along its shores and under the gulf bed. In the mid-20th century the Caspian Sea level began to drop and in 1980 the Soviet government built a large dam separating the sea from the gulf in order to halt the water drop in the Caspian Sea, but rapid drying of the Garabogazgol led to harmful sand storms and other negative **environmental** effects.

In the meantime, in the 1980s and 1990s the Caspian Sea water level began to rise and in 1992 the dam was completely removed. Since the medieval era the local **population** has been extracting salt from the gulf and selling it to various neighboring countries. During the 20th century Turkmenistan intensively exploited the mineral resources of the gulf and built several medium-size chemical extracting and processing factories, producing chemicals, bischofite, epsomite, sulfates, bromine (about 40 percent of bromine extraction in the Soviet Union), mirabilite, and some other elements. The town of Garabogazgol is situated on the shore of the gulf.

GARAGUM CANAL (*Garagum Deryasy* in Turkmen; also *Turkmen Deryasy*, *Kara Kum kanal*, *Karakum*; literally "black sand"). This is one of the longest man-made irrigation canals in the world, with a total length of 1,370 kilometers; it brings water from the **Amu Darya River** to the **Akhal** *welayat*. The canal was built between the 1950s and 1990s, although the **government** of Turkmenistan invested some resources in developing the canal further in the early 2000s. The canal forms a key part of the irrigation system in the republic and is vital for the country's **agriculture**. In the late 1990s the Turkmenistani government renamed the Garagum Canal the Garagum River and, later, the Turkmen *Deryasy*.

GARAGUM DESERT (*Garagum Choli* in Turkmen; *Pustynia Kara Kum* in Russian, also *Karakum*, *Garagum*; literally "black sand desert"). The largest desert in Central Asia and sixth largest desert in the world. It covers between 350,000 and 380,000 square kilometers. It is one of the driest areas in Central Asia, covered mainly by sand,

clay, or rocks; the very limited vegetation and water make the desert unsuitable for commercial **agriculture**. It was practically impenetrable to large foreign armies during the medieval era and it was often used by **Turkmen tribes** as a refuge during invasions by their powerful neighbors.

GARAGUM KOLI (also *Kara Kum lake*). A man-made lake that the **government** of Turkmenistan plans to create between 2003 and 2020. According to **mass media** reports this project, which will cost US$4.5 billion, will involve building a canal to collect irrigation and drainage water; the water will be directed to the Karashor Depression in the **Garagum Desert** in order to fill the lake. The government claims that the project will help to preserve more water for irrigation purposes and will help to increase **agricultural** productivity in the areas around the canal and the lake.

GAS. The major gas deposits were discovered in the central and eastern areas of Turkmenistan in the 1940s and the 1950s, and in the 1980s the republic became the second largest producer of gas in the Soviet Union, behind the **Russian Federation**. During the Soviet era gas was exported mainly to other Soviet republics, as Turkmenistan steadily increased the delivery from about 9.2 million cubic meters in 1940 to about 234 million cubic meters in 1960 and further to about 51 billion cubic meters in 1975. This export was under centralized control, and most of the export revenue was absorbed into the Soviet central budget.

The situation changed in 1991, as Turkmenistan obtained its independence and established full control over the gas export and export revenues. However, due to the geography of the Soviet era **pipelines** most of the gas goes to the Caucasus, Russian Federation, and the Ukraine. In the 1990s many importers of Turkmenistan's gas in the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** failed to pay on time or negotiated barter deals. In the mid-1990s Turkmenistan stopped delivering gas to some CIS partners, citing nonpayments and unprofitable barter deals. At the same time the **government** attempted to attract investments in building gas pipelines via **Iran** to Turkey and Western Europe or via **Afghanistan** to Pakistan. Both deals did not go through due to an unfavorable regional security environment and high costs. In

the late 1990s the Turkmenistan government renegotiated with Russia's Gazprom Company its export and price arrangements and renewed gas delivery to Georgia, Ukraine, and some other countries.

According to official estimates Turkmenistan is still the second largest gas producer in the CIS, after the Russian Federation, and its gas reserves are estimated at about 23 trillion cubic meters (2004, official est.). According to government statistical data, Turkmenistan is projected to extract 75.4 billion cubic meters of gas in 2004, and is projected to extract 120 billion cubic meters of gas in 2010.

GEOK-TEPE. A strategically important fortress in what is now **Akhal** ***welayat.*** In 1879 the Turkmen troops defeated the Russian army led by general Nikolai Lomakin and forced him to retreat. However, in 1881 the Turkmen **tribes** were defeated by the **Russian Empire's** troops in a bloody battle. The 13,000-man expedition army led by the experienced Russian general **Mikhail Skobelev** overcame the resistance of the group of Turkmen tribes and destroyed the fortress. This became a turning point in the Russian colonization of the Turkmen land, as the **Turkmens** lost between 8,000 and 15,000 lives, including not only their best-armed units but also unarmed civilians.

GEROGLY (also Gorogly; Görogly). 1. One of the most acclaimed legendary Turkmen heroes, who defended **Turkmens** and Turkmen land from foreign invaders. 2. The most acclaimed Turkmen oral heroic epic, named after Geroglu, a legendary hero. Most scholars trace the origin of the epic to the medieval period. The ***bagshys***, Turkmen bards, who told the story with the accompaniment of a traditional musical instrument, passed the epic from generation to generation. This is the story of the life of Geroglu, who fought for justice and freedom of ordinary people defending the **Turkmens** and Turkmen land from cruel foreign **khans**. The epic conveys the ethic and moral principles of Turkmen society, and transmits important cultural, **tribal**, and historical traditions. This was particularly important as the oral epic was the only way to preserve the historical and cultural heritage in the seminomadic Turkmen society of that time.

Russian and Western scholars discovered *Gerogly* in the 19th century, when several travelers and orientalists recorded parts of the epic. It was only fully recorded in the 20th century.

GORGUT ATA. 1. The name of one of the most acclaimed legendary Turkmen thinkers, poets, and mystics, who advised ***batyrs***, **khans**, and ordinary people. 2. This is the title of a heroic epic named after Gorgut-Ata. Most scholars trace the origin of the epic to the fifth or sixth century A.D. The epic was widely popular among various peoples of Central and South Asia and Asia Minor in the medieval period and had several interpretations. The ***baghshys***, Turkmen bards, who told the story with the accompaniment of a traditional music instrument, passed the epic from generation to generation. The epic conveys the historical and ethical knowledge of the Turkic societies. This epic was preserved among the seminomadic **Turkmens** for centuries. Western scholars discovered several written versions of the epic in the 18th century.

GOVERNMENT. The **Constitution of Turkmenistan** provides that the government exercises the executive power and directs the ministries, state committees, administrative agencies, and local state administration. The **president** of Turkmenistan forms the Cabinet of Ministers and, as its chair, controls its day-to-day activities. There is no provision in the current constitution about the accountability of the government before the **Mejlis** (parliament), although the parliament has the right to approve the "action plan of the Cabinet of ministers" and express "non-confidence" in the work of the Cabinet. The Cabinet of Ministers has a broad array of executive powers, including "domestic and **foreign policy** activity, and programs for the economic and social development of the country," taking "measures to strengthen the monetary and credit systems," "foreign economic policy," management of "the activities of governmental institutions and state enterprises and organizations," and others. *See also* CONSTITUTION OF TURKMENISTAN.

GREAT GAME. A term widely used to describe the bitter 19th-century Anglo-Russian rivalry for influence in Central Asia. British and Russian strategists (mainly young military officers) saw the need for influence in Central Asia from a strategic perspective. They argued that most military campaigns against the Indian subcontinent were undertaken through the territory of Central Asia,

which at that time included **Afghanistan** and the eastern part of **Iran**. Thus, for the British, the primary influence over Central Asia was pivotal for defending their interests in India against Russian encroachment. In the meantime for **Russia** it was crucial to defend its communications lines with Siberia and the Russian Far East, the "soft underbelly" of the **Russian Empire**, in Winston Churchill's words.

The British and Russians, joined by French and Germans, undertook a number of highly adventurous geographic expeditions and espionage/counterespionage operations in search of allies in and routes for troops through the region, glorified by such writers as Rudyard Kipling. The Russians conducted an expedition to the **Khiva Khanate** in 1839–1840 through territory that is now Turkmenistan, but the campaign was unsuccessful, and they lost a number of soldiers and officers in this ill-prepared expedition. Then in 1842 two British officers, Colonel Charles Stuart and Captain Arthur Connolly, were hanged in Bukhara. The Russians collided with the **Kokand Khanate** when they captured Tashkent (1865), an important economic outpost of the khanate; Khodzhent (1866); and later Kokand (1875). The Russian Empire then established its influence over the **Bukhara Emirate** (1868) and Khiva Khanate (1873), advancing all the way to the borders of Afghanistan, the last political barrier before India. Perceiving this as a direct threat to British interests in India, the British advanced northwest in an attempt to establish direct control over Afghanistan. In the 1880s Russia managed to defeat the troops of the Khiva Khanate and major forces of the Turkmen **tribes** and established its control over the vast territory east of the **Caspian Sea**.

In the 19th century, as internal conflicts gradually weakened the Afghan empire, both the British in India and the Russians to the north sought to bring Afghanistan under their control. This resulted in two Anglo-Afghan Wars (1838–1842 and 1878–1880). Though, back in the 18th century, Ahmad Shah (1747–1773), the powerful leader of the Abdali tribe of the Pushtuns, proclaimed Afghan rule as far to the east as Kashmir and Delhi, north to the Amu Darya, and west into northern Persia. After a devastating defeat and the loss of an expeditionary army in 1842, the British finally won, establishing their dominance over Afghanistan's foreign relations. Gradually, both sides,

British and Russian, accepted Afghanistan as a buffer zone between their respective empires.

The strategic importance of Central Asia was highlighted again in the early 20th century by Sir Halford John Mackinder, the British political geographer, who in 1919–1920 went as a British high commissioner to southern Russia in an attempt to unify the White Russian forces against the Bolsheviks. He produced a simple geopolitical formula: "Who rules the Heartland [which included Central Asia] commands the World-Island [Eurasian continent]. Who rules the World-Island commands the World."

Since the Soviet Union's dissolution in 1991 a new competition for political influence and a share in the Central Asian market, especially for its natural resources, such as **gas** and **oil**, has emerged between various actors. In the 1990s Western and Russian companies and governments competed over the path of the gas and oil **pipeline** routes. This competition has often been described in terms of establishing influence over the newly independent Central Asian Republics and the oil and gas pipelines on a basis strategically similar to the competition between Britain and Russia in the 19th century. Since 2001 both the **United States** and Russian military have pressured Turkmenistan to open its military bases to their forces. However, the **government** of Turkmenistan managed to resist this pressure.

GREAT SILK ROAD (*Beyik Yupek Yoly* in Turkmen). An ancient **trade** route that connected China with Western Europe. Over 6,000 kilometers long, the road started somewhere in what is now central and northern China. One of the routes passed through China's western provinces and crossed the Tian-Shan and Pamir mountains and continued through Khotan, Yarkent, Balkh, Zemm, and **Merv** (territories of present-day **Uzbekistan**, Turkmenistan, and **Afghanistan**). The other route went through Turfan, Kashgar, Samarkand, **Bukhara**, Amul, and Merv. Then it continued to the eastern Mediterranean Sea and to Byzantium, or Rome. From time to time the route could change due to political turbulence, military campaigns, or climatic changes. In the late medieval period the major cities on the road also served trade of India and Persia with the rising eastern European states. Merchants carried wool, **karakul** (astrakhan fur), gold,

silver, and weaponry eastward and brought **carpets**, silk, opium, spices, and luxury goods westward.

The first recorded references to the Great Silk Road could be dated to the second and first centuries B.C. The road had its peaks when there was peace in the vast steppes of Eurasia and its nadirs at the time of wars in the region. The Venetian Marco Polo (1254–1324) traveled along the road and reached the court of Kublai Khan (1215–1294), the Mongol emperor and the grandson of Genghis Khan. Marco Polo became the first European who traveled and described the Great Silk Road. The Great Silk Road contributed immensely to the wealth of Central Asian cities on the trade route, including Bukhara, **Khiva**, Merv, Samarkand, and some others, but disappeared in the 18th and 19th centuries with the rise of cheaper maritime routes from Europe to India and China.

Frequent military campaigns, changes in political conditions, and the climate redrew the routes of the Great Silk Road over the centuries. Several of them passed through Turkmen land in the medieval era, contributing to the rise of numerous cities, such as Khiva, Merv, Koneurgench, and some others. Some Turkmen **tribes** benefited from the Great Silk Road by collecting custom duties or providing military convoys to the trade caravans. Numerous remains of ***kerwen-sarays*** can still be found on the territory of present-day Turkmenistan. In the 1990s, with the opening of the borders between **Iran** and the Central Asian republics, the routes of the Great Silk Road became popular among adventuresome **tourists**.

GULJAMAL-KHAN(UM) (1836–1919). An influential leader of Turkmen **tribes** in the **Akhal** and **Merv** area in the 19th century. She played an important role in the political development in this part of the region during the **Russian** conquest of the Turkmen land. She was the third wife of the influential Nurberdy-Khan, the leader of the Teke tribes in the Akhal and Merv areas. In 1880 Nurberdy-Khan died and Guljamal-Khan(um) became the leader of the Teke tribes in the Merv area. In 1884 she organized a *gengesh* of influential tribal leaders to discuss the Russian advance into the Akhal and Merv areas and a peaceful agreement brought by Alikhanov-Avarskii, an officer in Tsarist service. The *gengesh* accepted the peaceful settlement and Russian control in the region.

GUMMANOV, ANNAGELDY (1967–). Turkmen politician, military and security official. Born in **Balkan** ***welayat***, Annageldy Gummanov graduated from the Suvorov Military College in Sverdlovsk (**Russia**) and Sverdlovsk Military Institute in 1988. From 1988 to 1991 he served as deputy commander of the division in the Turkistan Military District of the Soviet Army. From 1993 to 1994 he had military training in Turkey. From 1994 to 1996 he was the head of a department in the Ministry of Defense of Turkmenistan. From 1996 to 2000 he was a deputy rector (chancellor) of the Military Institute. From 2002 to 2003 he was the first deputy commander of the **border guards** and head of the general staff. In November 2003 he became Turkmenistan's minister of national security.

Gummanov has the rank of colonel and he has been awarded several state **orders** of Turkmenistan, including *Edermenlik*, *Watana bolan soygusi üçin*, and some others.

GURGANCH. *See* KONEURGENCH.

GURULTAY. 1. Gathering of people for an important event, consultation; meeting, congress. 2. Gathering of people for election of a **khan** of a group or **tribe**, or a military leader for a period of a war. 3. In contemporary Turkmenistan it is a gathering of the **Turkmens** from various parts of the world to establish cultural, educational, and economic ties between members of the Turkmen communities in different countries.

GYSHLAQ (also *kishlak*). A term used for a village or small town in eastern Turkmenistan and in **Uzbekistan**.

– H –

HAJJ. The sacred pilgrimage to the holy city of Mecca for all practicing Muslims. It is an important religious duty and one of the fundamentals of the Islamic creed. A person who has performed the Hajj is called *hajji* or *hojji*. *See also* ISLAM.

HAKIMIYET. 1. A term used in Turkmenistan in reference to the **government** or the state administration. 2. Supreme power.

HASHAR (also *yovar*). 1. A term used in Turkmenistan to refer to traditional mutual assistance at the community level to people in need. It may take the form of fund-raising for poor members of society or families that lost their breadwinner, building houses for elders, or helping people affected by natural disasters. 2. Mutual community assistance free of charge to those community members who decided to build a new house or extend an old one.

HEALTH CARE SYSTEM. The Soviet state introduced a free public health care system in Turkmenistan. Between 1917 and 1973 the number of hospitals grew from six (100 beds) to 268 (33,500 beds). There were 10 beds for every 1,000 inhabitants of the republic. In 1971 there were 6,600 doctors for a **population** of 3.8 million, or one doctor per 468 people, and 20,000 intermediate level personnel. All major operations, care, and prescription drugs at hospitals were provided free of charge. During the Soviet era the majority of specialized clinics and hospitals were concentrated in **Ashgabat** and other major cities, but medical doctors were also relatively evenly represented in all major towns and cities.

By the 1970s the Soviet healthcare system eliminated or put under the control all major diseases, such as tuberculosis, malaria, and others. However, new problems arose. In the 1970s and 1980s between 20 and 30 percent of the population was negatively affected by the increasing salinization of the soil, excessive usage of pesticides for **cotton** production, drying of the **Aral Sea**, and other **environmental** problems.

Since 1991 Turkmenistan has experienced difficulties in supporting the free universal health care system and between 1992 and 1999 the **government** deeply cut the expenditure on health care. The health care system and admission to hospitals remains free, although the patients are often pressured to pay for their medication and care and for other basic services. However, there was a significant deterioration in the quality of the health care system, water sanitation, and prevention of infectious diseases, as underfunded hospitals could not provide adequate services. According to official reports, the number of doctors decreased from 32 to 20 per 10,000 people between 1991 and 1998. In 2002 Turkmenistan spent 1.9 percent of its gross domestic product on the health care system, down from 3.4 percent in 1994.

In 2003 the birth rate in Turkmenistan stood at 28.02 per 1,000, while the death rate stood at 8.87 per 1,000 (2003, CIA est.). Materna

and infant mortality grew significantly, although it remains far below such countries as Pakistan or India. According to the CIA estimates, life expectancy plunged to 61.17 years on average (57.72 years for men and 64.84 years for **women**) (2003, CIA est.). In 2002–2003 some international organizations expressed concern about possible outbreaks of AIDS, tuberculosis, malaria, and sexually transmitted diseases in Turkmenistan, and offered their assistance.

HIZB-UT-TAHRIR. The largest nonmainstream underground political group allegedly active in Central Asia, including Turkmenistan. Since the 1990s it also became active in some parts of **Dashoguz**, **Lebap**, and **Mary** ***welayats***, although the information and numbers provided by the **government** and by the Hizb-Ut-Tahrir supporters is difficult to verify. The organization declared that it would promote the Islamic creed and Islamic awareness in the republics of the region by peaceful means. It also declared that it supported social justice and rule of Islamic Law (***Shariah***) and was opposed to the extremes of Western capitalism and its immorality. The Hizb-Ut-Tahrir claimed that it has supporters in various parts of the country, although the exact number is unknown.

The Turkmen **National Security Ministry** and **police** launched a major crackdown on the group, which was justified mainly by alleged support of and links to the Taliban movement in **Afghanistan** and other radical Islamic groups. Also, after the September 11 attacks in the **United States**, there were alleged links to or sympathies toward Osama Bin Laden. Some opposition leaders claim that the government uses references to the organization in order to cover its actions against the political opposition. *See also* ISLAM; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

HOJA (also *Khoja, Khaja*). 1. A title for people or groups of people and some **tribes** who claim their descent from Prophet Muhammad through his daughter Fatima and her husband Ali or from companions of Prophet Muhammad who arrived in Central Asia with the first wave of Arabs in the seventh century A.D. There are several extended families in **Kazakhstan**, Turkmenistan, and in **Uzbekistan** that claim this title. Traditionally *hojas* have a significant influence in the local communities. 2. A title sometimes used to refer to respected members of society (usually scholars of **Islam**) and high-ranking **government**

or religious officials in a **khan's** palace, who are not necessarily descendants of the Prophet.

HOJA NASREDDIN. A popular folk hero in satirical stories and anecdotes. He defended poor people against corrupt **government** officials or greedy members of the community. During the **Russian Empire** and Soviet era the stories about Hoja Nasreddin were widely used to criticize indirectly the shortcomings of the regimes and their political practices.

HOKIM. *See* HYAKIM.

HORSES. Horses played an important role in the Turkmen society for centuries, as they secured a military advantage for light Turkmen cavalry in numerous wars in this part of the world. In addition, horse herding was one of the important pillars of economic activities, as crop-growing was not sustainable in the vast, water-scarce Turkmen steppes and deserts. Turkmen horses provided a means for life, **transportation**, and **trade** for generations of **Turkmens**. Unlike Kazakhs and Kyrgyzs, the Turkmens traditionally do not eat horse meat. The *atchapyshygys* (horse races) have been one of the favorite entertainments in Turkmen society since ancient times

Through centuries of breeding, Turkmen farmers succeeded in producing one of the best breeds of horses, the Akhalteke horse. This horse is raised mainly in Turkmenistan, **Kazakhstan**, **Afghanistan**, and northern **Iran**. The Turkmen Akhalteke horse is tall and elegant, and it has strong, long legs. It is well adapted to the harsh dry climate of the Turkmen steppes, and since ancient times it was regarded as one of the fastest racing horses in the region. It was highly valued by warriors not only in Central Asia, but also in south Asia, China, and the Middle East. Pure-breed Akhalteke horses were sold to the courts of medieval **khans** and shahs as far away as India and Egypt. Since ancient times the horse trade has been an important source of revenue for merchants who traveled along the **Great Silk Road**. The image of the horse became part of Turkmen art and oral traditions.

During the Soviet era several ***kolkhozes*** and ***sovkhozes*** in Turkmenistan specialized in raising horses on a large scale. The total

number of horses in the collective farms reached approximately 30,000 in 1979, but declined during the 1980s.

Since the 1990s the Turkmenistani **government** has gradually reformed its **agricultural** sector in an attempt to revive this vital sector of the **economy** through private initiative. With the decline of agricultural subsidies, the rural **population** has eventually turned to subsistence agriculture in semidesert areas in **Balkan** and **Akhal** ***welayats.*** In this environment, it has become difficult for ordinary small farmers to raise the pedigree horses, and horse breeding became concentrated in large, specialized farms. According to official statistics the number of horses was projected at about 30,000 in 2004.

HYAKIM (sometime *Hokim* in eastern Turkmenistan; "the leader"). 1. Any leader of the community. 2. In public life in the republic the term is used to refer to the appointed head of the local, *etrap* (district), or ***welayat*** (province) administration (e.g., *welayat hyakimi*—the head of the *welayat* administration). According to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** of 1992 the president appoints the *hyakims* of *welayats*, the *hyakim* of the **Ashgabat** city administration, and the *hyakims* of *etrap* and *shaher* (city) administrations.

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INDUSTRY. Until the 20th century the majority of the **population** in the Turkmen land was engaged in subsistence **agriculture** and traditionally received industrial products through barter **trade**. Small-scale industrial enterprises did exist in major urban areas, producing textiles, **carpets**, light weapons, and some other products. However, they were not competitive in the industrial age, as they were very small and used traditional labor-intensive technologies. In the late 19th century the **Russian Empire** established its control over Central Asia and invested in building a **railway** through the Turkmen land that connected the Central Asian region with the Russian market. Several enterprises were established, mainly with the Russian and British capital. However, until the 1920s the industrial sector was underdeveloped in Turkmenistan.

Large-scale industrialization arrived at Turkmenistan in the 1930s and 1940s as part of an ambitious industrialization program of the

Soviet authorities. The central Soviet government directed large investments to the industrial sector in the republic, especially mechanical plants, labor-intensive light and garment industries, petrochemical and agricultural product processing, and some others. Between 1929 and 1959 the industrial sector in Turkmenistan grew at an annual rate of about 15 to 30 percent. In the 1970s and 1980s Turkmenistan received significant investments in **gas** and **oil** extracting facilities, becoming one of the major regional producers of gas and some chemical products. However, a significant portion of the revenues from the exploitation of the Turkmenistani natural resources was taken to the Soviet central budget.

Several large manufacturing plants were established in the 1950s and 1960s. They included military and machinery plants as well as agricultural product processing, leather goods, **cotton** processing, textile and garment production, carpets, petrochemicals, etc. Under tight centralized command control, however, the industrial enterprises failed to modernize in the 1970s, and by the 1980s they had become quite inefficient and produced low quality products due to a quantitative approach and excessive state control. Until 1991 up to 95 percent of these goods were produced for export to other republics of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) and to Eastern Europe. **Russia** was the main market for the equipment and machinery produced in Turkmenistan's plants.

By the 1990s the industrial sector in Turkmenistan was relatively well diversified, but lacked modern technologies and access to the international market. Due to the collapse of regional cooperation and the traditional Soviet market in the 1990s, many industrial enterprises needed restructuring, modernization, and significant investment. Since independence the **government** of Turkmenistan has introduced an ambitious program of modernization of the country's industrial sector. It was able to maintain significant subsidies in the 1990s and early 2000s, as it took control of the national **economy** and began to sell its gas and oil at the world prices. The main focus was on light industry, petrochemicals, and agricultural products processing. According to official statistical data Turkmenistan projected to produce 85.8 million square meters of textiles in 2004, and it projected to increase production to 385 million square meters of textiles in 2010.

Turkmenistan's manufacturing industries avoided a steep transitional recession, which could be seen in neighboring **Kazakhstan** and Russia, yet, they experienced significant difficulties in adopting to the new post-Soviet environment. The largest investment projects included an oil refinery in **Turkmenbashy** city, a textile complex in **Ashgabat**, and a metallurgical plant in **Mary**. According to the World Bank, the manufacturing sector accounted for 40 percent of GDP in 2001. *See also* MINING.

INTERNATIONAL NARCOTICS CONTROL BOARD (INCB). This is the independent organization created in 1968 to control the implementation of the United Nations drug conventions. The Convention on Narcotic Drugs was signed in 1961. The INCB is governed by a board of 13 members who serve in their personal capacity. Traditionally they are elected by the United Nations Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC) and are financed by the United Nations. The INCB objective is to promote government compliance with the provisions of the drug control treaties and to assist in this effort.

IRAN (official name *Jomhuri-ye Eslami-ye Iran*, or Islamic Republic of Iran; called Persia until the 20th century). This country is located south of Turkmenistan. The two states share a border of 992 kilometers. Iran has a territory of 1,648,000 square kilometers, and the **population** was estimated at about 68 million (2004, CIA est.). Persians account for about 52 to 54 percent of the population. Between 1,000,000 and 1,600,000 **Turkmens** live in Khorasan, Mazandaran, and other provinces in northern Iran.

Between the 17th and 19th centuries the Turkmen **tribes** had uneasy relations with the Persian (Iranian) Empire, as they vigorously resisted Persian attempts to establish control over the Turkmen land and supported the **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate** military actions against Persian troops. By the mid-19th century, however, the regional political environment had changed. The powerful **Russian Empire** advanced from the north to the Turkmen land and established its political control over the Bukhara Emirate and Khiva Khanates. In the late 19th century, through a series of negotiations, Persia (Iran) and Russia agreed on the borders between the two countries, which largely remained unchanged in the 20th century. Accord-

ing to these agreements part of the territory that historically had been populated by Turkmens went to Persia.

After the Revolution of 1917 the Turkmen land remained semi-independent for several years, but from 1920 to 1924 the Bolsheviks established control over the territory of present-day Turkmenistan. During this period, some representatives of the **Basmachy movement** moved to Iran and received substantial support from the Iranian authorities. In the 1940s and 1950s Turkmenistan developed active **trade** with Iran, yet the Soviet Union had bumpy relations with the Iranian leadership. The Iranian Islamic revolution of 1979 negatively affected the relations between Turkmenistan and Iran, as the **iron curtain** virtually sealed borders between the two countries. The relations were also complicated by Iranian support of the anti-Soviet resistance movement in **Afghanistan** in the 1980s. Relations improved significantly in the late 1980s. After the dissolution of the Soviet Union in 1991 Turkmenistan and Iran established direct diplomatic relations, and Iran was among the first countries that opened an embassy in **Ashgabat**.

Economic cooperation, border delimitations of the **Caspian Sea**, and construction of **gas** and **oil pipelines** from Central Asia to the Persian Gulf through the territory of Iran were the three key issues in the relationship between these two neighbors in the 1990s and early 2000s.

Since the early 1990s bilateral trade between the two countries has expanded rapidly, and Iran became the third most important trading partner of Turkmenistan. In addition to official trade, experts reported a large number of Central Asian unregistered retail traders—*chelnoki*. The *chelnoki* commute back and forth between the two countries in order to buy and resell consumer goods. According to official estimates in 2003 up to 20,000 Turkmen citizens visited Iran. Some Iranian traders moved to Ashgabat and established retail outlets.

In 1997 Turkmenistan opened one of its first new gas pipelines to export its gas to northern Iran and built a **railway** section that connected the Central Asian railway system with the Iranian network. There were also intensive negotiations under way concerning the construction of a highway between the two countries. However, negotiations regarding a large-scale pipeline to the Persian Gulf or Turkey, which continued throughout the 1990s, failed due to the United

States–imposed trade sanctions against Iran, low oil prices in the international market, and a negative geopolitical environment in the region. In 2003–2004 the negotiations were resumed and there were several reports about possible pipeline routes.

Throughout the 1990s Ashgabat and Tehran were actively involved in multilateral negotiations over the legal status of the Caspian Sea and delimitation of its seabed. Iran, **Kazakhstan**, Azerbaijan, Russia, and Turkmenistan disagreed seriously on how to divide the potentially oil-rich Caspian seabed among the bordering countries. Two options were to divide it equally among all five countries or according to the coastal line and international arrangements on the coastal economic zones.

Iran along with Turkmenistan is a member of the **Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)** and **Organization of the Islamic Conference (OIC)**.

IRON CURTAIN. The term used in reference to the political, military, and ideological barrier erected by the Soviet Union on its borders. The Soviet authorities severely limited all relations of the Soviet citizens with foreign nationalities. In the case of Turkmenistan, citizens of **Turkmen SSR** very often could not contact even relatives who moved to **Afghanistan** or **Iran** because of the civil war, collectivization hardship, and other social or political calamities. The Soviet authorities often justified the Iron Curtain by referring to the **Basmachy movement**, which had its supply bases in Afghanistan, Iran, and some other countries. The term was first used by Winston Churchill at his speech in Fulton, about the division of Europe in 1946.

ISLAM. One of the major world religions, founded by Prophet Muhammad in Arabia at the beginning of the seventh century A.D. Arab troops reached the territory of contemporary Turkmenistan in the middle of the eighth century and established a strong presence in Khorasan, **Bukhara**, and Khoresm. Initially, the Arabs met significant resistance from the local **population**, but Islam ultimately established roots in the region. The Islamization of Turkmen **tribes** was a long process and continued for several centuries. Probably some time between the 11th and 15th centuries a significant number of **Turkmens** began to practice Islam. ***Akhuns***, sheikhs, and dervishes

(members of Sufi orders), who traveled in the region and along the **Great Silk Road**, contributed notably to this process. Most contemporary scholars of religion in Central Asia believe that the Sufi orders still exercise significant influence among the Turkmens. The strong influence of Sufism can be observed in local traditions and the incorporation of some local Sufi rituals and beliefs in everyday life. Also, many Turkmen scholars reported elements of pre-Islamic beliefs and shamanistic traditions among some Turkmens.

After the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 the Soviet authorities initially tolerated the Islamic creed and allowed Islamic practices. Josef Stalin radically changed state policy toward all religions in the second half of the 1920s and in the 1930s. Many mosques were destroyed and numerous spiritual leaders were executed, sent to Siberia (**Russia**), or escaped to **Afghanistan**, **Iran**, and Turkey. During World War II the Soviet government changed its policy toward Islam and established the state-controlled Central Asian Spiritual Board of Muslims (SADUM in Russian abbreviation) in Tashkent in 1942. Since the 1940s the Soviet authorities generally tolerated Islamic practices, as far as they were private actions and did not interfere with public life. However, it established a strict control over the registration of mosques and mullahs, thus many Muslims sought the help of **unofficial Muslim clergy** to practice their religion.

Turkmenistan experienced a major resurgence of Islam in the 1980s and 1990s. A number of mosques were built, including the largest mosque in Central Asia, completed in 1999, and a significant number of people turned to practicing the religion. However, the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** (1992) declared that the republic is a secular state. Islam traditionally maintains a strong presence and influence in **Lebap** and **Mary** ***welayats***, and less in **Balkan** ***welayat***.

According to official statistics around 95 percent of Turkmens are Sunni Muslims of the Hanafi school, along with their Central Asian neighbors and Turks of Turkey. This is in contrast to the Shia branch in neighboring Iran. According to Turkmen **mass media** reports, radical Islamic groups did not penetrate Turkmen society, as the post-Soviet Turkmenistani government maintains strict control over religious affairs. The government banned political activities of all Islamic groups, including **Hizb-Ut-Tahrir**, in the country, and it established tight control over registration of all religious communities and over

appointments of new Imams (Islamic clergy) in all mosques. *See also* JADIDISM; KAZY; KAZIYET; MUFTI; MUFTIYAT.

ISLAMIC MOVEMENT OF UZBEKISTAN (IMU). The largest radical Islamic group of **Uzbekistan**, based in the Ferghana Valley. It is active in Uzbekistan and in southern Kyrgyzstan. The IMU claims 3,000 to 4,000 active members and 9,000 to 12,000 supporters. It has its roots in several Islamic youth groups, which emerged in the Ferghana Valley in the early 1990s and attempted to promote and enforce Islamic practices among local communities. IMU members were active during the civil war in **Tajikistan** fighting alongside the Islamic opposition. Allegedly they received substantial financial assistance from the Middle East and training assistance from **Afghanistan** in the mid-1990s. There were unconfirmed reports that some IMU members were involved in lucrative drug trafficking from Afghanistan to Europe.

In 1998 and 1999 the Uzbekistan government launched a crackdown campaign, accusing the movement of killing police officials in Namangan and masterminding an assassination attempt on President Islam Karimov of Uzbekistan in 1999. A number of active members and supporters of the IMU were arrested, and the IMU leaders moved to northeastern Tajikistan, where they established their stronghold. In 1999 and 2000 there were militant incursions, which attempted to infiltrate from Tajikistan to Uzbekistan via Kyrgyzstan and captured several villages and a number of hostages, but in a series of battles the IMU was expelled from both Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. In 2001 it moved to Afghanistan and fought along with al Qaeda against the U.S. troops and experienced severe losses. In 2002 it attempted to relaunch itself as the Islamic Movement of **Turkistan**, claiming that it has supporters in all areas in Central Asian region, including Turkmenistan. There was an unconfirmed media report that several Turkmen citizens attended the IMU camps in the 1990s. *See also* ISLAM; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

– J –

JADIDISM (also *dzhadidism*, from the Arabic *jadid*—"new"). A reformist movement in Central Asia and the **Russian Empire**, which

emerged in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. It was a part of the wider reformist movement in the Muslim world of the 19th and 20th centuries. Its members (Jadidists) called for a reformation of Islamic society and introduction of new approaches to politics, social relations, and especially **education**. Numerous religious scholars in the Muslim areas of the Russian Empire, including Shihabeddin al-Marjani (1818–1889) and many others, contributed to early debates on the creative interpretation of Islamic teaching. This was in a sharp contrast to the conservative and very narrow interpretations and teachings of the *ulama* (Islamic scholars) in Central Asia, who vigorously and sometimes forcibly resisted the ideas of the reformists. On the eve of the 20th century a Crimean Tatar reformist circle led by Ismail Gasparaly (Gasparinski) emerged as one of the most influential groups among the Muslim reformists in the Russian Empire. In Central Asia it was particularly influential in **Bukhara**, Tashkent, and, to a lesser degree, **Khiva**.

In the early 20th century the Jadidists developed a new curriculum for Central Asian schools, which combined religious subjects with the new approach to teaching Arabic language and also included such subjects as mathematics. They established a network of schools (so-called reformed or Jadidist schools) with a new curriculum in many cities and towns in Central Asia, including the Turkmen land. By 1914 there were about 30 schools that had adopted the Jadidist curriculum. Many influential Turkmen politicians and public figures of the early 20th century were educated in these schools.

JAGATAI. *See* CHAGATAI.

JIGIT. *See* YIGIT.

JIHAD (holy battle, campaign). One of the central concepts in **Islam**, which obliges Muslims to spread and strengthen Islam in the world. According to the Islamic scholarly interpretation of the concept, jihad can be performed in four ways: by heart, by sword, by hand, and by tongue. It should be directed against evil desires, actions, or enemies. There is no clear concept of who can call for jihad by sword—military action or wars. In the 19th and 20th century, leaders of Islamic communities in Central Asia frequently called for jihad against the Tsarist authorities.

The **Popular Uprising of 1916** in **Zacaspian** ***oblast*** and the **Basmachy movement** in 1918–1921 were carried out under the banner of jihad. In the 1990s some radical Islamic groups in Central Asia, such as the **Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan**, declared Jihad against the ruling regimes, such as the regime of President Islam Karimov of **Uzbekistan**.

JUNAID-KHAN (Dzhunaid-Khan) (also *Baital Khan*, *Muhammed-kurban-serdar*) (1857–1938). One of the most successful commanders of the **Basmachy movement** in the **Turkmen land** between 1918 and 1924. In 1918 with a group of his supporters he entered the city of Khiva and seized political power in the **Khiva Khanate**. In 1920 the Red Army forced him to abandon Khiva. Junaid-Khan united several hundred supporters and, with the help of local influential tribal leaders, organized a resistance movement against the Red Army. The Basmachy groups under his command controlled a number of cities and towns and a significant part of the Turkmen land. Junaid-Khan attempted to mobilize broad local support under the banner of *gazavat* (**jihad**) against the Soviet authorities and he attracted significant military and financial support from Russian White Guards, Britain, and Turkey. However, his troops, which were plagued by personal rivalries and lack of discipline, were defeated by the united units of the Red Army and local *militsiya* (militia) in 1924.

In 1924 he escaped to Afghanistan, but in 1925 he was amnestied and returned to the **Turkmenistan Soviet Socialist Republic**. For several years he lived as a private person in the village of Bedirkent (in present-day **Dashoguz** ***welayat***), but in 1928 he and his guards clashed with Red Army troops. In a series of battles he was defeated but escaped to continue a partisan-style campaign against the Soviet authorities, destroying communications and ambushing towns and villages in Turkmenistan. In 1931 he escaped to Afghanistan, where he remained one of the influential figures among the anti-Soviet political groups in exile.

JUZ (also *jus*, *dzhus*). 1. "Hundred" in Kazakh (*yuz* in **Turkmen language**). Often used in reference to a unit in a cavalry regiment in Central Asia. 2. A horde or federation of Kazakh **tribes**. There were three semi-independent hordes in the Kazakh steppe: Uluu Juz (Great Horde), Kichi Juz (Little Horde), and Otro Juz (Middle Horde).

– K –

KAKALIYEV, YAZGELDY (1961–). Turkmen politician. Born in the city of Yangala in Akhal *welayat*, Yazgeldy Kakaliyev graduated from **Turkmen State University** in 1983 and then completed his postgraduated studies at the **Academy of Sciences**. He was awarded a *kandidat nauk* degree (equivalent to Ph.D.). He started his career at the Turkmen Academy of Sciences in 1983. From 1985 to 1992 he held various research positions at the academy. From 1993 to 1996 he held managerial positions at the Turkmenistan commercial **bank**. From 1996 to 1997 he worked at the Investbank. From 1997 to 1999 he was the manager of the Turkmenistan Bank's branch in the city of Abadan. In 1999 he was appointed as the deputy chairman of the Investbank. From 2000 to 2002 he served as deputy chairman of Turkmenbashy State Bank. In early 1992 he was appointed deputy minister of **economy** and finance. In November 2002 Kakaliyev was appointed minister of economy and finance, but in April 2004 he was dismissed from his position.

KALYM. *See* KALYNG.

KALYNG (also *Kalym*). Dowry in the form of money or a gift, which parents of a bridegroom send to parents of a bride before the marriage. The *kalyng* may take the form of various household goods, livestock, or cash, but is usually a combination of these. Traditionally, the amount is decided by the parents on both sides and often depends on the income and social status of the families. The *kalyng* played a central part in prearranged marriages among **Turkmens** and Uzbeks, and there were numerous reports of underage and forced marriages. The *kalyng* was officially banned during the Soviet era. In post-Soviet Turkmenistan, the tradition of *kalyng* has strengthened, although the precise number of arranged marriages is unknown.

KARA-BOGAZ-GOL. *See* GARABOGAZGOL.

KARAKUL (also *astrakhan fur*). 1. Sheepskin of karakul **sheep** that is specially processed and washed. The karakul sheepskin is highly valued for its soft, curled, glossy fur that is customarily used for making winter jackets, overcoats, traditional hats, etc. 2. The breed of sheep

that is raised in Turkmenistan and some parts of Central Asia, mainly for its skin and fine wool. The wool of karakul sheep is seven to ten centimeters long and traditionally used for making Turkoman **carpets**.

KARA KUM CANAL. *See* GARAGUM CANAL.

KARA KUM DESERT. *See* GARAGUM DESERT.

KARA KUM LAKE. *See* GARAGUM KOLI.

KARAVAN SARAY. *See* KERWEN-SARAY.

KARPOV GEORGII (1890–1947). Turkmen politician and ethnographer. Born in Tsaritsin (Russia) Georgii Karpov received his **education** from a primary school and worked in various places before joining the army in World War I. During the civil war in **Turkistan** he joined the Bolshevik Party and fought as an officer of the Red Army in the **Zacaspian *Oblast***. In the 1920s and 1930s he held various positions in the People's Commissariat of Internal Affairs (predecessor of the KGB), Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**, Central Executive Committee, and some others. However, it was his ethnographic and historical research that brought him wide recognition in Turkmen academia and in Central Asia. He participated in numerous ethnographic expeditions and organized several studies on contemporary Turkmen history, tribal composition, genealogy, and **population** movement in the Turkmen land. He published one of the first authoritative studies on modern **Turkmens** and authored a number articles and books on modern history and ethnography of Turkmens.

KAZAKHSTAN (official name *Qazaqstan Respublikasy* or *Qazaqstan*). The republic is located north of Turkmenistan, and they share 379 kilometers of common borders. Kazakhstan is the largest state in Central Asia (2,717,300 square kilometers), and with a population estimated at about 16.8 million in July 2004 it is the second most populous country in the region after **Uzbekistan**. According to the CIA estimates the Kazakhs account for 53.4 percent of the population (other estimates put this figure up to 58 percent) (2004, CIA est.), Russians about 28 percent, Ukrainians about 3.7 percent, Uzbeks

about 2.5 percent, Germans about 2.4, Uigurs about 1.4, Tatars about 1.6 percent, etc. Some 2,000 to 3,000 **Turkmens** live in the Atyrau, Mangghustau, and some other ***oblasts*** of Kazakhstan (other estimates put the figures up to 4,000 to 5,000).

During the 19th century the Kazakhs interacted with the Turkmens and sometimes helped in their resistance and struggle against the **Khiva Khanate**. The activities of Kazakh officers in Russian service convinced the leaders of northern Turkmen **tribes** to accept the **Russian Empire's** advance into the region and the suzerainty.

During the Soviet era, Kazakhstan became one of the most industrially developed countries in Central Asia and one of the important destinations for Turkmenistan's **agricultural** and **industrial** production. Turkmenistan also intensively used Kazakhstan's **transportation** network, **pipelines**, telecommunications, and other infrastructure.

Since 1991 Kazakhstan has been one of Turkmenistan's most important partners, especially in transportation and on the **oil** and **gas** pipelines issue. Turkmenistan exported about US$70 million in goods and services, mainly products of its agriculture and industry, and imported about US$60 million in goods and **services**, petroleum, and machinery. There were media reports about the immigration of Turkmen farmers to Kazakhstan in search of temporary jobs. Admittedly, some of Turkmenistan's actions—such as signing the **Dual Citizenship Treaty** with Russia in 1993, the unilateral introduction of visa requirements for the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) members, refusal to join the **Central Asian Economic Union**, and insistence on its own position in the **Caspian Sea** delimitation issue throughout the 1990s—were negatively perceived by the Kazakhstani government. In the meantime the Turkmenistan business community complained about high fees and levies imposed by Kazakhstan customs and transportation officials on Turkmenistani goods. Nevertheless, the relations between the two countries continued to be friendly throughout the 1990s and early 2000s, as they cooperated on such issues as dealing with the **environmental** impact of the **Aral Sea** decline.

Kazakhstan, along with Turkmenistan, joined the CIS, **Economic Cooperation Organization**, **Organization of the Islamic Conference**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe**, and other international organizations. By 2004 Kazakhstan had resolved

most of its territorial and border disputes with Turkmenistan, with the exception of the disputes over the status of the Caspian seabed.

KAZIYET. During the Soviet era, the highest Islamic decision-making body in Turkmenistan, based in **Dashoguz** (formerly *Tashauz*). It was established in 1943 after the regime of Josef Stalin lifted some restrictions on religious activities in the Soviet Union. The Kaziyet was subordinated to the ***muftiat*** of Central Asia—a Tashkent-based Central Asian spiritual body. Traditionally, the Kaziyet was led by a prominent local Islamic scholar, the ***kazy***, who was approved by both the *muftiat* and the State Committee on Religious Affairs. The Kaziyet supervised the work of officially registered mosques, ***medreses***, and **official Muslim clergy** on the territory of the republic. In 1991 the status of the Kaziyet was upgraded and it became the *muftiat* of Turkmenistan. *See also* ISLAM; MUFTI; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

KAZY. 1. A legal authority in **Islam**, who interprets to the Islamic community the religious teachings and Islamic law (**Shariah**). *Kazys* continued legal practices in the Turkmen land until the mid-1920s, when the institute of *kazy* was abolished by the Soviet authorities. 2. Until 1991 the highest Islamic authority in Turkmenistan, subordinated to the ***muftiat*** of Central Asia, which had its headquarters in Tashkent (**Uzbekistan**). 3. In 2002 the Turkmenistani **government** introduced the term *kazy* in a reference to any state appointed judge. *See also* KAZIYET; MUFTI; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

KECHE (also *koshma*). Traditional Turkmen woolen felt **carpet** with national Turkmen patterns or pictures. Unlike woven carpets, the *keche* is made of sheep or camel wool, which is rolled flat onto thick cloth or another base. This is a long and labor-intensive process, in which traditionally **women** have been involved. The *keche* was widely used as a floor cover in traditional Turkmen houses and as an external cover for the ***yurt***.

KEMINE (real name *Mametveli*) (1770–1840). Prominent Turkmen poet, one of the early founders of modern Turkmen poetry. Born in the Serakh oasis, Kemine received his formal **education** from a

medrese in **Bukhara**. After leaving his *medrese* he spent the rest of his live traveling around the Turkmen land, studying Turkmen folklore, and composing his own poems. He became a famous master of satirical and allegorical stories and poems. He was very sensitive to injustice and frequently ridiculed people's greed and selfishness and the insensitivity of the nobility and the **tribal** and religious elite. He was also a master of love poetry, producing fine lines about the beauty of the **women** of the steppe. In contemporary Turkmenistan he is highly respected and regarded as one of the founders of satire in Turkmen literature.

KERBABAYEV, BERDY (1894–1974). Turkmen writer, translator, and publicist. Born in the village of Amansha-Kaplan in **Akhal** ***oblast***, Berdy Kerbabayev received a basic religious **education** at a ***medrese*** and then studied at the Leningrad Institute of Oriental Languages (not completed). He started his career as an administrative assistant and interpreter. In the early 1920s he joined the local Soviet administration and concurrently began his writing career. Between 1924 and 1926 he prepared for publication several poetry collections of the Turkmen poet **Magtymguly**. In 1931 he published his first collection of short stories. In the 1930s he translated from Russian to Turkmen several important novels of Lev Tolstoy, Mikhail Sholokhov, and Maksim Gorky. Between 1940 and 1955 he published his monumental three-volume novel *Aýgytly Ädim* (Decisive Step), which was also published in Russian under the title *Reshauchii Shag*. In 1947 he published his novel *Aksoltan iz strany belogo zolota* (Aksoltan from the Country of White Gold), and in 1957 he published his novel *Nebit Dag*. From 1942 to 1950 and again from 1960 to 1962 he was the chairman of the **Union of Writers of Turkmenistan**.

Kerbabayev played an important role in the development of the literature of Turkmenistan in the 20th century. He was among the first **Turkmens** who translated major Russian writers into the **Turkmen language**. He authored several books, numerous poems, articles, and short stories, mainly in the Turkmen language, becoming one of the most prominent Turkmen writers in the country. Several of his novels were translated into Russian and other languages of the Soviet Union. He was honored with state awards in 1948 and 1951 and was

elected as a full member of the **Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan** in 1951.

KERWEN-SARAY (also *karavan-saray, kerven-saray*). 1. A traditional guesthouse or inn in the cities and towns along major routes and mountain passes. They were often used as shelters by caravans and travelers in Central Asia and the Middle East. *Kerwen-sarays* were usually built as a quadrangular building with small windows, a large central court, and storerooms in order to protect traders against sudden ambush from robber bands. 2. Ruins of old *kerwen-sarays* and trading outposts in the territory of Turkmenistan and other Central Asian republics. 3. In everyday life the term sometimes refers to a motel.

KHALK MASLAHATY (People's Council). According to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** this is the "highest representative organ of popular power" in Turkmenistan, which was designed to "represent all Turkmenistanis." It consists of the **president**, 50 members of the ***mejlis*** (parliament), 60 directly elected members (*khalk vekilleri*), the chairman of the Supreme Court, the prosecutor-general, members of the Cabinet of Ministers, ***hyakims*** of ***welayats*** and **Ashgabat** city, and some others. The *Khalk Maslahaty* is empowered to introduce constitutional changes, call referendums, and approve important laws. The constitutional amendments approved in August 2003 declared the *Khalk Maslahaty* as the highest legislative body in the republic and President Saparmurat Niyazov as its chair for life.

KHAN. 1. The traditional title of a chief of a **tribe** or a confederation of tribes. 2. The title of a ruler (king) of a state or a principality during the medieval era. 3. Sometimes the term is used as an equivalent of "lord" or "your highness," usually after the first name.

KHANA. 1. A building, hall, or living place. 2. A public building, such as a teahouse (*chai-khana*), restaurant (***ash-khana***), or library (*kiteb-khana*).

KHIVA KHANATE. Central Asian feudal state that existed between the 16th and 20th centuries on the territory of present-day Turk-

menistan and **Uzbekistan**. The khanate was established in the 16th century by a **khan** from the Sheybani family, after the defeat and disintegration of the Timurid state. At its zenith the state controlled vast territories of contemporary Central Asia, Persia (now **Iran**), and **Afghanistan**, including part of the territory populated by the Turkmen **tribes**. In the early 18th century khans from the Kungrat tribal dynasty seized political power, but their successors exhausted the khanate's army in a series of wars with Afghanistan, Iran, and the neighboring **Bukhara Emirate**.

The **Russian Empire** defeated the ruler of the Khiva Khanate, in a series of battles in the 1860s and 1870s. In 1873 the khanate became a protectorate of the Russian Empire, maintaining autonomy in internal affairs but surrendering its foreign policy. In 1918 **Junaid-Khan** seized political power in Khiva, although Sayyid Abdulla Khan remained a nominal ruler of the state. In 1920 Sayyid Abdulla, the last ruler of the Khanate, was overthrown by local rebels supported by the Red Army. A new government was established that declared the establishment of the **Khorezm People's Soviet Republic**.

KHORASAN (also *Khurasan*, literally the "Land of the Sun"). 1. The province in northern **Iran** that borders Turkmenistan. 2. The historical region that corresponds to the territory of contemporary northeastern Iran, southern Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, and northern **Afghanistan**. Medieval Arab geographers sometimes extended the geographic term to the north, from the **Amu Darya River** westward to the **Caspian Sea** and to the mountains of central Afghanistan.

KHOREZM. A historical region in Central Asia in the lower flow of the **Amu Darya River** in the territory of present-day Turkmenistan and **Uzbekistan**. Khorezm was mentioned in the ancient chronicles of the fourth century B.C., when the first large centralized state of Khorezm was established. The independent Khorezm flourished for centuries due to the abundance of irrigation land, water, and a skillful workforce and it enriched itself through **trade** along the **Great Silk Road**. Between the third and 12th centuries A.D. the Khorezmshakh dynasty consolidated its power in the region and established a powerful state with its center in **Koneurgench** (Gurganch). However, Khorezm was defeated by the Mongol troops and Genghis Khan ordered the death

of all the people of Koneurgench and destruction of most of Khorezm's cities, towns, and ancient irrigation systems. Khorezm recovered to some degree in the 14th and 15th century, but was defeated by Tamerlane (Timur), who ordered the destruction of Koneurgench **architectural** monuments and took all the skillful masters and builders to erect his capital, Samarkand. The territory of Khorezm was integrated into the Khiva Khanate in the 16th century.

KHOREZM PEOPLE'S SOVIET REPUBLIC (KPSR). This republic existed between April 1920 and October 1924. The Khorezm People's Soviet Republic was officially founded in April 1920, with its center in the city of **Khiva** (now in **Uzbekistan**). It was established as a result of the revolution led by the Khorezm Communist Party with assistance from the Red Army. The troops led by **Junaid-Khan** were defeated and escaped to lead the **Basmachy movement**. The republic included territories of present-day Karakalpakistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, with a total population of about 2.2 million people (1920 official est.). Between 1921 and 1924 the government of Khorezm carried out a series of economic and political reforms. However, the country's development was significantly undermined by the military activities of the Basmachy movement.

The KPSR was officially reorganized into the Khorezm Soviet Socialist Republic (KSSR) in October 1923, but was abolished in October 1924 due to the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** in Central Asia, when it was divided into Central Asian Soviet Republics. The western districts of the KPSR/KSSR (Il'ialinsk, **Koneurgench**, Porsin, Takhtin), populated mainly by the **Turkmens**, were transferred to the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic**.

KIARIZ. (also *kariz*). Traditional underground water supply system, built to send water to the cities or towns or to the irrigated fields. Since ancient times *kiarizgen* (masters of *kiariz*) have built systems of deep shafts and connected them with narrow tunnels.

KIAT KHAN (1754?–1843). Turkmen politician and influential tribal leader of powerful Yomud **tribes**. Born in Astrabad province (**Iran**), Kiat Khan led several **Turkmen** campaigns against the Persian (Iranian) rulers. He first contacted the **Russian Empire** authorities in

1813 and played an important role in the Russian-Iranian-Central Asian relations in the first half of the 19th century, becoming one of the key Russian allies in the Turkmen land. He was also an entrepreneur and had interests in **trade** between Turkmens and various Central Asian trading houses with **Russia** and Iran. In 1840s the Russian authorities doubted his political loyalty and he was arrested and died in prison in Tbilisi.

KIYASE. A traditional bowl made of porcelain, clay, or wood, used in **Turkmenistan** to serve the national food or drink, especially hot tea. It is also popular in other parts of Central Asia.

KOKAND KHANATE. A Central Asian feudal state in the Ferghana Valley. Until the 18th century it was a small principality in the eastern part of the **Bukhara Emirate** (also called *Bukhara Khanate*). In 1710 Shoukrukh **Beg** of the Uzbek tribal dynasty Ming seceded from Bukhara and established the city of Kokand as the capital of the Khanate. The Kokand rulers gradually captured Khojent, Osh, Tashkent, and some other cities. Between the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century Kokand colonized almost all the territories of what is now Kyrgyzstan and parts of **Tajikistan** and **Uzbekistan**. The last ruler of Kokand, Khudoyar Khan (1845–1875), exhausted his army in continuing wars with his *begs*, the Bukhara Emirate, and the rebellious Kyrgyz tribes during the popular uprising of 1873–1876.

The **Russian Empire** defeated the Kokand Khanate in a series of battles in the 1860s and 1870s and conquered its territory in 1876. On February 19, 1876, the Kokand Khanate was abolished due to its internal turbulence and the inability of the last **khan** of Kokand to stabilize the Khanate. Its territory was divided between several ***oblasts*** of the **Turkistan** Governor-Generalship, and later during the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** between Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, and Uzbekistan.

KOLKHOZ (plural in Russian *kolkhozy*). This word derives from the Russian acronym *kollektivnoye khozyaistvo*, or "collective farm." The *kolkhozes* were established across the Union of Soviet Socia publics (USSR) in the late 1920s. They were introduced in Cen

to replace subsistence and semipastoral farming and were supposed to boost **agricultural** production. In Turkmenistan, the collectivization campaign coincided with the sedentarization campaign. Both campaigns were implemented forcibly and were completed between 1928 and 1937, as up to 98 percent of arable land and pastures (with the exception of small plots of land for private gardening) were taken over by the collective farms. Not only did the Soviet authorities confiscate properties of wealthy ***bais***, ***begs***, and **khans**, but they also arrested, executed, and exiled them to Siberia, **Kazakhstan**, and other parts of the Soviet Union. Many **Turkmens**, especially wealthy farmers, resisted the collectivization. According to various estimates, between 80,000 and 100,000, possibly as many as 200,000, Turkmen escaped from forceful collectivization and confiscation of their properties to neighboring **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. In 1940 there were about 1,500 *kolkhozes*, which were consolidated into about 330 by 1975.

In theory, the *kolkhozes* were independent and voluntary associations of the farmers; in practice, however, they were under centralized state control until the 1990s. Since 1992 the Turkmenistani **government** has been attempting to gradually reform its agricultural sector, but retained some features of the centralized control over farmers' activities. According to the Presidential Decree on Reforming Collective Farms, State Farms and other Agricultural Enterprises in Turkmenistan (March 1994); the Law on Farmers Associations (June 1995); and the Law on Private Farming, most of the *kolkhozes* in Turkmenistan were reorganized into commercial agricultural associations. *See also* SOVKHOZ.

KOMSOMOL (*Kommunisticheskii Soyuz Molodezhi*). The Communist Union of Youth of Turkmenistan (1918–1992) was established and functioned as a republic branch of the All-Union Komsomol organization and a youth wing of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**. The Komsomol was a powerful ideological instrument in the Soviet political system and an important source of recruitment to the ranks of the Communist Party. Young people joined the Komsomol at the age of 14 and were expected to leave it at the age of 28.

The representatives of the Communist Youth branches began working toward the creation of the Lenin Communist Union of Youth of **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR) after the cre-

ation of the Turkmen SSR in 1924. They held their first congress in March 1925. Gradually, the Komsomol became one of the largest officially approved political organizations in the republic during the Soviet era. Its membership grew from about 5,600 in 1925 to about 68,000 in 1941 and to about 500,000 members in 1991, with cells in all public organizations in every district and province of the republic, including all **educational** institutions, universities, **police**, and ministries. The Komsomol of Turkmenistan controlled several popular youth **mass media** outlets published both in Russian and **Turkmen languages**, had its own training institute and recreational centers, and managed the paramilitary-style training of high school children. After 1992 the Komsomol dropped its communist ideology, was renamed the Youth Movement, and retained some assistance from the **government** and state institutions. However, its former power and influence declined significantly.

KONEURGENCH (also *Gurganch*, *Gurganj*, *Kunya-Urgench*, *Kunia-Urgench*, *Kuna-Urgench*). The ancient capital of **Khorezm**, one of the largest cities in Central Asia before the Mongol invasion. It is situated in what is now **Dashoguz** ***welayat*** of Turkmenistan. The earliest references to the city date to the sixth century B.C. It played an important role on the **Great Silk Road**. Its economy and wealth were based on the skills of craftsmen and merchants who traded from **China** to Persia (contemporary **Iran**) and Europe. In the eighth century the Arabs reached the walls of the city and defeated the local ruler, making the city a center of the province. The city was destroyed by the Mongols in the 13th century, but revived in the 13th and 14th centuries. In 1388 it was stormed by Tamerlane (Timur), who ordered the destruction of its magnificent **architectural** monuments and enslaved its famous craftsmen and builders. In the 15th century an **environmental** disaster undermined its economy, as the **Amu Darya River** changed its flow. The city was gradually abandoned and the area around it became a desert, although several attempts were made to revive its economy.

The ruins of the ancient city were excavated by Russian and Turkmenistan archeologists in the 1940 and 1950s. At its zenith between the 10th and 12th centuries it hosted numerous monumental mosques and ***medreses***, magnificent palaces, **kerwen-saray**'s, and administrative

buildings. Several examples of the ancient Koneurgench architecture survived, including Turabeg Khanum Mausoleum, Sultan Tekkesh Mausoleum, the tomb of Nadj-ad-din Kubra (14th century), the 62-meter Kutlug Timu Minaret (the tallest in Central Asia), Al Arslan Mausoleum, Tashkala ***Kerwen-Saray***, and some others.

KOSHCHI (read "kosh-chi"). A union or league of poor farmers, which was established as a cooperative movement in 1921. It played an important role in the Sovietization of Turkmen ***obas*** (villages) and in water and land reforms in the 1920s. The members of the *koshchi* supervised the expropriation of surplus land from rich landlords—***bais*** and **khans**—and the land's distribution among the poorest members of local communities. By mid-1925 the *Koschi* included about 32,600 members and in the second half of the 1920s it contributed significantly to the **collectivization** campaign and establishment of ***kolkhozes***. The union was voluntarily disbanded in the early 1930s.

KULIEV, AVDY (1936–). Turkmen politician and diplomat. Born in **Ashgabat**, Avdy Kuliev graduated from the Faculty of Philology (Russian Language) of the **Turkmen State University** in 1960 and from the Diplomatic Academy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (Moscow, **Russia**) in 1976. He started his career as a research fellow at the **Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan** in 1960. In 1965 he joined the Institute of Asia and Africa of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR. In 1968 he moved to the Yemen Arab Republic as a head of section in the Soviet Cultural Mission. From 1970 to 1990 he held various positions within the Soviet Ministry for Foreign Affairs. In 1990 he returned to Turkmenistan and was appointed minister for foreign affairs. In 1992 Kuliev resigned from his position and moved to Moscow, where he joined the Turkmen political opposition, becoming one of the most prominent figures among the Turkmen opposition in exile. In 1998 he returned to Ashgabat, but was arrested. Later he was released and sent back to Moscow.

Kuliev played a central role in forming the Turkmenistan's foreign policy during the first days of independence. Since his resignation he has become one of the most vocal critics of the regime in Ashgabat. In 1992 he founded and led the Turkmenistan Foundation and in 1999

he established the *Free Turkmenistan* publication. Kuliev authored several books and other publications.

KUNIA-URGENCH. *See* KONEURGENCH.

– L –

LEBAP WELAYAT (formerly Charjou or Chargew *oblast*). The third most populous *welayat* in **Turkmenistan**, located in the southeastern part of the country, bordered by **Uzbekistan** in the east, **Afghanistan** in the south, **Mary** *welayat* in the southwest, **Dashoguz** *welayat* in the northwest, and **Akhal** *welayat* in the west. Lebap *welayat* was initially formed as an *oblast* in the 1930s. It consists of 13 districts. Lebap *welayat* has a total area of about 93,800 square kilometers (36,000 square miles) and is the second largest *welayat* of the republic, with over 19 percent of its territory. Its **population** stood at about 1,040,000 (2004, est.), or about 17 percent of the country's population, up from about 665,000 (1985, est.). It is one of the driest *welayats* in the republic, as nearly 90 percent of its territory is desert. Its population is heterogeneous in terms of ethnic composition. The **Turkmens** account for 80 percent, and Lebap is the home of the largest Uzbek community. Others include Russians, Turks, and Kazakhs.

Lebap *welayat* is one of the most important **agricultural** provinces in the country, producing **cotton**, grains, silk, fruits and vegetables, and large volumes of **karakul** (astrakhan fur) wool. Agriculture, light **industry**, petrochemicals, and **mining** are the main sectors of its **economy**. During the Soviet era the *welayat* received considerable investments for building petrochemical, light, and food-processing industries. It hosts one of the largest **gas** and **oil** fields in the republic.

In the 1990s the *welayat* attracted substantial investments in its industries and attracted a sizeable share of the Foreign Direct Investments (FDIs) and **government** subsidies. The government also invested in the construction of several short-range pipelines, cotton-processing plant, and completed some other projects. Yet, according to the United Nations Development Program (UNDP), a significant portion of its population, especially in rural areas, lived below the poverty line and struggled to find jobs and business opportunities.

The *welayat* has many **tourist** attractions. Important historical and tourist sites include the ruins of medieval Amul city, the ruins of ancient Diyarbakir city, the ruins of the Astana Baba **architectural** complex, the ruins of medieval Khazerek Depe fortress, the so-called Plateau of Dinosaurs, and some others.

LIBRARIES. Ancient historians reported that great book collections existed in the large medieval cities, such as **Merv, Koneurgench**, and others. Many of those collections were destroyed by the Mongols in the 13th century or vanished during numerous wars and calamities. In the post-Mongol era some **khans** and powerful feudal lords collected manuscripts and created relatively large libraries, but most of them were lost during the numerous wars and calamities.

The first modern public libraries opened in **Ashgabat** and Krasnovodsk in the 1880s, although private and public collections of books also existed at ***medreses***, ***mekdeps***, and in the private possession of wealthy feudal lords and khans. By 1917 there were several public libraries in Turkmenistan, mainly in large cities and towns. After the establishment of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** in 1924, the Turkmen **government** adopted a program of cultural revolution. An important part of the program was the **liquidation of illiteracy** and development of mass **education**, and opening of small libraries in every city and town and *Kyzyl-Yurts* (mobile libraries) in every village (***oba***). During the 1920s several dozen libraries and *Kyzyl-Yurts* were opened in all parts of the republic. Another significant development came in the 1930s, as the major Soviet libraries from different parts of the USSR donated thousands of books. The number of city and district libraries grew from 19 in 1924 to about 557 in 1946. The Children's Library was opened in 1935 and the Central Academic Library was opened in 1941 (both in Ashgabat). In 1926 the first centralized system of library collection development was established in the republic. It became responsible for planning library expansions and book acquisitions.

In the post–World War II era, libraries in Turkmenistan underwent major expansions. There was established a hierarchic system of the libraries: central, *oblast*, city, and district libraries. In addition around 2,000 small libraries were opened at every school or tertiary education center. The number of libraries grew to 1,600 (1989) with a total

book and serial collection of about 16.5 million. Most of the libraries were open to the public for free, with the limited exception of specialized libraries. The National Library, the largest library in the republic, oversees about five million books and 900,000 periodical publications. It possesses a collection of rare and specialized books, which is open for scholars and students. However, as of 2004 it was unable to introduce a computerized cataloguing system due to a shortage of funds and specialists.

In the 1990s the government significantly cut the spending on libraries, and the library system in the republic experienced a steep decline. Since 1991 several international organizations, the **United States**, and international charitable foundations have been providing some assistance to the public and especially university libraries by offering technical assistance and donating books and computer equipment.

LIQUIDATION OF ILLITERACY. A mass campaign launched by the Soviet authorities in Turkmenistan in the 1920s and 1930s. The campaign raised the literacy rate from about 4 percent among the **Turkmens** in 1926 to 80 to 90 percent by the late 1930s. The Turkmenistani **government** paid particular attention to building new schools in all areas of the republic. The number of primary and middle schools increased from 58 in 1915 to 170 in 1925 and to 1,500 in 1941. Small schools and literacy groups were established in all cities and towns of the republic. The "liquidation of illiteracy" campaign was combined with social initiatives and administrative command actions. These targeted social, political, and sometimes directive initiatives for the **education** of **women**, who traditionally remained outside of the educational system.

By 1939 the government announced that the major objectives of the campaign had been achieved as the overall literacy had reached 77 percent (83 percent among male and 72 percent among females). In 1959 Turkmenistan introduced a compulsory eight-year educational system and officially reached the educational level of 99.7 percent in 1970. The literacy rate decreased slightly in the 1990s, due to transitional changes in the educational system and the decline in educational spending. According to the official reports the literacy rate stood at about 98 percent in 2004. *See also* LIBRARIES.

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MAGTYMGULY (also *Makhtumkuli, Mahtum Quli, Magtim Guli*; pen name *Pyragy* or *Fragi*) (1733?–1782?). Most respected and most prominent Turkmen poet and writer, and one of the founders of modern **Turkmen language**, literature, and poetry. Born in the village of Hadji Govman in Persia (present-day **Iran**), Magtymguly received his **education** from the Idris Baba *Medrese* and Kokeltash *Medrese* in **Bukhara** and Shirgazi Khan *Medreses* in the **Khiva Khanate**. Some scholars believe that during these years he learned about **Sufism** and joined one of Sufi brotherhoods. Probably, at the age of 20 he began writing his poems. Many of them are devoted to his people and ideals of the human being. He also describes the devastating effects of tragic social and political events, such as wars and conflicts, on the lives of ordinary people. He courageously experimented with new forms of poetry and widely used the simple language of ordinary **Turkmens**. Magtymguly's writing significantly affected the development of the Turkmen language and literature of his time. Many of his poems became popular songs and were widely known among Turkmens. In some of his numerous works he talks about social injustice and ignorance. Many of his lines are also devoted to the love of **women** and love of his country. He traveled widely in what was the Bukhara Emirate and Khiva Khanate, **Afghanistan**, Persia, and some other countries, and his poetry was well known in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey, and other part of Central and South Asia. Much of his personal collection of manuscripts was lost during his travels. In fact, many of his verses were only preserved by the Turkmen ***bagshy***.

Several Russian, Soviet, and Turkmen orientalists studied Magtymguly's creative works and meticulously collected his writings from various sources. The most complete collection of his works was published in the 1990s in **Ashgabat**. In the cities and towns of Turkmenistan many streets and schools are named after him. The highest and most prestigious literature and poetry award in the country is named the Magtymguly Award.

MAHALLA. *See* MIYAHELLE.

MAHTUM QULI. *See* MAGTYMGULY.

MAKHTUMKULI. *See* MAGTYMGULY.

MALLESON, SIR WILFRED (1866–1946). British military and intelligence official. Wilfred Malleson joined the British Royal artillery in 1886, and was transferred to India in 1904. He spent most of his career in India, **Iran**, **Afghanistan**, and East Africa. He accomplished several missions to Kabul, Herat, Khartoum, and many other cities. During World War I (1914–1918) he held various positions such as Inspector General of Communications in British East Africa, commander of the infantry brigade of the East African Expeditionary force, member of the special mission to Belgian Congo, etc.

Malleson was entrusted to lead the British Military Mission in **Zacaspian Oblast**, as one of the most experienced British officers. In 1918, for the first time in modern history, British troops entered Turkistan, which had traditionally been designated as an area of Russian influence. The British Mission in Turkistan played a key role in providing military, financial, and logistic support to and organizing of various anti-Bolshevik groups in Central Asia, including **Basmachy** fighters led by **Junaid-Khan**, into the viable united front. The mission also attempted to establish a British protectorate over the Zacaspian *oblast* and to impose a British control over the Krasnovodsk (now **Turkmenbashy**) seaport and **oil**-rich fields around the city. However, the Malleson-led mission could not overcome the deep distrust of the Russian pro-Tsarist troops and native fighters nor was he able to resolve differences and rivalries within the anti-Bolshevik camp. In 1919 the Red Army launched a successful offensive campaign in Turkistan and rapidly advanced on several fronts in the region. British troops under Malleson were forced to evacuate from the Zacaspian *oblast* in 1919.

MAMEDGELDIEV, AGAGELDY. *See* MAMEDGELDIYEV, AGAGELDY.

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District. From 1974 to 1979 he worked at the General Staff office of the Soviet Army in Eastern Germany. In 1979 he was transferred to the General Staff office at the Turkistan (Central Asian) Military District. Between 1988 and 1992 he worked as lecturer at the Turkmen State Medical Institute. From 1992 to 1994 he worked at various positions in the Turkmenistan's ministry of defense and in 1994 he was appointed the deputy minister for defense. From 2002 to 2003 he was the head of the **border guard** troops. In September 2003 he was appointed as the minister of defense and concurrently the rector (chancellor) of the Military Institute.

Mamedgeldiyev has the rank of major-general and was awarded several state **orders** of Turkmenistan, including *Watana bolan soygusi yэin* and *Turkmenistanyn Garaєsyzlygynym 10 yllygyna.*

MAMETDOVLET-OGLY, KURBANDURDY. *See* ZELILI.

MANAT. National currency of Turkmenistan. It was introduced in November 1993 to replace the **Russian** ruble. One Turkmen *manat* consists of 100 *tenge*. Due to the high inflation rate and a steady decline of the exchange rate of the *Manat,* the *tenge* became rare and nearly disappeared from circulation in the mid-1990s. Due to centralized state control over the exchange rate, and supply-demand disparity, Turkmenistan established and maintained a multiple exchange rate system for exchanging the national currency into the U.S. dollar (the currency of choice in Turkmenistan), including the official exchange rate, the commercial exchange rate, and the market exchange rate. All **banks** usually exchange the *Manats* according to the official rate, but there was a flourishing black market that offered a much more flexible exchange rate. The exchange rate of the Turkmenistani *manat* (TMM) per 1 U.S. dollar was fixed as follows: 5,200 (February 2004), 5,200 (2003), 5,200 (2002), 5,200 (2000), 5,200 (1999), 4,890 (1998). However, the so-called market rate fluctuated between 20,000 and 23,500 *manats* per 1 U.S. dollar in the early 2000s.

MARY CITY (pronounced "ma-a-ry," Merv City until 1937). The fourth largest city in the republic, capital of **Mary** *welayat*. It is located on the **Murgab River** and **Garagum Canal** in southern Turkmenistan, about 350 kilometers east of **Ashgabat**. Its population

stood at about 100,000 (2004, official est.), up from about 85,000 (1985, est.). The population of this *welayat's* center consists mainly of **Turkmens**, but also includes Uzbeks, Russians, and some others. It is the most important **industrial** and commercial center in Mary *welayat*. It hosts light industries, **agricultural** product processing plants, **libraries**, a theater, **educational** institutions, international class hotels, and an airport. The historical museum is one of the largest in the country and displaces a miniature model of **ancient Merv**, unique decorations, vases, statues, and figurines of the Parthian era that were excavated in ancient Merv.

The city is located several kilometers from ancient Merv, probably one of the oldest cities in the territory of contemporary Turkmenistan. Present-day Mary was established as a trading post in the 19th century. The Tsarist administration established a small garrison there after acquiring this part of the Turkmen land. The Soviet authorities struggled for several years to establish full control in southern Turkmenistan due to its proximity to the **Basmachy movement** bases in **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet central government invested in the development of **transportation** infrastructure and made considerable efforts to settle the local **pastoral-nomad** communities and bring them into state controlled ***kolkhozes***. Mary's importance was enhanced due to its proximity to the borders with Afghanistan. In the 1930s the city became the center of the newly established ***oblast***. In the 1970s the government invested heavily in building electric power stations, one of the largest in Turkmenistan. Since 1992 the Turkmenistani **government** has been investing in various projects in the city. Since 2001 Mary has played an increasing role in the **trade** with Afghanistan. *See also* MERV, ANCIENT.

MARY WELAYAT (pronounced "ma-a-ry"). Located in the southern part of **Turkmenistan**, bordered by **Afghanistan** in the southeast, **Akhal *welayat*** in the west, and **Lebap *welayat*** in the north and east. Mary ***oblast*** was established in 1939, and reorganized in 1963 and 1970. The *welayat* consists of 11 *etraps* and **Mary city**. It is the third largest province in Turkmenistan, with a total area of about 86,800 square kilometers, or around 18 percent of the country's territory. Its **population** is the third largest in the republic, and stands at

about 1,100,000 (2004, official est.), or 18 percent of the country's population, up from about 729,000 (1985, est.).

Agriculture, food processing, and **mining** are the main sectors of the *welayat's* **economy**. The Soviet authorities invested considerably into this *welayat* due to its strategic location on the border with Afghanistan. For decades Kushka City was the main military base and entry post from the Soviet Union to Afghanistan. The *oblast* traditionally specializes in animal husbandry, mainly **sheep**, **horses**, and camels, and farming, mainly **cotton**, silk, and some other crops. The **Garagum Canal**, which was built through the territory of the *welayat,* is vital for irrigation not only for the *welayat* but also for the whole country.

Since independence in 1991 Mary *welayat* has received significant investments in its infrastructure and **industries**, especially in its **gas**-extracting sector. It became one of the largest producers of natural gas in the country. The government also invested in construction of the first sugar refinery plant and a cotton-spinning plant, built hotels Rahat and Sanjar, and completed some other projects. Since late 2001 the *welayat* has played an important role for the delivery of humanitarian aid to Afghanistan during the United States–led war in that country.

Important historical and **tourist** sites include the ruins of **ancient Merv**, Talhatan Baba **architectural** complex, and some others.

MASS MEDIA. The first periodical publications appeared in Turkmenistan on the eve of the 20th century, but they had a very limited circulation and very small audience and were published primarily in Russian. The **Turkmen language** media was limited to a few books, brochures, and leaflets published in the Zacaspian *oblast* as well as in other parts of the Russian Empire and in Persia (now Iran). Most of the regular media outlets were established in Turkmenistan during the Soviet era in the 1920s, including the first national newspapers in the Turkmen language—*Turkmenistan* and *Yash Kommunist* (Young Communist). During this period all newspapers and other publications were state owned and were under strict **government** control. This included extensive censorship and complete control over distribution. Sizeable support from the state and subsidized **transportation** costs allowed the media to attain large circulations. In the 1970s

there were 26 newspapers in the republic, with a total annual circulation of about 152 million copies, and 30 magazines, with a total annual circulation of about 10 million copies. In 1989 the total annual print run of 66 newspapers (including 49 in the Turkmen language) and 34 magazines and journals (including 16 in the Turkmen language) in the **Turkmen SSR** reached 211 million and 13.6 million copies, respectively.

The situation in Turkmenistan did not change with independence in 1991, unlike **Kazakhstan** and Kyrgyzstan, where vibrant independent media markets emerged in the 1990s. Most of the media enterprises remained under government control, and some of them retained their subsidies. Yet, throughout the 1990s many newspapers and other publications were closed or significantly downsized their circulation, especially at district and enterprise levels. The Freedom House report in 2003 declared the Turkmenistani mass media was "among the most tightly controlled in the world."

By the early 2000s most Turkmenistani newspapers and television stations were censored. In addition, government officials restricted the circulation of Russian and other foreign newspapers and regularly confiscated issues that carried critical articles. Television and radio remain the two most important sources of public information, as the Turkmenistani government does not allow foreign broadcasting companies to operate in the country. Most national newspapers are based in **Ashgabat** and they are distributed in all parts of the republic, including remote rural districts, by the state distribution subsidiary. The Internet has not penetrated Turkmenistan due to the low income levels of the **population** and various formal and informal restrictions on access to the Internet, especially to numerous opposition websites.

There are state-controlled national newspapers, including *Turkmenistan*, *Neitralnii Turkmenistan*, *Watan*, and *Gylkynys*, and a major television station. They have the largest audiences and are accessible all over the republic. In 2004 there were about a dozen smaller newspapers and magazines, including *Adalat* (Justice), *Edebiyat we Sungat* (Literature and Art), and others. Many newspapers had a limited circulation of between 20,000 and 80,000 copies. In the 1990s and early 2000s the government made efforts to establish a newspaper and a magazine in English to disseminate official information about the country to foreigners. In 2004 the printing house in Ashgabat and

some other major centers began operating the latest color printing equipment.

MASSON, MIKHAIL (1897–1977). Archeologist and one of the leading experts on the history of Turkmenistan. Born in **Russia**, Mikhail Masson received his **education** from a military school and fought as an officer of the Red Army during the civil war (1918–1920). At the age of 20 he developed an interest in the history of Central Asia and especially of Turkmen land and began his studies in history and archeology. In the 1920s and 1930s he participated in several archeological expeditions in Central Asia, including archeological excavations of **Anau**, Jeitun, **Merv**, **Nisa**, and some others. He published one of the first authoritative studies on the archeology of various sites within the territory of present-day Turkmenistan. He also edited and authored a number of articles and books on the pre-Soviet history and archeology of Turkmenistan.

MEDRESE. 1. An Islamic school that provides postprimary religious **education**. 2. A theological seminary and law school that provides Islamic religious education and is usually attached to a *masjit* (mosque). 3. A building where the boarding students of Islamic seminaries stay. In 1913 there were about 70 *medreses* on the territory of what is now Turkmenistan, but all of them had been closed by the Soviet authorities by the 1930s. Several *medreses* have been opened in Turkmenistan since 1991 in order to provide in-country training for Imams and other **official Muslim clergy**. See *also* ISLAM; SUFISM.

MEJLIS (Parliament of Turkmenistan). Turkmenistan's parliament is a unicameral, 50-seat legislative and representative assembly, which replaced the old Soviet-style unicameral 350-seat parliament according to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** of 1992. The current constitution stipulates that all citizens over 18 years of age are eligible to vote, and that all citizens over 25 years of age are eligible to be elected to the parliament. Candidates can be nominated by "political parties, social associations, and groups of citizens."

The Mejlis has the following powers: adopting, amending, and interpreting the constitution and laws; scheduling elections of the **pres-**

ident, parliament, and people's advisors; forming a Central Election and Referendum Commission; approving action plans of the Cabinet of Ministers and expressing nonconfidence in the Cabinet of Ministers; approving or rejecting candidates for the offices of chair of the supreme court, chair of the high commercial court, general prosecutor, and, likewise, petitions for their dismissal; approving the budget of Turkmenistan and the report of its utilization; creating state **orders**, awarding the president state awards, and conferring upon the president honorary titles, military ranks, and distinctions; determining whether the normative acts of the organs of state power and **government** are in accordance with the constitution and laws; and some others.

The members of parliament elect the chairman from among the members of the House and his deputy, and form committees and commissions. The Mejlis members meet twice a year for regular spring and fall sessions.

Turkmenistan has held two parliamentary elections since independence. The first elections were conducted in November 1994 and the second elections were conducted in December 1999. The next parliamentary elections are scheduled for December 2004. *See also* PRESIDENCY IN TURKMENISTAN.

MEKDEP. 1. A school in prerevolutionary Central Asia. 2. A school that provided general **education** combined with primary religious education in prerevolutionary Turkmenistan. 3. A primary and secondary school in contemporary Turkmenistan, usually a school where schoolchildren are instructed in their native **Turkmen language** or in Uzbek. *See also* EDUCATION; ISLAM.

MEREDOV, RASHID (1960–). Turkmen politician and diplomat. Born in **Ashgabat**, Rashid Meredov graduated from the Moscow State University and completed his postgraduate studies at the same university. He worked at various positions in the Turkmen State University, at the Ministry of Justice, and in the **presidential** and parliamentary administration. From 1992 to 1994 he served as deputy minister of foreign affairs. In 1999 he was appointed first deputy minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 2001 for a short period he was elected as chairman of the **Mejlis** (parliament). In May 2001 he was

appointed minister of foreign affairs. In 2003 he was concurrently appointed as deputy chairman of the cabinet of ministers. In the early 2000s he played an important role in implementing the Turkmenistan's **foreign policy** and in various international negotiations.

MERV. *See* MARY.

MERV, ANCIENT (also Margiana). One of the ancient **trading** and industrial centers of **Khorasan**, and the largest city in the Merv oasis before the Mongol invasion. It is situated in what is now **Mary** ***welayat*** of Turkmenistan, about 30 kilometers east of the contemporary city of **Mary**.

Ancient Merv became an important entrepôt on the **Great Silk Road** and was a large trading center in ancient times. A small town on the site of Merv was probably founded in the seventh and sixth centuries B.C. and gradually became an important center of the Merv oasis. In the fourth century B.C. it was conquered by Alexander the Great and was renamed Alexandria. It was embroiled in several wars and in the third century was included in an ancient Bactrian state. The Bactrian state did not last long and Margiana experienced turbulent times. In the seventh century it was taken over by the Arabs and became one of the important political centers in the Abbasid Caliphate. Caliph Al-Mamun spent several years in Merv in the early ninth century, making the city a major political center of the Caliphate. At its zenith between the 10th and 11th centuries it was part of the Seljuk Empire and was the site of numerous monumental mosques and ***medreses***, magnificent palaces, **kerwen-sarays**, and administrative buildings. The city was destroyed by the Mongols in the 13th century, who not only stormed the city and slaughtered most of its people, but also destroyed vital water dams and the irrigation system of the oasis. After the Mongol invasion Merv never recovered to past glory and remained a relatively small city. Several examples of the ancient **architecture** survived, including the Grand Kyz Kala, Sultan Kala (9th to 12th centuries), Mausoleum of Sultan Sanjar (12th century), Mausoleum of Muhammel ibn Zevdin, Mosque of Usuf Hamadani, and some others.

In the 19th century numerous western travelers reported about the ancient ruins of the city, which covered many hectares, but some of

the land of what was ancient Merv was reclaimed for **agriculture** in the 20th century. The ruins of the ancient city were excavated by Russian and Turkmenistan archeologists in the 1940s and 1950s, and continued in the 1990s. Some historians believe that the remnants of the mysterious medieval Merv library (one of the largest in medieval Central Asia) might have survived the Mongol destruction and still be hidden in the ruins of the city. The United Nations Educational, Scientific, and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) included Merv on the World Heritage list in 1999 and is funding an urgent restoration project. In 2000 the World Monuments Watch placed Merv on its list of the world's 100 most endangered sites. The **government** of Turkmenistan declared the site of ancient Merv a historical and cultural park protected by the state.

MILITARY DOCTRINE. The Turkmenistani **government** officially announced that the military doctrine of independent Turkmenistan should be developed in accordance with the official **Permanent Neutrality Policy**. During the 1990s the Turkmenistani authorities declared that they would build a small **army**, would maintain a low military budget, and would develop a military doctrine accordingly. Turkmenistan refused to sign the **Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty**, but developed close military cooperation with **Russia**. Unlike **Kazakhstan** or **Uzbekistan**, Turkmenistan did not send its troops to neighboring **Tajikistan** during its civil war in 1992–1997, and did not provide military assistance to Kyrgyzstan during the militant incursions into southern Kyrgyzstan in 1999 and 2000. In sharp contrast to Kazakhstan, Russia, or Uzbekistan, **Ashgabat** refrained from condemning the Taliban regime in Kabul and maintained relatively low-profile relations with this regime until 2001. Turkmenistan supported the United States–led war against international **terrorism** and the Taliban regime in **Afghanistan**, but did not allow the **United States** and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) allies to establish a military presence in the republic.

MILITARY FORCES. The Turkmenistan Military Forces consist of the **army**, air force and air defense, security forces, and **border guards**. According to Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) estimates, Turkmenistan has military manpower reaching military age annually

of about 50,000 conscripts (2004, CIA est.). The republic's annual military expenditure equals about 1.4 percent of its GDP (2004, CIA est.). According to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan**, the **president** of the republic is also the chief commander of the military forces, and he appoints and dismisses the commanders of the military forces of Turkmenistan. The military forces remain under strict civilian control and refrain from intervening in political developments.

MINING. At present, **gas**, **oil**, and some other minerals are the major natural resources of export significance in Turkmenistan. Although various mineral resources were mined on the territory of what is now Turkmenistan since the medieval era, mining only became a large and important sector of the national **economy** in the 20th century. In the 1920s and 1930s the Soviet authorities invested significantly in the exploration of the various mineral resources. By the 1950s Turkmenistan had became one of the biggest producers of oil in the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). By the 1970s the **Garabogazgol** accounted for about 45 percent of the sodium sulfate production and nearly 100 percent of the epsomite and medicinal Glauber's salt in the USSR, becoming one of the world's largest sources of these raw materials for the chemical industry. By the end of the 20th century Turkmenistan had become one of the largest producers of gas and among the top five produces of oil in the Soviet Union. Most of this production was shipped to other Soviet republics at fixed low prices (considerably below world market prices).

Since 1991 Turkmenistan had established complete control over its natural resources and begun selling them at world prices to **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) members and non-CIS countries. In the 1990s the Turkmenistani **government** attempted to attract some international investments and modern technologies into the country by opening certain sectors of the economy to international investors. In the 1990s there were reports of discoveries of large new gas and oil reserves. According to government reports there are more than 160 proven deposits of hydrocarbons, including about 130 deposits of gas and about 30 deposits of oil, estimated at around 23 trillion cubic meters of gas and 12 billion tons of oil. According to the *Economist Intelligence Unit* report Turkmenistan extracted 51 billion cubic meters of gas and 8 million tons of oil in

2001, and 513 billion cubic meters of gas and 9 million tons of oil in 2002.

According to official reports, Turkmenistan has large industrial quality reserves of coal, bentonite, kaolin, mineral salts, sulfuric sulfur, and some other minerals. In 2000 the Turkmenistan government announced plans to develop the Gyaplyn iron ore deposit to provide a domestic source of ore for the Mary metallurgy plant.

MIYAHLLE (also *Mahalle*). A neighborhood community in eastern Turkmenistan and in many parts of Central Asia. The institution of the *miyahalle* appeared most probably in the medieval period as the smallest administrative unit of a state. It survived during the Soviet era and gained strength after Turkmenistan's independence. The *miyahalle* is usually run by a group of *aksakals* (elders). Traditionally feasts (weddings, funerals, etc.) and *hashars* (a local custom to build mosques, to repair irrigation systems) are organized in the *mahallya* level and are managed by *aksakals*.

MOLLAMURT (full name Allaberen Khodjamurt-ogly) (1879–1930). Prominent Turkmen poet, or *bagshy*, considered one of the founders of modern Turkmen Soviet poetry. Born in the suburb village of Dashkala, Mollamurt received his **education** from a ***mollayor***. However, he lost his parents at the age of 17 and began to work on a farm. He mastered playing the ***dutar*** acquired a comprehensive knowledge of **Magtymguly** and national and epics, and began writing his own verses. Some of his poems became popular songs. He also created several patriotic works.

Mollamurt supported the Soviet authorities and composed several ***dessans*** expressing his perception of the need for social changes and a new life. He became one of the most influential bagshy in the early 20th century, and his acceptance of the Bolshevik Revolution and social changes played an important part in pacifying the Turkmen **population** after the civil war of 1918–1921. He even killed anti-Bolshevik guerillas in 1930.

MOLLANEPES KADYRBERDYEV-OGUZ (1810–1865). Prominent Turkmen poet, one of the early classics of modern Turkmen poetry. Born in the Saraks region, Mollanepes Kadyrberdyev-ogly received his

education from a ***mekdep*** and from ***medreses*** in **Bukhara**. He worked as a jewelry master and participated in several military campaigns against foreign invaders. He died from wounds sustained in one of the campaigns. However, it was love lyrics and *dessans*, such as "Zokhre and Takhir," that made him famous throughout the Turkmen land and Central Asian region. Many of his poems, such as "Nazar kylsa dişleriñe," "Sövdügim," "Gözleriñ," "Gyz," and others became songs popular not only in his native region, but among all the **Turkmens** and other people of Central Asia. In contemporary Turkmenistan he is highly respected and regarded for masterly love poetry and lyrics combined with refined psychological portraits of the feelings of people in love.

MUFTI. The highest Islamic legal authority and the official leader of the Muslim community in Turkmenistan. A *mufti* is elected by the most eminent Islamic scholars of the republic. Until 1991 representatives of the official Islamic clergy in Turkmenistan were subordinated to the Central Asian **Muftiyat** based in Tashkent. Until 1991 the head of the Muslim community in Turkmenistan had the title of ***kazy***. Since 1992 the Islamic authorities of Turkmenistan have become independent from the Muftiyat of Tashkent and established their own position of *mufti*.

A *mufti* overviews the activities of the Islamic clergy in the republic, the work of the mosques and ***medreses***, and coordinates the activities of the Islamic authorities with the **government** authorities. He has the authority to proclaim a *fatwa*, a binding opinion on religious or public issues. *See also* ISLAM; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

MUFTIYAT. The highest Islamic decision-making body in Turkmenistan. It was established after Turkmen Islamic authorities decided to secede from the *Muftiyat* of Central Asia, the Tashkent-based Central Asian Spiritual Board of Muslims (SADUM in Russian abbreviation). The Muftiyat is led by the **mufti**, an Islamic legal authority elected by the most eminent Islamic scholars of Turkmenistan. The Muftiyat has the authority to issue a *fatwa*, a binding opinion on religious or public issues. However, as the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** declares that the republic is a secular state, the state authorities supervise the work of the Muftiyat. By law the Muftiyat cannot take part in political activities, since the constitution prohibits

the formation of political organizations based on religious principles. The activities of the Muftiyat and all religious communities in Turkmenistan are regulated by the Law on Religion of Turkmenistan. *See also* ISLAM; KAZY; UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

MURGAB RIVER (also called Murghab). This river is 978 kilometers long with a basin area of around 50,000 square kilometers. The river, which forms part of the **Afghanistan**-Turkmenistan border, flows from the mountains of northeast Afghanistan through a narrow valley between the Bandi-Turkistan and Safad-Koh ranges into Turkmenistan's **Merv** oasis, then disappears in the **Garagum Desert**. In the upper basin, the river's highest flow is from March to July, as snow melts in the high mountains of Afghanistan, and its lowest flow is in November and December.

The Murgab is one of the most important sources of drinking and irrigation water in southern Turkmenistan. Great cities flourished along the river for centuries. During the Soviet era six reservoirs were built on Turkmenistan's part of the Murgab River and its water was excessively used for irrigation of **cotton** fields. The overexploitation of water resources in this extremely dry region led to salinization of some areas around the Murgab and to other **environmental** problems. In the 1990s the situation became even worse when southern Turkmenistan experienced several years of severe drought. There were reports that the river completely dried out in its lower section and water shortages affected many *etraps* of Turkmenistan.

MYHMANKHANA (from *myhman*—"guest"). 1. A guest room in a house or palace. 2. A traditional name for an inn or hotel. In contemporary Turkmenistan, the term is often used with reference to small hotels and guest houses that provide minimum services, in contrast to the Western style and Western standard three- and four-star hotels, which were built in the 1990s and early 2000s.

– N –

NATIONAL HOLIDAYS. The **government** of Turkmenistan declared the following 11 days as public holidays: January 1—New

Year; January 12—Remembrance Day; February 19—Flag Day and Birthday of the **President** of Turkmenistan; March 20–22—**Nowruz** Bairamy, National Holiday of Spring; May 8—Memory Day for Victims of the Great Patriotic War of 1941–1945; May 9—Victory Day; May 18—Revival, Unity and Magtumguly Poetry Day; June 21—Election Day of the First President of Turkmenistan; October 6—Memory Day, the day of remembering the **Ashgabat** earthquake victims; October 27–28—Independence Days; December 12—Day of Turkmenistan's Neutrality.

In addition, Turkmenistan celebrates some Muslim holidays—Ramazan-ait (*Aid-al-Fitr* in Arabic) and Qurban-ait (*Eid-al-Adha* in Arabic). The dates of these religious celebrations move from year to year according to the **Islamic** lunar calendar.

The country also celebrates the following days: first Sunday of April—Water Day; last Sunday of April—Turkmen **Horse** Day; last Sunday of May—Turkmen **Carpet** Day; third Sunday of July—Galla Bairamy; second Sunday of September—Turkmen Singer Day; last Sunday of November—Harvest Day; first Sunday of December—Good Neighborhood Day.

NATIONALISM. The rise of Turkmenistani nationalism can be summed up as taking place in three stages. During the first stage from medieval time to the 19th century, the Turkmen **tribes**, which populated vast areas to the east of the **Caspian Sea**, formed their distinct language, culture, and identities. Throughout this period, these Turkic-speaking nomads interacted with their Persian-speaking neighbors and gradually embraced **Islam**, although they preserved some features of their shamanic past and were strongly influenced by **Sufi** mysticism. The oral tradition of literature and poetry, which featured the use of the traditional musical instrument the ***dutar***, helped them to maintain their distinct national culture through numerous wars and interventions.

The second stage is associated with **Russian Empire**/Soviet domination in Central Asia. This began at the end of the 19th century with the incorporation of most of the Turkmen tribes into the Russian Empire. But there were still many **Turkmens** who remained in neighboring **Afghanistan** and **Iran**. As of 2004 between four and six million Turkmens live outside Turkmenistan. The turning point of this

period was the devastating defeat of the Turkmens by the Russian army in 1881 at **Geok-Tepe**, where the Turkmens lost between 8,000 and 15,000 lives. The incorporation of Turkmenistani territory into the Russian Empire brought a number of changes, including modernization of the **economy**, **education**, and political systems.

After the Russian Revolution of 1917, it took several years for the Bolsheviks to establish firm control over the territory of present-day Turkmenistan and to quell local resistance (also known as the **Basmachy movement**). In 1924 the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR) was created. The Soviet regime introduced secularism, persecuted Islamic clergy, and closed mosques and ***medreses***. The Soviets also introduced the Latin and later Cyrillic alphabet, raised the literacy rate, and brought modern **industries** to the area. However, the Soviet modernization came at a severe price: thousands perished during Stalin's purges, although the political system was slightly liberalized in the 1960s. In the 1960s and 1970s, modern Turkmenistani nationalism began to develop, helped by the emergence of a new intelligentsia, mass literacy, a strengthening of the national identity, and relaxation of repression.

The third stage began after the disintegration of the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR) in 1991. Unlike in the Baltic republics and Azerbaijan, Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of **perestroika** did not generate a large national liberation movement or mass political participation in Turkmenistan. The road to Turkmenistani independence in 1991 was without large-scale national conflict or wars; it was a rather peaceful process with the exception of small-scale interethnic conflicts in 1990. In 1990, the **Turkmen language** replaced Russian as the official language and in 1993 a Latin-based script replaced the Cyrillic alphabet. The republic did not experience any significant interethnic conflicts or mass emigration of people, probably because of the relatively homogeneous ethnic structure (Turkmens represent 77 percent of the total **population**).

The Turkmenistani leader **Saparmurat Niyazov** resorted to the revival of the traditional values of the Turkmen society to realize his version of Turkmenistani nationalism by trying to bring cohesion to the nation, in which tribal-**clan** relations still play an important role. Niyazov's national policy is represented by the slogan: *Khalk, Watan, Beyik Turkmenbashy!* (People, Fatherland, Great Turkmenbashy!),

which combines the extreme forms of state socialism, egalitarianism, and authoritarianism. He has presented himself as the core of the society, as the leader who unites all Turkmen tribes and all ethnic groups living in the republic. The cornerstones of national unity are the ideas of the national liberation struggle against Russian colonialism, the moral power of Islam, and Niyazov's personality.

NATIONAL SECURITY MINISTRY (NSM) (*Turkmenistanyn Milli Howpsuzlyk Ministriligi* in Turkmen; *Ministerstvo Natsionalnoi Bezopastnosti* in Russian). Ministry in charge of public safety and national security. Turkmenistan inherited from the Soviet era the security infrastructure of the former *Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti* (KGB). In 1991 it came under the jurisdiction of Turkmenistan. The NSM together with the **police** assumed a key role in maintaining law and order and in preserving the security of the state against any threat of **terrorism**, organized crime, or any other actions from inside and outside the republic. In addition, there is a specially trained unit of commandos, which could be used against terrorist threats and organized crime groups. The NSM was also instrumental in suppressing political opposition in the country. The **president** appoints the head of the NSM. It is estimated that the committee has between 2,000 and 3,000 people under its command, though since 1991 it has suffered from failing discipline, corruption, inadequate training, and poor equipment.

The NSM could be mobilized to support the **army** in case of emergency. It is also responsible for carrying out the border controls with **Kazakhstan** and **Uzbekistan**, and checks on **Commonwealth of Independent States'** flights into Turkmenistan's airports. One of the tests of the reliability of Turkmenistan's security forces is the series of operations against illicit **drugs** trafficking from **Afghanistan** to the world market through Turkmenistan. In 2001 and 2002 there were reports that the **United States** transferred some drug detection equipment to the NSM and pledged antiterrorist equipment and special training for the organization.

NATIONAL STATISTICAL INSTITUTE (*Türkmen Milli Hasabat*). The National Statistical Agency under the Cabinet of Ministers of Turkmenistan is responsible for conducting censuses and gathering

and publishing statistical data. The National Statistical Institute has its own publishing center and a large **archive**, which is open to public access with some restrictions. It regularly publishes statistical data, which is available to the general public, as well as classified statistical data for **government** officials only (*Işde ulanmak üçin* in Turkmen, or *dlia sluzhebnogo pol'zovaniya* in Russian—"for restricted use only").

NIAZOV. *See* NIYAZOV.

NISA. *See* NUSAY.

NIYAZOV, SAPARMURAT (TURKMENBASHY) (1940–). The first **president** of Turkmenistan. Born in February 1940 in the capital city Ashkhabad (now **Ashgabat**), then of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic**. Niyazov started his career at a local branch of the **Trade Unions** in 1959. He joined the ruling **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** in 1962. He completed his first degree in 1967 at the Leningrad Polytechnic Institute in Leningrad (now Saint Petersburg, **Russia**). During the 1970s he climbed steadily up the political career ladder, as he was appointed to the Turkmenistan Communist Party apparatus. In 1984–1985 he served in the Communist Party Central Committee in Moscow. In March 1985 he was appointed Chairman of the Council of Ministers in Turkmenistan and in December 1985 first secretary of the Turkmen Communist Party. In 1989 Niyazov was elected a people's deputy in the Soviet Parliament. On October 27, 1990, he was elected the first president of Turkmenistan by a popular vote and reelected on June 21, 1992, with 99.5 percent of the votes. On January 15, 1994, a popular referendum extended his presidency until 2002. In December 1999 the **Mejlis** (Parliament) endorsed him as president for life. In 2001–2002 he indicated, however, that he was willing to consider contested presidential elections some time in the future and might step down from his post in 2010. This announcement might be due to the fact that according to the **Constitution of Turkmenistan** the president cannot be more than 70 years old.

Despite Saparmurat Niyazov's typical Soviet *nomenclatura* biography, he introduced one of the most extravagant political regimes in the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Niyazov's national policy is represented by the slogan: *Khalk, Watan, Beyik*

Turkmenbashy! (People, Fatherland, Great Turkmenbashy!). It combines extreme forms of state socialism, egalitarism, and authoritarianism. The president himself insists on his desire to create a "democratic, secular Turkmenistan" considering the very specific nature of the Turkmen society and using the "experience of Turkey, Egypt and Western countries."

Soon after his election as president of this **gas**- and **oil**-rich state, Niyazov accepted the title of *Turkmenbashy* (head of the **Turkmens**). In this and in his other actions he has often been inspired by the policy of the Turkish leader Kemal Ataturk (1881–1938) and the Soviet leader Josef Stalin. His personality cult manifested itself in renaming streets, squares, schools, **army** units, and public utilities in Turkmenistan after his title *Turkmenbashy* and ensuring that his portraits and statues appear in every corner of the country. Niyazov granted free access to water, electricity, and gas for all citizens of the republic, but he also established tight control over political developments. The Mejlis (Parliament) does not play any significant role in the country's political life, although it does exist and regular elections take place (the latest parliamentary elections were scheduled for December 2004). The president introduced traditional institutions of Turkmen society into the political process, such as the Council of Elders and the Khalk Maslahaty (People's Assembly), which was designed to "represent all Turkmenistanis" and consists of members of parliament, **government** officials, and representatives of all provinces of the country.

In his ethnic policy, the president has presented himself as the core of society, the leader who has united all Turkmen **tribes** and all ethnic groups living in the republic. Turkmenistan is the only country in Central Asia that granted **dual citizenship** to its Russian-speaking population, in 1994, though this arrangement was revoked in 2003. Turkmenistani official ideology conveys such ideas as a national liberation struggle against the **Russian Empire's** colonialism, and the moral power of **Islam**, and the role of the president's personality. The Turkmenistani government provides considerable support to Islamic institutions, including lavish spending on the building and restoration of mosques and *medreses*, but keeps Islamic clergy under strict government control.

In November 2002 the president survived an assassination attempt in Ashgabat, allegedly organized by the political opposition. The treatment of the political opposition, political prisoners, and **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)** and the trials of members of the opposition after the assassination attempt led to wide international criticism, especially from human rights organizations. To further entrench his power, Saparmurat Niyazov (Turkmenbashy) also holds the positions of the chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers and chairman of the **Democratic Party of Turkmenistan**. He is the supreme commander of the Turkmenistani defense forces and has the rank of the marshal.

Turkmenbashy has authored more than 10 books and pamphlets, including the ***Rukhnama***. In 2002 the month of January was renamed *Turkmenbashy*. President Niyazov is married and has two children.

NONGOVERNMENTAL ORGANIZATIONS (NGOs). According to official reports more than 160 NGOs and 140 religious communities have been established and registered in Turkmenistan since 1991 (see *Turkmenistan: Eight Years of Independent Development,* 1999, official data), though many of them operate under state control. The NGOs focus on providing various social **services** not only in the capital of **Ashgabat** and surrounding areas, but also in remote *etraps*. Most of the NGOs are led by local activists and volunteers. A significant number of NGOs are led by **women**, who were very active in public life during the Soviet era (when informal quotas required government to reserve 30 to 40 percent of public positions for women), but who lost their jobs and political presence due to the economic and political changes in the 1990s.

The NGOs provide permanent and temporary employment to between 1,000 and 5,000 people—precise figures are not available. Turkmenistan also witnessed a resurgence of the ***hashar*** (*ashar*), an old tradition of assistance to community members in need through collecting donations locally or organizing community work for single mothers, elderly people, the disabled, etc.

NOURUZ. *See* NOWRUZ.

NOWRUZ (also *Nouruz bairamy*). A traditional spring festival celebrated among the **Turkmens** since ancient pre-**Islamic** times. The

Nowruz starts on the first day of spring according to the solar calendar (in March). The Nowruz was not celebrated during the Soviet era, but it was reestablished after 1991 as a national holiday of spring.

NURALIYEVA, GOZEL (1960–). Turkmen politician. Born in **Ashgabat**, Gozel Nuraliyeva graduated from the Turkmen State University. In the 1980s and 1990s she held various positions in Turkmenistan's **mass media**. In early 1995 she joined the state TV and Radio Corporation of Turkmenistan. In late 1995 she became deputy editor and then editor-in-chief of the national newspaper—*Neitralnyi Turkmenistan* (formerly *Turkmenskaya Iskra*). In 2003 she was appointed minister of culture and information and concurrently deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers.

NUSAÝ (also *Nisa, Nissa*). One of the ancient **trading** and industrial centers. It is situated in what is now **Akhal *welayat*** of Turkmenistan, about 20 kilometers from the contemporary city of **Ashgabat**. The ancient Nisa was probably founded in the sixth or fourth centuries B.C. and gradually became an important trading center. In the fourth century B.C. it was conquered by Alexander the Great, and he founded a city called Alexandropol (what is now known as "old" Nisa—Kone Nusaý). Then the city was included in an ancient Parthian state in the third century B.C. The Parthian kings built a "new" Nisa (what is now known as Taze Nusaý). The Parthian state was destroyed in the third century A.D., and the city experienced several centuries of turbulent history. As a provincial center it was taken over by various regional powers, but continued to grow as a trading center. The city was destroyed under orders from Khorezmshah in the early 13th century, and a few years later again by the Mongol invaders. After the Mongol invasion Nisa slowly recovered, but remained a relatively small city.

In the 19th century numerous Western travelers visited the ancient ruins of the city, which covered many hectares. The ruins of the ancient city were excavated by Russian and Turkmenistan archeologists In 1987 the **government** of Turkmenistan declared the site of ancient Nisa a historical and cultural park protected by the state. Several examples of the ancient **architecture** survived, making the place a popular destination for **tourists**.

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OBA. 1. Village or rural settlement, usually populated by Turkmen farmers. 2. *Obas* traditionally form a kind of **tribal** and extended family unit, as people who live in *obas* often (but not necessarily) represent members of the same tribal unit or community.

OBLAST. Province, a territorial-administrative unit in Turkmenistan established during the Soviet era. There were several changes in administrative division during the Soviet and post-Soviet eras. After 1991 Turkmenistan replaced the Russian name for provinces with the Persian term—***welayat***.

OFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY. Until 1991 the official Muslim clergy in Central Asia was represented by those practicing Muslim scholars and mullahs who were formally registered with and were supervised by the Central Asian Spiritual Board of Muslims (Russian abbreviation—SADUM) or **Muftiyat** in accordance with the Soviet-era regulation. Their activities were also regulated by the state through the Department of Religious Affairs. This registration requirement remained in place after 1991, when Turkmenistan's ***Kaziyet*** seceded from the SADUM and established its own Muftiyat. Traditionally, the official Muslim clergy were loyal to the **government**, held moderate views on current affairs, and stayed away from politics; this was in sharp contrast to the **unofficial Muslim clergy**, who were always critical of the secular government and sought to be involved in politics.

OGUZ-KHAN. A legendary hero, leader, and ancestor of Turkic tribes, one of the founders of the early Turkic state. There is no consensus among scholars about the dates of his life. Some Turkmen historians believe that he lived in third–second centuries B.C. He united numerous Turkic tribes into a powerful tribal confederation and established a vast nomadic empire, which stretched from Mongolia and China to present-day Central Asia. In contemporary Turkmenistan he is regarded as one of the founders of the early Turkmen states. The month of June in Turkmenistan is named after Oguz-Khan.

OGUZNAMA (also *Oguz-nama*, literally "epic about Oguz"). This is one of the most acclaimed epics about **Turkmens** and Turkmen land. Most of the scholars trace the origin of the epic to the early medieval periods, dating it between the 11th and 13th century. Oguznama is the story of the life of **Oguz-Khan** and his sons and the history of the establishment of the early Turkmen states. The epic was often used to trace real or imaginary genealogy and legitimize the leadership of various **khans** and ***batyrs***. Medieval historians also used it as a source in their writing on the Turkmen and Turkish history. The ***baghshy***, the Turkmen bards, traditionally told verses from the epic accompanied by a musical instrument and passed the epic to one another for many centuries. This epic along with other oral narratives became one of the most important ways to preserve the historical and cultural heritage in the seminomadic Turkmen **tribal** society of the medieval era.

OIL. Oil was first discovered in western parts of the Turkmen land (around present-day Cheleken) in the medieval period and local people began exploiting it. Initially they adopted a very simple approach—they dug deep holes in the ground and used leather buckets to get the oil. The industrial development of the oil fields in the Turkmen land began in the late 19th and early 20th century. **Russian** and British entrepreneurs bought the land from the local **population** and established the first modern drilling and exploiting facilities. By 1911 they were extracting about 220,000 tons of oil annually. However, due to the backward technologies, scarce investments, and destruction of the civil war, the productivity of the oil fields dropped significantly within the following decade. Between the 1930s and 1960s the Soviet government invested significantly in drilling new fields, and in the 1950s and 1960s large oil fields were discovered in different parts of the country, making Turkmenistan the third largest oil producer in the Soviet Union, after the Russian Federation and Azerbaijan. Turkmenistan increased oil extraction to about 5.3 million tons in 1960, to 11.9 million tons in 1967, and further to 15.57 million tons in 1975.

In the post-Soviet era the Turkmenistani **government** attracted new technologies and new investors to the oil sector. New oil fields were discovered on the **Caspian Sea** shelf and in some other areas of the country. According to government statistical data Turkmenistan

extracted 24 million tons of oil in 2004 and is projected to produce 48 million tons of oil in 2010. The potential oil reserves of Turkmenistan were estimated at about 12 billion tons (2004, official est.).

ORAZOV, MERED (1950–). Turkmen politician and diplomat. Born in **Ashgabat**, Orazov graduated from the Mechanical-Mathematical faculty of the Moscow State University in 1973. He also completed the *aspirantura* at the Moscow State University in 1976, and the *doktorantura* **(doctor of sciences)** at the same institute in 1983. In 1983 he was appointed the head of a department at the Turkmen Institute of National **Economy**. In 1984 he became deputy rector (deputy chancellor), and in 1987 rector, of the same institute. From 1989 to 1991 he served in various positions at the Central Committee of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**. From 1991 to 1992 he was a member of the Presidential Council. In 1992 Orazov was appointed the deputy minister for **education** and concurrently the rector of the **Turkmenistan State University**. In 1995 he served as the minister for foreign economic relations. Then, he returned to his position as the rector of the Turkmenistan State University. In 2001 he was appointed the extraordinary and plenipotentiary ambassador of Turkmenistan to the **United States**.

Orazov played an important role in shaping of the republic's relations with the United States after the terrorist attacks on New York in 2001 and at the beginning of the United States–led war in **Afghanistan**. He participated in various negotiations with the United States and Western governments and international institutions. He was awarded several **orders** of Turkmenistan and has authored many articles and academic research papers on mathematics.

ORDERS. After independence Turkmenistan adopted a law on state awards and established the following state orders: Altyn Ai (Hero of Turkmenistan); **Presidential** Star; Bitaraplyk Order; Order *Garaşsyz Türkmenistana bolan beýik söygüsi üçin*, Order Galkynysh, Order Garasyzlyk, Order Turkmenbashy, Altyn Asyr, Gurbansoltan Eje, Edermenlik, Medal Gairat, and some others.

In addition there are several state awards established in Turkmenistan, including the International **Magtymguly** Premium in the fields of literature, theater, art, and **architecture**; and the International

al-Khorezmi Premium for Science and Technology. There are honorary titles for achievements in various fields, such as People's Artists of Turkmenistan (People's Writer, People's Poet, People's Teacher, People's Economist, etc.). Distinguished titles are also granted for achievements in various fields, such as Renowned Artist of Turkmenistan (Writer, Architect, [Medical] Doctor, Jurist, Journalist, and so on). The **government** also awards the title of Honorary Citizen of Turkmenistan to foreign citizens who contributed to the development of international relations.

ORGANIZATION FOR SECURITY AND COOPERATION IN EUROPE (OSCE). The organization was previously known as the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE). It was established in 1972. In 1990 the Charter of Paris changed the CSCE status from an international forum to a permanent international organization. In 1995 the CSCE changed its name to the present one.

Turkmenistan joined the organization in 1992 along with other members of the **Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS)** and cooperated with it on a number of issues. The OSCE partnership was essential in arranging various negotiations at the regional level and especially in negotiating the peace process in **Tajikistan**. The OSCE also played a significant role in promoting human rights, civil society, conflict prevention, and monitoring parliamentary and presidential elections in Turkmenistan in 1994 and 1999. The organization was very vocal in criticizing the Turkmenistani **government** on various issues in the early 2000s, including human rights, **mass media**, and the treatment of the opposition and **nongovernmental organizations (NGOs)**, including various religious groups.

ORGANIZATION OF THE ISLAMIC CONFERENCE (OIC) (*Munazamat Al-Mutamir Al-Islami* in Arabic). An organization established in 1969 to promote cooperation and solidarity among Muslim countries. Turkmenistan joined the organization in 1992 along with other Central Asian states in the hope of attracting investments from Middle Eastern countries. In the mid-1990s Turkmenistan obtained some assistance from the Islamic Development Bank and cooperated with the OIC on a number of issues. However, Turkmenistan played a very minor role in the OIC activities and did not

support its stand on several issues. The partnership between Turkmenistan and the OIC was strained, as **Ashgabat** took actions against radical **Islamic** groups and the **unofficial Islamic clergy** in the 1990s and early 2000s.

OXUS. *See* AMU DARYA.

– P –

PASTORAL NOMADISM (also *pastoralism*). An **economy** based on animal herding (**sheep**, **horses**, cattle) and the movement of herders and their families in search of pastures. Traditionally, the **Turkmens** were engaged in a subsistence semipastoral nomadic animal husbandry, raising sheep, goats, cattle, and camels in the ecologically fragile steppes and deserts of the **Garagum** and outskirts of **Murgab** and **Amu Darya River** basins. Their technique, developed over hundreds of years, utilized the unique climate and land resources in their water-scarce homeland without damaging them. The economy of the so-called horizontal pastoral nomadism was based on seasonal migration to the oases and river basins, when hot summer sun destroyed the grass. In winter the Turkmens migrated to *gyshlags* (winter camps). In spring and fall they migrated back to *yazlags* (spring camps) in the steppes and deserts, as moderate temperatures and rains created more grass-rich pastures.

The pastoral nomadism on Turkmen land provided a unique **economic** niche for the Turkmen **tribes**, as the Uzbek settlers controlled oases in the east and the Kazakh tribes controlled vast grasslands in the north. The Turkmens often bought wheat, barley, and oats from their settled neighbors, though they also cultivated some crops. Hunting on the steppes was another source of livelihood for people. Animal husbandry provided the Turkmen tribes both with staple food and products for **trade** or exchange with settled neighbors or with traders from other countries, who continued to travel and trade on what once was the **Great Silk Road**. *See also* AGRICULTURE; COLLECTIVIZATION.

PERESTROIKA ("restructuring" in Russian). A program of political reforms introduced by the last Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev

between 1985 and 1991 in order to reform the Soviet system. This included political and economic liberalization and decentralization, abandoning the strict ideological approach to international relations and domestic policies, and fighting corruption. In the case of Turkmenistan, perestroika led to the removal of the long-standing first secretary of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** (CPT)—**Muhammetnazar Gapurov**, significant changes in nationality policy, public discussion of the Stalin-era atrocities in Turkmenistan, introduction of competitive elections, and private entrepreneurship. Among the first actions of the Gorbachev administration was a campaign of CPT's cadre changes from the top to bottom. In 1985 the Kremlin appointed **Saparmurat Niyazov** to the position of the first secretary of the CPT.

PERMANENT NEUTRALITY POLICY. In 1992 the **government** of Turkmenistan formally announced its intention to obtain the status of neutral state. Taking into consideration this objective the government developed the concept in the **foreign policy** of Turkmenistan. The United Nations officially recognized the permanent neutrality status of Turkmenistan on December 12, 1995. According to neutrality status Turkmenistan does not permit any military bases or foreign troops on its territory, but it permitted humanitarian operations and humanitarian flights to the **United States** and its allies during the war in **Afghanistan** in 2001 and 2002. *See also* FOREIGN POLICY.

PIPELINES. Pipelines play an extremely important role in carrying **gas** and **oil** from landlocked Turkmenistan to the international market in Eastern and Western Europe. The first oil pipeline, Kum Dag-Vyshka (40 kilometers), was built in the 1940s, and it was followed by Vishka-Krasnovodsk (now **Turkmenbashy** City). The large gas pipeline, Mayskoye-**Ashgabat**-Bezmein, was completed in the 1970s. Around the same time the Turkmenistani gas fields were connected with **Russia's** gas-pipeline system through the pipeline Central Asia-Center (CAC). The CAC pipeline consists of four separate lines.

In 1992 all the gas pipelines came under state control. As of 2004 the country's pipelines are operated by the state-controlled concerns Turkmengas, Turkmentransgas, Turkmenneft, and State Trading Cor-

poration (STC) Turkmenneftegas. Turkmengas operates the main export gas pipeline from Deryalyk (Turkmenistan) to Europe (former gas pipelines CAC I, II, and IV). Turkmentransgas operates the primary gas domestic pipelines as well as the export gas pipeline from Bekdash (Turkmenistan) to Europe (formerly CAC-III). Turkmenneft operates the Korpeje–Kurt-Kui export gas pipeline, which was completed in 1997. All these pipelines were built in the 1960s and 1970s and they need significant investments for maintenance and updates. In 1997 Turkmenistan completed the 200-kilometer gas pipeline from Korpedzhe (Turkmenistan) to Kurd-Kui (**Iran**), which had a projected annual capacity of eight billion cubic meters. There was a plan to extend this pipeline through Iranian territory to the Persian Gulf or to Turkey.

In the 1990s the Turkmenistan **government** also considered several new pipeline projects. This included a 2,000-kilometer gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to a Mediterranean port in Turkey through Iran. The estimated cost of construction is between US$1.6 and US$2.3 billion. The projected annual capacity of the pipeline is 30 billion cubic meters. However, due to the U.S. sanctions against Iran this project was postponed several times. The government also considered a 6,500-kilometer gas pipeline from Turkmenistan to the Pacific coastal provinces of China. The estimated cost of the project is about US$12 billion, and it was abandoned after the U.S. Exxon, Chinese CNPC, and Japanese Mitsubishi Corporation decided that it was not feasible. There was a discussion about the Trans-**Afghanistan** Pipeline, a 1,500-kilometer gas pipeline from the Turkmen city Dovletabad to Pakistan via Afghanistan (Dovletabad-Kandahar-Multan). The U.S. company UNOCAL, South Arabia's Delta, Russia's Gazprom, Korea's Hyundai, Japan's Cicko and Itochu, Pakistan's Crescent Group, and Indonesia's Petroleum Construction expressed interest in this project, but it was postponed several times due to the political instability in Afghanistan.

As of 2004 Turkmenistan's pipeline system includes 6,634 kilometers of natural gas and 853 kilometers of oil pipelines (2004, CIA est.).

POLICE. A state-controlled agency in charge of public safety, law enforcement, and investigation of crimes. In the early 2000s its road-patrolling function was transferred to the **army**. Turkmenistan inherited

from the Soviet era a strong police force (formerly called *militsia*), which is in charge of internal matters, and the **National Security Ministry** (former *Komitet Gosudarstvennoi Bezopastnosti* [KGB] in Russian), which is in charge of the major criminal and other problems threatening national security. In 1991 they both came under the jurisdiction of the republic. They assumed the main role in maintaining law and order and preserving the security of the state against any threat of **terrorism**, organized crime, **drug** trafficking, or other action from inside and outside the republic. In August 1992 Turkmenistan created its own national guard of about 900 men—an elite troop assigned to protect the **president** and **government** officials and some important state facilities. The police in Turkmenistan are subordinated to the Ministry of Internal Affairs (*Turkmenistanyn Iceri Isler Ministrligi* in Turkmen). It are estimated that the police force has about 30,000 men and women in service, although since 1991 it has suffered from lack of discipline, corruption, poor training, and poor equipment. In 1998 President **Niyazov** ordered restructuring the police force in order to increase its efficiency and improve its discipline. *See also* ARMY.

POPULAR UPRISING OF 1916. One of Central Asia's biggest popular uprisings against the **Russian Empire** and the largest on the territory of present-day Turkmenistan. This mass uprising of Kazakhs, Kyrgyzs, **Turkmens**, and Uzbeks was triggered by the June 1916 decree on mobilization of 250,000 Central Asians (who were traditionally exempted from military service), including 15,000 Turkmens from **Zacaspian *oblast***. They were to carry out war-related duties in the unpopular war of the Russian Empire against Germany and its ally Turkey, the guardian of the Holy Places and culturally close to the Turkic peoples. However, the uprising had much deeper roots, as it was also a reaction to economic depression, seizure of arable land from the local **population** by Russian settlers, war taxes, and skyrocketing food prices.

In Zacaspian *oblast* the local rioters attacked Russian settlements, administrative centers, and gendarmerie headquarters, destroying property and killing settlers and local administrators. In retaliation the Tsarist administration mobilized its armed forces and Cossack regiments, who fought back against the rioters. In late 1916 many thousands of Turkmen families were forced to escape to

Afghanistan and **Iran**. Some rioters later joined the **Basmachy movement**.

POPULATION. According to official estimate the population in Turkmenistan was about 6,329,000 (March 2004), up from about 998,000 in 1926 (census) and 1,516,000 in 1959 (census). However, the CIA estimated the Turkmenistani population at about 4,775,000 in 2003 (2003). During the 20th century, Turkmenistan's population experienced not only a significant increase in population growth rate, but also considerable changes in literacy, life expectancy, ethnic composition, and reproduction behavior. It almost doubled between 1959 and 1979 and again between 1979 and 2004 due to improved health and longer life expectancy. In 2003 the birth rate stood at 28.02 births per 1,000, while the death rate stood at 8.87 deaths per 1,000 (2004, CIA est.). Turkmenistan's population is very young, with 36.8 percent (male 899,954; female 855,293) below the age of 14 and just about 4.1 percent (male 74,958; female 120,400) above 65. About 65 percent of men and 61.4 percent of women aged 15 years and older are married. The population growth rate in Turkmenistan is 1.82 percent (2004, CIA est.), and if the current government projected trend in fertility rate and migration remains unchanged it is estimated that the population will double by 2030–2035.

Turkmenistan's population is unevenly distributed, with almost three-quarters, or 3.5 million, living in the **Akhal**, **Mary**, and **Lebap** ***welayats***. The average population density in the country is about 10 people per square kilometer (32 people per square mile); however, it ranges between 40 people per square kilometer (103 people per square mile) in the **Murgab River** basin to two or three people per square kilometer (six or seven people per square mile) in the **Balkan** and **Dashoguz** ***welayats***. Some parts of the **Garagum Desert** are uninhabited due to the shortage of water and harsh **environment**.

Since 1991–1992 the republic has experienced a major change in population movements. A significant proportion of the Russian-speaking population emigrated, both permanently and temporarily. The major destinations for migrants from Turkmenistan are **Russia**, Ukraine, **Kazakhstan**, and some other countries. According to the *CIA World Factbook*, the emigration rate stood at 0.92 migrant(s) per 1,000 people in 2004, or approximately 35,000 to 40,000 a year. In

the meantime, a significant number of ethnic **Turkmens** immigrated from **Uzbekistan** and other parts of the former USSR back to their homeland.

Since independence Turkmenistan has remained a multinational country with a very diverse population. The Turkmens make up 77 percent of the population. Ethnic Uzbeks, the second-largest ethnic group, make up 9.2 percent of the population; Russians comprise 6.7 percent; Kazakhs add about 2 percent; and various other groups together make up the remaining 5.1 percent of the population. The current ethnic structure was mainly formed during the 20th century, when the **Russian Empire** and later Soviet administrations encouraged migration from central Russia, the Ukraine, and Caucasus.

Urbanization only penetrated Turkmenistani society gradually. In 1999 just over 46 percent of the population lived in urban areas, up from 14 percent in 1926 and 45 percent in 1979. The country's capital city, **Ashgabat**, is home to 789,000 people (2003, official est.) or 13 percent of the population. However, an independent Turkmen expert, Shokhrat Kadyrov, estimated this figure at 350,000 people, excluding temporary and seasonal workers and migrants.

PRESIDENCY IN TURKMENISTAN. The office of the president was introduced in October 1990 according to the amendments to the Soviet constitution. The first president was elected by the **Supreme Soviet** (parliament) and was fully accountable to it. According to the new changes in 1991 the president was elected by a popular vote. The first post-Soviet **Constitution of Turkmenistan** (May 18, 1992) provided that the president should be a Turkmenistani citizen, at least 40 years old, but not older than 70. According the first Constitution of 1992 the president can be elected to the post for only two consecutive terms of five years each. This condition, however, was later revoked by a national referendum.

According to the constitution, the president has broad authority, including the following powers: to enact the constitution and laws and to ensure their strict execution; to manage the implementation of **foreign policy**, representing Turkmenistan in relations with foreign governments, to appoint and recall ambassadors and other diplomatic representatives of Turkmenistan in other countries and in intergovernmental and international organizations, and to accept the creden-

tials and departures of the diplomatic representatives of foreign governments; to present the **Khalk Maslahaty** (People's Council) with an annual report about the state of the nation and to provide information about the most important issues of domestic and foreign policy; to present for review and approval to the **Mejlis** (Parliament) a **government's** budget and a report on its utilization; and to sign laws. The president also has the right to return laws to the Mejlis, within two weeks from their adoption by Mejlis, with his or her objections for additional discussion and vote; to schedule referendums approved by the Khalk Maslahaty, and to convene parliament ahead of schedule; to decide questions about the granting of Turkmenistan citizenship and asylum; to grant **orders** and other state awards of Turkmenistan, to confer honorary, military, and other special state titles, ranks, and distinctions; to appoint and recall, with parliament's preparatory consent, the chair of the Supreme Court, the chair of the High Commercial Court, and the prosecutor general; to grant pardons and amnesties; and to decide other issues ascribed to her or his jurisdiction by the constitution and laws. The president is also the supreme commander of the **army**, who issues orders of general or partial mobilization or use of the armed forces subject to subsequent approval of these actions by the People's Council, and who appoints the highest commanders of the armed forces.

Saparmurat Niyazov was the first president of the republic. He was elected in 1990, and his term was extended in 1995 through referendum without elections. In December 1999 the Khalk Maslahaty declared him president for life. In 2002–2003 he indicated that he might resign in 2010 and he might order contested presidential elections. This might be due to the fact that according to the Constitution of Turkmenistan the president cannot be more than 70 years old.

– Q –

QADI (also *kadi*). A judge, legal interpreter of Islamic canon law (**Shariah**) in Muslim countries. In the pre-Revolutionary Turkmen land, the **Russian Empire** authorities left under the jurisdiction of the *qadis* all common criminal cases, family issues, minor crimes, community disputes, and others. The Soviet authorities banned the

qadis from practicing in the mid-1920, although some surviving *qadis* practiced in remote areas well into the 1930s.

QAZAQSTAN (also *Qazaqstan Respublikasy*). *See* KAZAKHSTAN.

QERNAI. A traditional musical instrument that resembles a long wind pipe. It is often used at public celebrations, such as weddings, performances of the Central Asian circus, celebration of ***Nawruz***, or commemoration of the end of the harvest season. It is more common in eastern Turkmenistan and among the Uzbek communities.

QURGON (also *kurgan*). 1. Man-made hill on the burial place of ancient warriors or **khans**. 2. City wall or protective wall made of mud.

– R –

RAILWAYS. Turkmenistan has a railway network of about 2,440 kilometers (2002, CIA est.), the third longest in the Central Asian region behind **Kazakhstan** and **Uzbekistan**. The Turkmen land was one of the first places in the **Russian Empire** where railways were built in the late 19th century. The major railway track runs from **Turkmenbashy** (former Krasnovodsk) to **Ashgabat** and than to Uzbekistan and **Tajikistan**. In the 1990s an extension was built from Turkmenistan to **Iran** (Tejen-Serakhs-Meshkhed and **Turkmenabat**-Kerki-Kerkichi). The railways system, which is operated by the state-controlled Turkmendemiryollary, is relatively well established and maintained, and it provides cheap and reliable communication and **transportation** between the western and eastern and southeastern areas of Turkmenistan.

The Turkmenistani **government** intends to invest heavily in the development of the railway system and to build major east-west and south-north corridors in order to boost its **trade** and **tourism** with Iran and Turkey and to ease Turkmenistan's dependence on the railway systems of neighboring **Kazakhstan** and Uzbekistan. In the 1990s Turkmenistan experienced several interruptions of its goods transit due to various disagreements over fees and tariffs. Several multimillion-dollar railway projects were initiated and discussed by

the Turkmenistani government and international donor organizations and individual countries. In the 1990s Turkmenistan and members of the **Economic Cooperation Organization** discussed the possibility of building a railway that would connect Central Asia with the Persian Gulf, Turkey, and South Asia. The government also announced that it would build an additional 2,000 kilometers of railways within the next 20 to 30 years, but did not provide any specifics on this project. However, the feasibility of all these projects was not very clear especially due to the political instability in **Afghanistan**, **United States**–imposed sanctions on Iran, the United States–led war against the Taliban regime, and financial difficulties experienced by the Central Asian Republics after the 1998 financial crisis in **Russia**.

RAMAZAN (also *Remezan*, *Ramadan*). The holy month in **Islam** that commemorates the revelation of the Quran to Prophet Muhammad. During Ramazan all devoted Muslims should refrain from eating, drinking, and sexual activities during daylight hours, and devote their bodies and souls to purification. The dates of Ramazan move from year to year, as they are determined by the lunar calendar.

ROADS. Turkmenistan is endowed with a network of 24,000 kilometers of primary and secondary roads; 19,500 kilometers are paved (2004, CIA est.). This includes 140 kilometers of international quality expressways. However, the road **transportation** system is still underdeveloped and of poor quality in western, central, and northern Turkmenistan (**Balkan** and **Dashoguz** *welayats*). The **Ashgabat-Turkmenbashy** highway, which connects western Turkmenistan with the capital, was recently reconstructed. Other strategically important highways connect Ashgabat with **Koneurgench** and with **Mary** and **Turkmenabat** (formerly Charjew). There is a highway that connects Turkmenistan with **Iran**. In the early 2000s there were reports of completion of the construction of the highway from Turkmenistan through Iran to the Persian Gulf, though there were no confirmations about commercial use of the road.

Since the early 1990s the Turkmenistani **government** has invested heavily in expansion or reconstruction of its road network. In the 1990s, due to new investments and a rapidly growing number of privately owned cars, the quality of the roads in the capital and other

major cities began to improve. Within the next decade the Turkmenistani government also plans to invest in building new motor roads to **Afghanistan**, in order to ease its dependence on the transportation network of neighboring Central Asian countries and to promote **trade** and **tourism** with Iran and along the ancient **Great Silk Road**.

A total of around 200,000 motor vehicles were registered in Turkmenistan in the 1990s (up from about 170,000 in 1988). In the mid-1990s Turkmenistan began importing cars from Western countries and some Asian countries to replace the aging fleet of **Russian**-made cars, although the Russian cars still dominate the market, and car ownership remains quite low. By 2004 most of the high-end hotels in Turkmenistan began offering car rental services to foreign tourists and adventurers.

RUKHNAMA (from *Rukh*—"spirit"). A book written by President **Saparmurat Niyazov** between 1997 and 2001 and publicly presented in late 2001. The book consists of five chapters and presents his views on the Turkmen nation, the origin of **Turkmens** and Turkmen history, Turkmen statehood, and the spiritual values of the nation. The style and content of the book in some degree replicates a popular Central Asian genre of traditional exhortations that were customarily prepared by the wise rulers (**khans**) of the medieval Central Asian khanates (e.g., *Kabusname*, etc.). The **government** of Turkmenistan sponsored several reprints of the book and its translation into Russian, English, and several other languages. The book was introduced into all curricula in schools and universities in the country to be studied by young people. The quotes from the book are regularly reprinted in all **mass media** outlets, including national newspapers, and cited on the national TV. The government declared the 12th of September Rukhanama Day in the country. In September 2004 the second volume of the Rukhnama book was published in Turkmenistan and presented to public. An English translation of the book was published both in a hard-copy format and on the Internet.

RUSSIA (official name *Russian Federation*). This country is located north of Turkmenistan and separated from Turkmenistan by **Kazakhstan** and the **Caspian Sea**. Russia's population was estimated at about 144,526,300 (2003, CIA est.). Russians account for 81.5 percent of the population, Tatars about 3.8 percent, Ukrainians about 3

percent, Chuvash about 0.8 percent, and others about 10.8 percent. According to official estimates about 150,000 to 200,000 ethnic **Turkmens** (including temporary workers and students) lived in Russia, mainly in Russia's central regions and southern provinces (2004, est.). About 200,000 people (mainly Russians and Ukrainians) have moved from Turkmenistan to the Russian Federation since 1991. The ethnic Russian **population** in Turkmenistan was estimated at about 6.7 or 300,000 in 2003 (2003, CIA est.), although independent experts believe that there are only about 100,000 Russians left in Turkmenistan.

Russia and Turkmenistan have maintained close political relations since 1991, as President **Saparmurat Niyazov** joined the Russia-led **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS) and initiated a series of bilateral agreements. Russia and Turkmenistan were among the first CIS members to sign the **Dual Citizenship Treaty** in 1993 (revoked in 2003). Yet, Russia and Turkmenistan along with other Caspian Sea basin countries were deadlocked in disputes over the delimitation of the Caspian seabed. Since 1991 Russia has remained among Turkmenistan's top five trading partners. Turkmenistan's **trade** with Russia fluctuated widely and was estimated at about 10 to 15 percent of its total foreign trade in 2004. Turkmenistan exported to Russia goods and **services**, mainly products of its **agriculture** and natural resources, including **gas** and **oil**, and imported various goods and services, including machinery, military equipment, and consumer goods. In 2003–2004 Russia provided substantial military assistance and sold military equipment to the Turkmenistan **Army**.

In 2002–2003 Turkmen-Russian relations became strained. Turkmenistan accused Turkmen opposition groups and representatives of Turkmenistani diasporas that had settled mainly in Moscow and Saint Petersburg of plotting an assassination attempt on the life of president Saparmurat Niyazov.

RUSSIAN EMPIRE (also called the *Tsarist Empire*). The name of the Russian state from 1721, when the Russian Tsar accepted the title of emperor. Russia began advancing to the east and southeast of Moscow in the 16th century, acquiring the Kazan and then Astrakhan. Peter the Great sent a large expedition through the Turkmen land to the **Khiva Khanate** in the early 18th century, but the expedition was

ultimately destroyed and its remaining members were sold in the slave bazaars in Khiva and **Bukhara**. The Tsardom annexed the Kazakhs Kichi **Juz** (Little Horde) in 1731 and steadily began moving toward Central Asia in the 18th and 19th century. By the 1870s most of the territory that became later Central Asian Republics was acquired by the empire, and most of the Central Asian people were declared the subjects of the emperor. In February 1917 the Russian Empire was abolished and declared a republic. *See also* RUSSIA.

– S –

SEITAKOV, BEKI (1914–1979). Turkmen writer and publicist. Born in the remote village of Bedirkent (now in **Dashoguz** ***Welayat***), Beki Seitakov graduated from a college in **Dashoguz** in 1931 and from the Pedagogical Institute in 1944. He started his writing career in the mid-1930s and published his first short stories, poems, and articles. In 1938 he published his poem *Ayaz-Khan*, which brought him wide recognition. Between 1939 and 1941 he published several short stories and novels about the civil war in Turkmenistan. In 1949 he was appointed as an editor-in-chief of the *Mydam Tayar* newspaper. Between 1958 and 1972 he published his monumental four-volume novel *Doganlar* (Brothers). From 1955 to 1962 he was the executive secretary and from 1962 to 1965 the chairman of the **Union of Writers of Turkmenistan**.

Seitakov played an important role in the country's intellectual and literary discourse in the 1960s and 1970s. He authored several books, numerous short stories, and articles mainly in the **Turkmen language**, becoming one of the most influential Turkmen writers in the country in the 1970s. Several of his novels were translated into Russian and other languages of the Soviet Union. He was awarded the **Magtymguly** State Premium in 1966 and was elected a member of the **Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan** in 1969.

SERVICES. Turkmenistan's service sector was tightly controlled by the state during the Soviet era, and was significantly underdeveloped. In the 1990s Turkmenistan's **government** made considerable efforts to deregulate this sector, focusing on privatization of retail and hos-

pitality businesses and on reforming financial services. In 2001 the service sector generated up to 20.5 percent of the gross domestic product (2004, World Bank est.).

The most significant changes were introduced in finance and **banking** services. The monopoly of the state bank was broken, and commercial banks were allowed in. A new banking law was introduced in 1992 and the government carried out financial restructuring with assistance from the European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and others. By the early 2000s most of the private banks began to offer basic services to the local **population**, expatriates, and private businesses, such as currency exchange and money transfers. Some banks have begun issuing debit cards and accepting major credit cards and traveler's checks. However, banking services are mainly available in the capital **Ashgabat** and in some large cities, while outside the metropolitan area most of the **trade** and business is conducted in cash. The ***manat***, the national currency, is still not fully convertible (as of 2004) and this is reflected in multiple currency exchange rates.

According to Western standards, the retail sector is relatively well developed in Ashgabat and in major cities, and consists of numerous small oriental-style shops and restaurants complimented by several large Western-style department stores. In addition, small and large traditional open markets—*bazaars* and *tolkuchkas*—offer a variety of imported and local products at relatively competitive prices. The retail sector is still significantly underdeveloped outside **Akhal**, **Mary**, and **Lebap** ***welayats***, especially in the rural areas. The notorious deficit of consumer goods and long lines, which plagued the country in the late 1980s and early 1990s, have practically disappeared. However, there is strict state control over the export of certain items from Turkmenistan, such as traditional historic **carpets**, antiques, and others.

In the 1990s the government also made considerable efforts to promote the **tourism** and hospitality sector and directed significant investments into building Western-style and prestigious hotels and into renovating several resorts. Three- and four-star hotels were built in Ashgabat and in every ***welayat*** center. The Committee of Tourism and Sports also promotes adventure tourism, highlighting the relatively secure environment in the country, magnificent **architectural** monuments, and low crime rate (compared to some neighboring countries).

SHARIAH (also *sherigat* in Turkmen). The holy law of **Islam** practiced in Muslim societies. It is based on four fundamentals: the Quran; the Hadith (Sunna)—the recorded story of the life and deeds of Prophet Muhammad; the Ijma—the universal decisions agreed by Islamic scholars; and the *Qiya*—legal precedent. The Shariah imposes a strict regulation of the public and private aspects of life according to divine revelation. In some countries, such as **Iran** and Saudi Arabia, the Shariah is used as the foundation of all legal practices. The Shariah was practiced among Central Asians, including the **Turkmens**, until 1924–1926, and it was guided by the ***qadis*** and sheikhs. The Soviet authorities banned the Shariah courts in Turkmenistan in the mid-1920s. In the 1990s some Islamic activists called for the restoration of Shariah courts, but the idea did not receive support from the **government** or general public. *See also* ISLAM; OFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY.

SHEEP. For centuries sheep breeding, especially highly valued **karakul** (astrakhan fur) sheep, was one of the most important pillars of economic activities for Turkmen society. Traditionally, farmers sold or exchanged the karakul wool and sheepskin for various industrial goods. Lamb meat is very popular in the Turkmenistani national cuisine, in such well-liked dishes as *kebab* and *pilav*. Sheep ownership has long been a symbol of prosperity and wealth in Turkmenistani society. By the beginning of the 20th century most of the sheep herds were concentrated in the hands of ***bais***, **khans**, and rich farmers, while poor families often had none. There were approximately 4.5 million sheep and goats in 1916 in the territory of present-day Turkmenistan. In the 1920s the Soviet authorities carried out a series of **agricultural** reforms and confiscated sheep from rich *bais* and khans, and then distributed them among poor farmers, but in the 1930s they brought sheep herders into ***kolkhozes*** and ***sovkhozes*** to raise these animals on a larger scale. According to the **National Statistical Institute** the total number of sheep and goats reached approximately 5.4 million in 1990, up from about 4.5 million in 1981 and 2.5 million in 1941. Turkmenistan was one of the biggest producers of karakul wool in the former USSR.

The Turkmen farmers were successful in producing a local breed of karakul sheep. These sheep yield from eight to 16 kilograms of

wool, and their fleece is about 7.5 to 10 centimeters long. The sheep are well adapted to the extremely dry pastures.

Since the early 1990s the **government** has gradually reformed the **agricultural** sector and allowed private initiatives in animal breeding. The number of sheep grew to approximately 10 to 11 million in 2004 (official est.), although independent experts claim that the real figure was probably slightly smaller.

SHEJERE (*Sajare, Shazhere*). 1. A genealogical tree of a family, which every male Turkmen must know by heart. A traditional requirement is to know ancestors up to seven generations. 2. A genealogy of the **tribal** composition among **Turkmens**, Kazakhs, and other nomadic groups. After 1991 academic and general research on the *shejeres* of the Turkmens, especially genealogy and tribal affiliation of major politicians, became very popular and a number of books, posters, and leaflets on this issue were published in Turkmenistan. *See also* TRIBES.

SHIKHMURADOV, BORIS ORAZOVICH (1949–). Turkmen politician and diplomat. Born in **Ashgabat**, Boris Shikhmuradov graduated from the Faculty of Journalism of the Moscow State University (**Russia**) in 1971 and from the Diplomatic Academy under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR (Moscow) in 1986. He started his career as a foreign correspondent working for the Soviet central government-controlled news agency in 1971. In 1991 he returned to Turkmenistan and was appointed deputy minister for foreign affairs and in 1992 he was promoted to the position of first deputy minister for foreign affairs. From 1993 to 1995 he was deputy chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers. In 1995 he was appointed minister of foreign affairs. Shikhmuradov played a central role in forming and implementing Turkmenistan's foreign policy in the 1990s.

In July 2000 Shikhmuradov was suddenly dismissed from this post and was appointed ambassador at large. In March 2001 he was appointed ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to the People's Republic of China, but in a few months publicly criticized President **Saparmurat Niyazov** and defected to the political opposition and became one of the most prominent figures among the Turkmen opposition in exile. In December 2002 Shikhmuradov was arrested and

was accused of masterminding an assassination attempt on the life of the **president** in November 2002. He was sentenced to life imprisonment. Several international organizations declared the trial was unfair, protested the court procedure, and demanded his release from prison. He now has the rank of ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary. Shikhmuradov authored numerous articles and public speeches. In 2003 the Turkmen authorities published a book about the plot to assassinate the president, which Shikhmuradov allegedly wrote while in prison.

SKOBELEV, MIKHAIL (1843–1882). As commander of the **Russian Empire's** troops in Central Asia, he played an important role in conquering the Turkmen land. Mikhail Skobelev graduated from the military college in Saint Petersburg. At the age of 25 he began his military career in **Turkistan** and Caucasus. From 1873 to 1876 he participated in several military expeditions against the **Khiva Khanate** and Kokand Khanate as field officer and as an intelligence officer. He was acknowledged among solders and the general public in **Russia** for his exceptional knowledge of the Turkistani culture and military tactics in the Central Asian environment and for personal bravery. Skobelev was promoted to the rank of major-general and was appointed the first governor of the Fergana district of the **Turkistan Governor-Generalship**. In 1877–1878 he also took part in the Russian-Turkish war in the Balkans. In 1880 and 1881 he led Russian troops against the **Geok-Tepe** fortress. He defeated the irregular army of **Turkmens** from the Teke tribe and captured Geok-Tepe, Askabad (now **Ashgabat**), and some other settlements. However, the cruelty of his troops, who slaughtered the defenders of Geok-Tepe, including women, children, and elders, led to a public outcry, and he was recalled from Turkistan in 1881. He died in 1882, reportedly from a heart attack.

SOVKHOZ (plural in Russian *sovkhozy*). This stands for the Russian term *sovetskoye khozyaistvo*, or Soviet farm. The first *sovkhozes* were established across the Soviet Union in the 1920s. In 1929 there were several *sovkhozes* in Turkmenistan, but their number grew to 56 in 1975. They were established to complement ***kolkhozes***. The *sovkhozes* and *kolkhozes* dominated in the **agricultural** sector, pro-

ducing most of the agricultural products in the country, as the individual ownership of land was banned, and peasants could privately cultivate only very small plots. The major difference between *kolkhozes* and *sovkhozes* was that the property of *sovkhozes*, equipment and land, belonged to the state and not to the members of the farms. The *sovkhozes* were often established to produce agricultural products in large quantities, especially **cotton**, vegetables, and grains. According to the Presidential Decree on Reforming Collective Farms, State Farms and Other Agricultural Enterprises in Turkmenistan (March 1994); the Law on Farmers Associations (June 1995); and the Law on Private Farming most of the *sovkhozes* in Turkmenistan were reorganized into commercial agricultural associations. *See also* COLLECTIVIZATION.

STATE DELIMITATION OF 1924–1926. A program of the Soviet **government** to divide the ethnically diverse Central Asian region into several national entities. These nation-state entities were created along a relatively vague ethnic line, as the Soviet leaders both in the Kremlin and in the region rejected the idea of creating a Central Asian federation or pan-Turkic republic. The **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** was established in 1924. It took, however, almost two years, from 1924 to 1926, before the territorial delimitation was completed in ethnically mixed areas. This included the parts of the former **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate** (**Bukhara People's Soviet Republic** and **Khorezm People's Soviet Republic** since 1920), which were divided between **Tajikistan,** Turkmenistan, and **Uzbekistan**.

STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN TURKMENISTAN UNTIL 2010 PROGRAM (also called Program for First Ten Years of the Golden Age). This is the second comprehensive program of social and economic development of Turkmenistan that was introduced in 1999. The program prioritized four major sectors for development: economic, social, ecological, and food-supply security. According to the **government** publication *Turkmenistan, vozrozhdenyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy* (Turkmenistan, resurrected by the Genius of Great Turkmenbashy) in the economic sphere the program envisioned the increase of gross domestic product by 6.2

times between 2000 and 2010. According to the government, the main driving force of the rapid economic development would be the extraction and export of **gas** and **oil**, as the Turkmenistani authorities planned to increase gas extraction from 38 billion cubic meters in 2000 to 120 billion cubic meters in 2010, and oil extraction from 10 million tons in 2000 to 48 million tons in 2010 (2004, official est.). In order to achieve such a high economic growth rate, the government also intended to invest in building a number of new **industrial** enterprises, namely petrochemical, food processing, textile, garment, and some other factories.

In the social sector the program envisioned improving the social welfare system, social conditions of the **population**, and living standards, including raising the average life expectancy from 65.4 years in 2000 to 71.4 years in 2010, average incomes from US$4,273 in 2000 to US$14,781 in 2010, and increasing the total Turkmenistani population to 8.75 million people by 2010. This program provided that the state would maintain large expenditures for the social welfare system—including free gas, water, and electricity, and free **education**—that would be funded by expected increasing revenue from gas and oil exports to international markets. In the ecological sphere the government intended to stop desertification and salinization of steppes and arable land, to create several large water reservoirs in the **Garagum Dessert**, to contain **environmental** problems, and to introduce some other measures. In order to achieve the food-supply security of Turkmenistan, the government sought to double the production of grain, triple the production of rice and vegetables, and increase the production of **cotton** by about 1.5 times between 2000 and 2010. There were also plans to conduct further reforms in the **agricultural** sector and to attract international investors and new skill-intensive agricultural technologies. There were also plans to create large reserves of drinkable fresh water by taking more water from the **Amu Darya River**, by increasing the capacity of the **Garagum Canal**, and by creating facilities to distill the salt water of the **Caspian Sea**. *See also* TEN YEARS OF STABILITY PROGRAM.

SUFISM (also known as *tasawwuf*). Mystical movement in **Islam** that emphasizes the development of a personal spirituality and an internal

comprehension of divinity. Most scholars trace the beginning of Sufism to the seventh or eighth century A.D., though there are some disagreements about more precise dating. Through the first five centuries after its establishment, Sufism developed into several distinctive orders or *tariqats*. Some of the influential *tariqats* originated in Central Asia, including Nakhshbandia, Kubrawiya, Yasawiya, and others. Sufi sheikhs (scholars and spiritual leaders), *murids* (students), and dervishes (members of a Sufi fraternity) played an important role in spreading Islam among nomads and pastoral nomads of Central Asia, including Kazakhs and **Turkmens**.

SUPREME SOVIET (*Iokary Kengesh* in Turkmen; *Verkhovnyi Sovet* in Russian). A unicameral parliament elected for a four-year term during the Soviet era. Conventionally, the Supreme Soviet had two sessions a year. There was some ambiguity in the usage of this term: the Russian language **mass media** used the term *Verkhovnyi Sovet* (Supreme Soviet), while the **Turkmen language** mass media used the Turkmen translation—*Iokary Soveti* or *Iokary Kengesh*. The last Soviet-era Supreme Soviet was elected in 1990. The 1992 **Constitution of Turkmenistan** significantly changed the electoral law, and in 1994 a new unicameral parliament replaced the Supreme Soviet, which was renamed the **Mejlis**. This name is presently used in both the Turkmen and Russian languages.

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TAIPA. A term used in Turkmenistan to refer to a **tribe** or tribal unit, which stems from common ancestry. Traditionally it is customary among the **Turkmens** to remember all their ancestors up to seven generations.

TAJIKISTAN (official name *Jumhurii Tojikiston* or *Tojikiston*). The republic is located southeast of Turkmenistan. Tajikistan has no common borders with Turkmenistan and they are separated by a strip of **Uzbekistan's** territory. Tajikistan occupies an area of 143,100 square kilometers, making Tajikistan the smallest state in the region. Its population was estimated at about 6.8 million (2004, CIA est.), making it the third most populous state in Central Asia. The Tajiks,

who speak a Persian dialect, unlike other Central Asian people, account for 68 percent of the population, Uzbeks about 25 percent, Russians about 2.5 percent, and others about 4.5 percent. A small community of **Turkmens** lives in Tajikistan.

During the 19th century the territory of modern Tajikistan was contested by the **Bukhara Emirate** and **Kokand Khanate** and **Afghanistan's** rulers. This land was among the last Central Asian territories in which the **Russian Empire** in the late 19th century and later the Bolshevik authorities established their control. Until the 1920s many areas of Tajikistan were probably among the least developed places in the region, especially its eastern portion. Tajikistan was established as an autonomous republic in 1924 (it became Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic in 1929). The Soviet government attempted to modernize its economy, to develop industries, and to establish a modern **agriculture** based on large-scale farming in ***kolkhozes*** and ***sovkhozes***. Between the 1930s and 1970s Tajikistan, along with Turkmenistan, received substantial investments for the development of **transportation**, **pipeline**, telecommunications, and other infrastructure. However, in the late 1970s and early 1980s the inflow of investments decreased, despite the fact that between 1960 and 1980 the population of the republic had nearly doubled.

In 1991 Tajikistan declared its independence from the Soviet Union. However, very soon law and order collapsed in the republic due to political conflict between leading political groups and powerful political **clans**. During Tajikistan's civil war (1992–1997), Turkmenistan, in contrast to **Kazakhstan**, Kyrgyzstan, and Uzbekistan, remained neutral and did not send its troops there. In the 1990s between 12,000 and 25,000 Tajiks sought refuge in Turkmenistan in addition to several hundred ethnic Turkmens who migrated from Tajikistan to Turkmenistan. According to the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), about 5,000 refugees returned to Tajikistan between 1998 and 2004. As of 2004 a significant number of Tajik refugees still remained in the **Lebap**, **Akhal**, and **Mary** ***welayats*** of Turkmenistan.

Since 1991 Tajikistan's **trade** with Turkmenistan has been insignificant, because Tajikistan was devastated by the civil war and the breakup of many trade and technological links. However, there was a significant increase in illicit **drug** smuggling from Afghanistan

through Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, and Uzbekistan, as these countries were used by the drug dealers for the large-scale transit of cheap drugs.

Tajikistan joined the **Commonwealth of Independent States**, **Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty**, **Economic Cooperation Organization**, **Organization of the Islamic Conference**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe**, Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO), and some other regional and international organizations, including the United Nations.

TASHAUZ. *See* DASHOGUZ.

TELPEK. Traditional Turkmen hat made of sheepskin. It was part of the national costume and also a military uniform. Men, usually older people—***aksakals*** (***yashuli***)—wear *telpeks* all year around.

TEN YEARS OF STABILITY PROGRAM (also ***On Yyl Abadancylyk*, "Ten Years of Prosperity Program"**). This is a comprehensive program of social and economic development of Turkmenistan that was introduced in December 1992. The main objective of the program was to ensure the establishment of a self-sufficient national **economy** of Turkmenistan and facilitate the state-controlled transition from the Soviet centrally planned economic system to the market-oriented economic system. The program targeted gradual economic changes, partial reforms of the social welfare system, maintenance of social and political stability, etc. This program provided for maintenance of significant direct expenditures for the social welfare system and introduced such measures as free **gas**, water, and electricity, and some other benefits, largely funded by expected increasing revenue from gas and **oil** exports to international markets. The Turkmenistani **government** also significantly increased investments and adapted several proactive measures in order to stabilize the national economy, including development of oil and gas fields; rapid development of **industries**; building new infrastructure, including **pipelines**, **roads**, and **railways**; etc. It also targeted achievements of self-sufficiency in **agricultural** products, especially in strategically important grain production, and an increase in **cotton** production. One of the components of the program

was to attract international investments into the major sectors of the national economy. The Ten Years Stability Program was a significant departure from the five-year command-economy style of the centralized **five-year plans**, although state control, state planning, and state-led development remained the cornerstones of the program. *See also* STRATEGY FOR SOCIAL-ECONOMIC CHANGES IN TURKMENISTAN UNTIL 2010 PROGRAM.

TERRORISM. Terrorism, the systematic use of violence against the general population in order to achieve a particular political objective, was practically unknown in Central Asia, including Turkmenistan, during the late Soviet era. In the mid-1990s, however, the situation changed, as several radical groups in Central Asia proclaimed that they sought to forcefully replace existing corrupt secular regimes with a pure Islamic state. These groups found refuge in the civil war–torn **Afghanistan** and **Tajikistan**. Since the mid-1990s the **Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan** (IMU), which aimed to overthrow the incumbent regime of Islam Karimov in Uzbekistan, was accused of conducting various terrorist actions on the territory of Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan. In 1999 and 2000 the IMU infiltrated Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan and captured hostages and several villages. The assassination attempt on President Karimov in February 1999 and the bombing of public buildings in spring and summer 2004 in Tashkent contributed to an increasing fear of terrorism in the Central Asian region.

Since the late 1990s the **government** of Turkmenistan has perceived that there were threats that various militant groups from outside of Turkmenistan and radicalized Turkmen opposition groups with links to international terrorist organizations or supported by foreign states might conduct terrorist acts on Turkmenistan territory. The government presented the November 2002 assassination attempt on life of President **Saparmurat Niyazov** as evidence of the terrorist plot and growing threat of terrorism, although many Turkmen opposition leaders denied any involvement in this attempt. In August 2003 Turkmenistan's **mass media** published the text of a law on combating terrorism, which was approved during a session of the **Khalk Maslahaty** (People's Assembly). The law prohibited any formal negotiations with terrorists and initiated the creation of a commission to coordinate the work of the Interior Ministry, **National Se-**

curity Ministry, and Defense ministries, as well as the presidential security service, the border and customs services, the service for registering foreigners, and the Prosecutor-General's Office. Between 2002 and 2004 Turkmenistan held antiterrorist military exercises on the Caspian coast and in some ***welayats*** involving Defense, Interior, and National Security Ministry forces.

TOURISM. Tourism is a new and growing sector of the Turkmenistani **economy**. Until the 1990s international tourism in Turkmenistan was controlled by two state monopolies—Sputnik and Intourist. Since 1991 the tourism sector has been significantly reorganized. In 1993 the country joined the World Tourism Organization. The Turkmensyyahat, a state-controlled tourism corporation, was established in 1994, and in 1995 the **government** adopted a program for developing the tourism and hospitality sector in the republic. In the mid-1990s Turkmenistan's government directed significant investments into building modern four- and five-star hotels, hoping to boost this sector of the economy. Several sites in the country, where the government intends to preserve the natural landscape, unique flora and fauna, and historical monuments, were declared national and historical parks. The State Committee on Tourism and Sport was established in 2000.

With a significant number of ancient **architectural** attractions, along with unique natural parks and resorts, Turkmenistan has great potential for developing adventure tourism. In addition, there are many cultural sites along the Turkmenistani portion of the **Great Silk Road**, which connected China with Western Europe in medieval times, and attracts tourists to Turkmenistan.

According to government estimates, between 5,000 and 10,000 tourists visited Turkmenistan in 2002 and 2003. The tourism sector was then in steep decline due to several factors, including the proximity to **Afghanistan**, war in Iraq, political instability in the Central Asian region, crime, and **terrorist** activities in some parts of the region. In addition in 2002 and 2003 the government imposed temporary travel restrictions and strict passport and visa control on its borders due to the assassination attempt on President **Saparmurat Niyazov** in November 2002. In 2004 some of these restrictions were officially lifted.

TRADE. Until the 20th century Turkmen **tribes** were involved in small-scale regional trade with neighboring **Afghanistan**, **Iran**, **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate**, Turkey, and others. Very often this trade assumed the form of barter. The export products traditionally included such local products as **carpets**, **karakul** (astrakhan fur), sheep wool, **horses**, etc. In the late 19th century the **Russian Empire** established its control in **Turkistan** and became a major trading partner for the region. The trade with Russia became more monetarized; yet, the **Turkmens** continued their trade with their partners in Afghanistan, Iran, and Turkey on a barter and cash basis. The civil war of 1918–1922 greatly disrupted the trade, and subsequently the Soviet authorities established the "iron curtain" on the Turkmenistani borders with Afghanistan and Iran.

During the Soviet era Turkmenistan's international trade was limited and was monopolized by Moscow-based companies and ministries. Most of the Turkmenistani exports and imports were exclusively limited to the Soviet all-Union market, and trade was conducted under the Soviet planning system, which established an artificial price structure for many products, including prices significantly below world level for **gas** and **oil**. Turkmenistani enterprises were obliged to trade through Moscow-based trade ministries and agencies, which controlled most of the hard currency profits. Some state enterprises conducted small-scale trade with Afghanistan and Iran, but private individuals were prohibited from trading directly with foreign partners.

Since 1992 Turkmenistan has been trading directly with the outside world and has significantly increased its international trade turnover. Though the trade volume has fluctuated considerably, experiencing a dramatic decline in the first half of the 1990s, it recovered in the early 2000s. In the international market Turkmenistan sells its primary natural resources (such as gas, oil, electric energy, etc.) and agricultural products (such as **cotton**, leather, wool, etc.), as well as products of its manufacturing sector (such as textiles, footwear, garments, etc.). Its imports consist mainly of manufactured products, machinery, medical supplies, and some others.

Turkmenistan's main export partners are the Ukraine, Italy, Iran, **Russia**, and Turkey (as of 2003), and its main import partners are Turkey, Ukraine, Russia, United Arab Emirates, and France. Accord-

ing to the Economist Intelligence Unit, in 2001 exports to Ukraine, Italy, Iran, Russia, and Turkey amounted to about 46, 18, 11, 6, and 5 percent of total exports, respectively. In terms of imports, in 2001 Turkey was the primary source of Turkmenistan's imports, totaling about 17 percent. It was followed by imports from the Ukraine (12 percent), from Russia (11 percent), from the UAE (8 percent), and from France (6 percent).

TRADE UNIONS. The first trade unions were established in Turkmenistan in 1905–1907 in Asgabat (now **Ashgabat**), but most of them were closed between 1907 and 1917. There was a revival of the trade unions movement between 1917 and 1920. The First Constituent Congress of the Trade Unions of **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (Turkmen SSR) was held on March 28, 1925. The trade unions had about 21,000 members in 1925. During the Soviet era the trade unions enjoyed significant support from the state. They were practically integrated in the Soviet political and economic system. They represented the largest public organization in the republic during the Soviet era, with a membership reaching 1 million people in the late 1980s.

The situation changed radically in 1991, as the trade unions lost their generous state financial subsidies and special relations with the **government**. The Law on Labor regulates the activities of trade unions in Turkmenistan and guarantees the rights of the workers to join trade unions or remain un-unionized. The government generally does not restrict workers' membership in trade unions because in the post-Soviet era the role and power of the trade unions has largely diminished and they do not confront the government on any key economic policy issues.

The National Center of Trade Unions of Turkmenistan (NCTUT) is a direct successor of the Council of Trade Unions. However, the influence and financial viability of the NCTUT diminished significantly after 1991. The NCTUT kept a low profile and had little to say about economic changes. It claimed that it showed only a small decrease in its membership and as of 2003 it has around 1.2 million members; though the scale of the economic recession makes it likely that membership was decreasing at a much higher rate.

Despite all the difficulties and setbacks, the NCTUT contributed to drafting some local labor regulations and advised the government

on such issues as the status of child labor practices and the minimum age for employment, minimum wages, and health and safety in the workplace. In practice, however, these regulations are often ignored and the trade unions rarely protest against violations of workers' rights.

TRANSPORTATION. Transportation is an important sector of the Turkmenistani **economy** accounting for about 6 percent of gross domestic products (2001, est.). The country's transportation system consists of a network of 24,000 kilometers (19,488 kilometers paved) of primary and secondary motor **roads** and around 2,440 kilometers of **railways** (the figure does not include industrial lines) (2004, CIA est.). The country is also served by 72 airports, including small airfields in major cities and towns. There are also 6,634 kilometers of natural **gas** and 853 kilometers of **oil pipelines** (2004, CIA est.). Due to its landlocked situation Turkmenistan depends heavily on the transportation network of the neighboring countries, especially **Iran**, **Kazakhstan**, **Russia**, and **Uzbekistan**, in accessing the international markets. Motor vehicles carry nearly 87 percent of the freight within the republic, and the rest is shipped via railways. According to official statistics, in 2004 total annual passenger traffic was about 546 million people, down from 600 million people in 1990: about 85 percent were carried by buses; about 13 percent by railways. About 200,000 people were transported by **Turkmenistan Airlines** and other airlines.

From the Soviet era, Turkmenistan inherited a relatively well-developed but unevenly distributed transportation network. In the 1990s the **government** invested considerable resources into building high-quality highways and conducted feasibility studies for new pipelines and railways. However, the unified regional transportation system was seriously disrupted by the introduction of passport and customs controls and various restrictions on the borders with the neighboring Central Asian states. Between 2002 and 2012 the republic needs from US$400 million to US$1.5 billion to be able to reconstruct its transportation system according to international standards. The Ministry of Transportation regulates and controls most of the transportation networks, though some **services** in the airports and railways were privatized in the 1990s.

TRIBES. Turkmen society is traditionally divided into tribes (***taipa***)—social groups defined by a tradition or perception of common descent. The Turkmen people are subdivided into several tribal groups (confederations): Teke, Saryk, Yomud, Chovdur, Geklen, Salyr, and Ersary. Some large tribal groups (such as Ersary, Teke, and Yomuds) are subdivided into subgroups—*bolums*. According to Russian anthropologist and ethnologist Yakov Vinnikov, certain tribal subgroups are further subdivided into yet smaller units, *tere* (pronounced—"tee' re"), and then into even smaller units, *lakam*, *kovum*, *kude* (pronounced "ku' de"). The tribal history is preserved in ***shejeres***—genealogical trees of Turkmen families, in which people meticulously record all immediate and distance ancestors. According to genealogical lineage most of the Turkmen tribes are divided into "pure" Turkmen tribes (especially those who trace their origin to legendary **Oguz-Khan**), "half-pure," and non-Turkmen tribes (for example, Owlats, who trace their origin to first four caliphs of Islam).

A major consolidation of the Turkmen tribes took place between the 14th and 17th centuries, when the **Turkmens** began to form a distinct **language**, identity, and culture. This process was at an advanced stage by the beginning of the 19th century. With creation of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** in 1924, the Soviet authorities attempted to consolidate all Turkmens into a "modern Soviet *narod* [nation]" and to overcome tribal division and to replace tribal identity with the national Turkmen identity. In the 1920s and 1930s, in an attempt to weaken the authority of tribal leaders, the Soviet government confiscated the wealth of the tribal leaders and many of them were arrested, executed, or sent into exile in Siberia; or escaped to **Afghanistan**, **Iran**, Turkey, and some other countries. By the 1940s the tribal nobility had been liquidated as a social group in the country. However, the tribal networks underwent significant transformations. Some scholars believe that the tribal networks transformed into patronage and regional networks (so-called **clans**) and penetrated the administrative and political system in the country. Since 1991 there has been a resurgence of public interest in the Turkmen tribal history. Most of the Turkmens are still aware of their tribal affiliation and tribal relations. Tribal and territorial networks play an important role in the contemporary politics. The major tribes and their subdivisions are as follows:

Major Turkmen Tribes and Their Subdivisions

Teke	*Saryk*	*Yomud (Yomut)*	*Chovdur*	*Geklen*	*Salyr*	*Ersary*
Otamysh	Sukty	**Gara-choka**	Igdir	Gaiy	Garaman	**Gara**
Sychmaz	Bairach	Chony-atabai	Chovdur (gara-chovdur)	Doburga	Kichi-aga	**Bekovul**
Uchuruk	Khorasanly	Sheref-zhasharbai	Abbal		Charzheb-saryly	**Ulug-depe**
Bagshy	Alasha	Ak	Bazazhy		Yalaban	**Gunesh**
Dashayak	Kherzeke	Guzhuk	Burunzhyk			Chekish
Burkoz	Gazyl-myrad	Atabai				Kuraish
Sultaniz	Beden	Eomir				Yslam
Toktamysh	Gal-bash	Igdir				Bai
Gokur		Daz				Egem
Amansha-gakche		Bairak				Tagan
Ganzhy-usup		Genekmaz				Gazan
Gagshal		Sheref-yaraly				Mamysh
Aryk-garazha		Baga				Yadany
Gara		Bakhelke				Lambe
Bukri		Mashryk				Sarly
muzhevur		Gozhuk				Erli
		Duezhi				Ushokan
		Yiylgai				Tagachy
		Bairam-shaly				Kulmak
		Gunesh				Garazha
		Salak				Sarkhy
		Okuz				Surkh
		Orsagchy				Chamrak
		Ushak				Akteri
						Azhy
						Esenmenli
						Gyzyl-aiak
						Etbash
						Denazhy
						Gaburby
						Mesir-garabagshy
						Gurama
						Chekir
						Chakyr
						Gabasakal
						Sulaiman
						Omar
						Gyzylzha
						Gurami-genesh

Source: Poliakov, Sergei. *Istoricheskaya etnografia Srednei Azii i Kazakhstana* [Historical Ethnography of Central Asia and Kazakhstan]. Moscow: Moscow State University, 1980, 96.

Note: The names of the major subgroups are in bold.

This is a simplified table and does not show the hierarchy and complex relations between the tribes and within the tribal groups and subdivisions into smaller units.

TURKISTAN. A geographic area, which historically comprised what is now the five Central Asian republics and the Xinjan Autonomous Region in China. In the 19th century **Russia** established its control over the western parts of Turkistan (sometimes called Western Turkistan), while China maintained its control over the eastern parts of Turkistan. Some sources also used the term *Afghan Turkistan* in reference to the Turkic-populated parts of northern **Afghanistan**.

In 1867 the **Russian Empire** established the **Turkistan Governor-Generalship** with its center in Tashkent. This administrative entity covered most of Russian-controlled Turkistan, except the **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate**, which nominally remained independent, and **Zacaspian *oblast***, which was administrated separately. In 1886 the Turkistan Governor-Generalship was renamed Turkistanskii Krai (Turkistan Region). In April 1918 the Fifth All-Turkistan Congress of Soviets established the **Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic** to replace the Tsarist era Turkistanskii Krai. In 1920 it was renamed the **Turkistan Soviet Socialist Republic**. In October 1924 it was abolished and divided in the process of the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** in Central Asia. *See also* TURKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY.

TURKISTAN AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (TASSR). The republic existed between 1918 and 1924 as part of the **Russian Federation** and the Union of the Soviet Socialist Republics. The TASSR was established in Tashkent on April 30, 1918, at the Fifth All-Turkistan Congress of Soviets. Its first Constitution was adopted on October 5–14, 1918, at the Sixth Extraordinary Congress of Soviets. The republic included territories of present-day **Kazakhstan** (its southern ***oblasts***), Kyrgyzstan, **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, and **Uzbekistan** (but excluded the territories of **Bukhara** and **Khiva**). Its total **population** stood at about 5.2 million people (1920 census). Between 1918 and 1919 the TASSR was cut off from the Russian **government** by anti-Bolshevik forces and it functioned as a semi-independent state. The TASSR government and **Turkistan**

Communist Party played an important role in establishing the Soviet administration and control over the territory of the Central Asian region in 1918–1920. In 1920 the new constitution was approved.

The TASSR was officially abolished on October 27, 1924, due to the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** in Central Asia, when it was divided into Central Asian Soviet Republics. The western territories of the TASSR, populated mainly by the **Turkmens**, were consolidated into the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** in 1924.

TURKISTAN COMMUNIST PARTY (TCP). A political organization that existed between 1918 and 1924, with the headquarters in Tashkent. It was inaugurated at the First Congress of the TCP in June 1918 and was formalized at the Second Congress of the TCP in December 1918. The party played a central role in consolidating various Communist and leftist groups on the territory of Central Asia into a disciplined political organization. It also played a key role in establishing and mobilizing support for the Soviet system in 1918–1919. In 1919 Vladimir Lenin suggested sending the **Turkistan** Commission (Turkomissiya) to Tashkent, in order to strengthen the TCP's political stand and institutional structure. The Turkomissiya supervised the establishment of the regional and district structures of the TCP. In 1924 the TCP ceased to exist after the **border delimitation in 1924–1926** in Central Asia. *See also* COMMUNIST PARTY OF TURKMEN SSR.

TURKISTAN GOVERNOR-GENERALSHIP. An administrative entity that existed between 1867 and 1886. It included most of the territory of what is now Kyrgyzstan, **Tajikistan**, and **Uzbekistan** (excluding territories of the **Bukhara Emirate** and **Khiva Khanate**) and was administered by the governor-general—usually a military general in Russian service. The first governor-general—Konstantin Petrovich von Kaufman—served from 1867 until 1882, supervising the acquisition of the new lands, abolishment of the **Kokand Khanate**, and administrative delimitation of **Turkistan** into ***oblasts*** (provinces). In 1886 the Turkistan Governor-Generalship was renamed the Turkistanskii Krai (Turkistan Region, or Turkistan). Some authors continued to use the term *Turkistan Governor-Generalship*

even after 1886. *See also* TURKISTAN AUTONOMOUS SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC.

TURKISTANSKII KRAI. *See* TURKISTAN.

TURKMENABAT (formerly *Charjou* [*Charjew*]). This is the second largest city in the republic after **Ashgabat**. It is one of the largest industrial centers, and the capital of **Lebap *welayat***. The city is located in southern Turkmenistan, 580 kilometers east of Ashgabat. Its **population** stood at about 190,000 (2004, est.), up from about 157,000 (1985, est.), consisting mainly of **Turkmens** and Uzbeks, but it also included significant communities of Russians, Ukrainians, Tatars, Kazakhs, and others. It is an important **industrial** and **transportation** center in eastern Turkmenistan. There are light industry, petrochemical production, **cotton** and **agriculture** processing plants, textile- and shoe-making factories. It is also an important **educational** and cultural center in this part of the republic. There are the Pedagogical Institute, Technical College, an agricultural college, and several high schools. The cultural life of the city revolves around its **libraries**, a theater, and museum. As a ***welayat*** center the city is a transportation hub with its own airport, a three-star hotel, and a **railway** station.

Turkmenabat was founded as a small village in 1886 and was known as Charjou. Most of its growth, however, occurred in the 20th century, when the Soviet authorities invested in the development of local industries and cotton production and processing. The city became the capital of the newly established Charjou ***oblast***. As the city was greatly expanded in the 1960s and 1970s, its **architecture** reflected the combination of Soviet functionalism and mass construction of apartments. Most of the buildings were built of red bricks or concrete, making its central streets similar to all other cities in the republic, although private construction added an oriental flavor to Charjou's architecture. During the post-Soviet era the **government** invested considerably in the reconstruction of the city and in its infrastructure and industries.

TURKMEN AUTONOMOUS OBLAST (TAO). The ***oblast*** was established in August 1921, after the defeat of the **Bukhara Emirate**

and **Khiva** Khanate. It existed until the completion of the **border delimitation of 1924–1926** in Central Asia. It had the status of an autonomous *oblast* under the jurisdiction of the **Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic** (not to be confused with the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic**). It included parts of the former **Zakaspian** ***oblast*** (province) of the **Turkistanskii Krai** (the Turkistan ASSR between 1918 and 1924). It was upgraded to the status of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic on October 27, 1924.

TURKMENBASHY (also *Turkmenbashi* [literally "Head of Turkmens" in Turkmen]; *Krasnovodsk*, sometimes called *Kyzyl-su* [literally "red water" in Turkmen] until 1993). A city on the eastern shore of the **Caspian Sea**, located in western Turkmenistan about 550 kilometers northwest of **Ashgabat**. Its **population** stood at about 60,000 (2004, est.), up from about 56,000 (1979 census), consisting mainly of **Turkmens** and Russians, but also includes Kazakhs, Azerbajanis, and some others. This is the sixth largest city in the republic. Turkmenbashy is an important seaport and **railway** center in northwest Turkmenistan. It houses an **oil** processing plant, a port, secondary schools, **libraries**, hospitals, a post office, railway station, airport, hotels, etc.

It was established as the main seaport, then called Krasnovodsk, in 1869 on the site of a small village, and it was granted the status of city in 1896. During the Soviet era it grew, becoming the most important industrial center and **transportation** hub of both Krasnovodsk ***oblast*** and Turkmenistan. Its importance was enhanced by its strategic location—as the major **railway** station in the country and as the major seaport connecting Turkmenistan to the Caucasus and **Russia**. The Soviet authorities invested in the development of fish processing **industries**, oil processing, docks, a publishing house, and other facilities throughout the 1950s and 1980s. Since 1991 Turkmenbashy has been an important center for companies conducting feasibility studies of various offshore projects on the Caspian Sea. However, most of its traditional industrial enterprises experienced a steep recession, with the notable exception of the oil and **gas** sectors.

TURKMENBASHY (also *Turkmenbashi*, literally "Head of Turkmens" in Turkmen). 1. A title of the first **president** of Turkmenistan—**Saparmurat Niyazov**. In Turkmenistan people and the **mass media** often use the term in reference to the president. 2. In the new Turkmenistan's calendar January was renamed Turkmenbashy in honor of the country's leader.

TURKMENISTAN AIRLINES (also *Turkmenistan Howa Yollary*; *Turkmenistan National Air Company*). A state-controlled **airline** established in 1991 as the successor of the Turkmenistani branch of the Soviet air giant Aeroflot. Turkmenistan Airlines is based at the newly built **Ashgabat** international airport, about 30 kilometers from Ashgabat, but also operates several small airports in major ***welayat*** centers and largest cities. It provides connections to all major cities in Turkmenistan, in Central Asia, and in the **Commonwealth of Independent States** (CIS), though in the 1990s it cut services to numerous unprofitable destinations within the republic and the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics.

In the 1990s Turkmenistan Airlines underwent restructuring and reforms, responding to the steep decline in passenger traffic due to the economic recession, safety concerns, and significant downsizing of private and public spending on air travel. In the mid-1990s the **government** attempted to revive the national airline and to boost **tourism** and facilitate international travel. The Ashgabat airport was renovated and expanded by French contractors. Turkmenistan Airlines bought several Boeing 737-300 and Boeing 737–200 airplanes. In 2004 the company employed about 2,000 people and had a fleet of about 100 airplanes (some of them not operational) and helicopters.

Turkmenistan Airlines is a member of the International Air Transportation Association, and it signed several joint agreements to open flights to new destinations in the CIS, Europe, and Asia. The major regular destinations include (as of 2004): Almaty, Birmingham, Delhi, Dubai, Frankfurt, Hanover, Istanbul, Karachi, London, Moscow, Saint Petersburg, Tashkent, and others. The airline has offices in Moscow, London, Istanbul, Karachi, Abu Dhabi, Delhi, Kiev, and several other cities.

TURKMENISTAN HOWA YOLLARY. *See* TURKMENISTAN AIRLINES.

TURKMEN LANGUAGE. The Turkmen language belongs to the western or Oguz group of the Turkic linguistic family. Some scholars distinguish two major groups of dialects in Turkmenistan. The first include Yomut, Teke, Goklen, Sarik, and other dialects. The second includes Nohur, Anau, Hasar, and some other dialects (mainly spoken by **Turkmens** in **Iran** and **Uzbekistan**). Some influences of Arabic, Farsi, and Russian languages can be traced in the contemporary Turkmen language.

The modern literary Turkmen language was systematized at the beginning of the 19th and 20th centuries. Until 1926 the Turkmen language was based on the Arabic script; from 1926 to 1940 it was based on the Latin script. From 1940 to 1992 it used the Cyrillic (Russian) alphabet with several additional letters. In 1992 the Turkmenistani **government** officially announced a gradual conversion from the Cyrillic to Latin script during a 10-year transitional period. Due to differences in historical developments and cultural and other influences, the modern terminology in the Turkmen language differs significantly from the terminology used in the Turkish language of Turkey or Turkmen of Iran and Iraq. In the 1990s and early 2000s the Turkmen colloquial language experienced a notable influx of English and Turkish words, although this process was limited.

The Turkmen language is spoken by about 6 to 8 million people in Turkmenistan, **Kazakhstan**, Uzbekistan, **Afghanistan**, Iran, Iraq, and Turkey. During the Soviet era the Russian language was introduced in Turkmenistan and became a lingua franca, often replacing Turkmen in major metropolitan areas, in **education** and in public life, especially in the legal and technical areas. However, the Russian language penetrated the Turkmen society to a lesser degree than in Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan. According to the Law on Languages (1990) all state and public institutions were to switch from the Russian to the Turkmen language and to use only the Turkmen language by the end of the 1990s.

TURKMENS (also *Turkomans*, *Turkmenler*, *Turkmeny*). The Turkmens are an ethnic group that makes up the majority of the **population** of Turkmenistan. Until the 1920s they were also sometimes called the Turkomans, while some neighboring nations called them by the names of their **tribes**, e.g., *Yomuds*, *Teke*, etc. Traditionally,

Turkmen society is divided into several major tribes, which historically preserved significant autonomy from each other. The tribal identity is deeply rooted in the psychology of the Turkmens, and every male is expected to know his ancestors for seven generations. The Turkmens speak the **Turkmen language**, one of the languages of the **Oguz** linguistic group of the Turkic language family.

The Turkmens differ significantly from their neighbors, the Kazakhs, Iranians (Persians), and Uzbeks, by certain features of the social, political, cultural, and economic organization of their society, though the Turkmens experienced significant influences from their neighbors. The overwhelming majority of the Turkmens are Sunni Muslims, who turned to **Islam** between the ninth and 15th centuries, though their beliefs incorporate considerable influences of the pre-Islamic past (devotion to ancestors, and others) and traditions of **Sufism**. Yet, after 1991 various religious sects, including **Wahhabists** and others, attempted to penetrate Turkmen society; however, their level of influence is not clear.

There are several competing theories about the origin of the Turkmens and about their links to the ancient civilizations that existed in the territory of what is now Turkmenistan. There are also academic disputes about the relationship of modern Turkmens to the early Turkic and Oguz nomadic empires (the latter controlled significant territories of present-day **Afghanistan**, China, **Iran**, **Kazakhstan**, Mongolia, **Uzbekistan**). At present, official Turkmen historians claim that the Turkmens descended directly from the ancient civilizations, which existed in the territory of what is now Turkmenistan for several centuries or probably longer (12th to 3rd centuries. B.C). They refer to ancient Persian and other historical chronicles and legends. Other scholars claim that the origin of the Turkmens might be traced to the Turkic Khanates (sixth to 10th centuries A.D.). During that era various Turkic-speaking groups began to form the Turkmen ancestor tribes and moved within Greater Central Asia due to the political turbulence and instability of the nomadic empires of that era. Yet a third school claims that the Turkmens consolidated their identity in the 14th to 17th centuries, as they became distinguished from their neighbors and began to develop their culture and language, which increasingly differed from the Turkic languages of their neighbors.

In any case, the Turkmens entered the modern era without their own Turkmen state and were subjected (sometimes just formally) to their powerful neighbors—**Bukhara**, **Khiva**, Persia, etc. In the second half of the 19th century the **Russian Empire** established its control over the Turkmen land, but large areas traditionally populated by the Turkmens remained under control of the Afghan and Persian states. In 1921 the **Turkmen Autonomous Oblast** was established, and in 1924 it obtained the status of the **Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic** (TSSR). The formation of contemporary identity, social and political institutions, literary language, and modern Turkmen culture during the 20th century experienced a heavy influence of the Soviet political and ideological systems and Russian culture and traditions.

During the Soviet era the Turkmens changed their economic activities notably, as the majority of them abandoned the **pastoral nomadic** lifestyle and settled in towns and cities. There was a relatively small number of interethnic marriages and few Turkmens left their republic for other parts of the Soviet Union, though there was significant immigration of non-Turkmen nationalities from all over the Soviet Union.

After 1991 the Turkmens asserted their full political control in the republic, and the Turkmenistani **government** introduced several far-reaching political changes in order to revive some old traditions and traditional institutions and to overcome the legacy of the Soviet era. This included councils of elders, courts of *aksakals*, etc. These reforms were introduced much faster than in neighboring Kazakhstan or Uzbekistan, and significantly reshaped the political and social landscape of the country. Unlike Kazakhstan or Kyrgyzstan, the population movement in Turkmenistan took place on a smaller scale. This was partly due to a smaller proportion of ethnic minorities and partly due to a tighter control of overseas travel and restrictions on external influences. The proportion of Turkmens in the total population of the republic increased from 77 percent in 1991 to about 82 percent in 2004. At present between four and six million Turkmens live outside Turkmenistan, mainly in Afghanistan, Iraq, Iran, Kazakhstan, **Russia**, Turkey, Uzbekistan, and in some other countries. *See also* CLANS.

TURKMEN SOVIET SOCIALIST REPUBLIC (TURKMEN SSR). The Turkmen SSR was established on October 27, 1924, as a full member of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). According to the Soviet constitution, the republic could maintain substantial autonomy in its cultural and domestic affairs, but it was to fully delegate all its **foreign policy**, defense, and security competences to the central Soviet government in Moscow.

In 1924 the **population** of the Turkmen SSR stood at about 1 million people (81 percent living in rural areas) and its total area was around 488,100 square kilometers. The population grew to about 3,185,000 in 1985. The Turkmen SSR was comprised of Ashkhabad (**Ashgabat**) (now **Akhal** ***welayat***), Chardzhou, **Mary**, Tashauz (now **Tashoguz** ***welayat***), and Krasnovodsk (now **Balkan** ***welayat***) ***oblasts*** (provinces), although over time the number of provinces fluctuated due to administrative changes.

In 1991 the Turkmen SSR was officially renamed Turkmenistan and on October 27, 1991, it declared its independence from the Soviet Union. *See also* TURKMEN AUTONOMOUS OBLAST.

TURKMEN STATE UNIVERSITY (TSU). The university was founded in the 1930s as the Turkmen Pedagogical Institute; it obtained university status in 1950 and the status of national university in the 1990. It is the largest and one of the oldest universities in Turkmenistan. Its **library** is one of the biggest in the country. The university has 16 schools (*fakultety*) and specialized centers. It also has its own large botanical garden, a printing center, ethnographic museum, computer center, and several research laboratories. The TSU publishes a university newspaper and the *Uchonyie Zapiski* (Collection of Scientific Studies) series. In addition, it offers postgraduate study programs at its *aspirantura* and *doktorantura*, upon completion of which degrees of *kandidat nauk* and ***doktor nauk*** respectively are awarded. Students are enrolled in full-time five-year undergraduate degree programs, three-year *aspirantura*, or three-year *doktorantura* programs.

Until 1992 this **education** was offered mainly in the Russian and Turkmen languages, and the foreign language department taught English, German, French, Latin, and some other Western languages. Since the early 1990s the TSU has almost fully replaced Russian with

the **Turkmen language** in all faculties and departments. The university became one of the first educational establishments in the country to offer education in the new Latin-based script. In 2004 the TSU enrolled about 10,000 students in undergraduate and postgraduate studies.

TURKSIB (full name *Turkestansko-Sibirskaia Magistral* in Russian). A major, 1,452-kilometer-long **railway** built between 1927 and 1932 as one of the first large **transportation** projects of the Soviet government. It runs from Semipalatinsk and Almaty (**Kazakhstan**) to Kyrgyzstan. In Kyrgyzstan the railroad connects with the Central Asian railroad, and consequently with the Turkmenistan railway system. At present the Turksib is a part of the Kazakh railroad and an important transportation link between Central Asia and **Russian** Siberia via Kazakhstan. In the early 2000s there were plans, supported by the **Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO)**, to integrate the railway system of Central Asia, **Iran**, and Turkey into a transportation corridor to ease access to international markets and to increase the regional trade turnover. This project requires multibillion-dollar investments to upgrade the existing railway system and to build new extensions.

– U –

UNION OF CINEMATOGRAPHERS OF TURKMENISTAN. The public organization established in 1963 as a professional union of the cinematographers of Turkmenistan. The first Congress of the Union was held in 1963, and adopted the major principles and conditions for membership in the organization. The union provided various social benefits and training sessions, assisted young cinematographers and cinema critics in their professional growth, and supervised the distribution of state subsidies for movie productions. It gradually became a rigid corporate-style organization. Until 1991 the Union of Cinematographers of Turkmenistan was part of the Union of Cinematographers of the USSR. The union experienced decay in the 1990s, as it lost most of the state grants and subsidies.

UNION OF JOURNALISTS OF TURKMENISTAN. The public organization, established in 1958, that united the professional journalists in Turkmenistan. The union held its first congress in 1959 and adopted the major principles and conditions for membership in the organization. The union provided various social, professional, and educational benefits; organized training sessions and internships; and assisted young journalists in developing their professional skills. The union had several sections, including a section of translators, of photographers, etc., and had branches in every ***oblast*** center. During the Soviet era the union functioned under the strict control of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** and it gradually became an exclusive corporate-style organization. It played an important role in the Soviet propaganda machinery. After 1991 the union attempted to transform itself into an independent nongovernmental and nonpolitical organization open to professional and independent journalists. *See also* MASS MEDIA.

UNION OF WRITERS OF TURKMENISTAN. The public organization, established in 1934, that united the writers in Turkmenistan. The first congress of the union was held in 1934, which adopted the major principles and conditions for membership in the organization. The union brought together writers and poets in the republic and provided various social benefits and training sessions; arranged translations of the works written by Turkmen writers in the **Turkmen language** into Russian and other major languages of the USSR; and assisted young writers in preparation of their manuscripts for publication. The union functioned under the strict control of the **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR**. It gradually became an exclusive corporate-style organization, which turned away many young talents and nonconformist writers. The Union of Writers of Turkmenistan published the journals *Sovet Edebiaty* (Soviet Literature) in the Turkmen language and *Ashkhabad* in Russian, as well as a newspaper, *Edebiat ve sungat* (Literature and Art). The union experienced decay in the 1990s, as it lost most of its state grants and subsidies.

UNITED STATES. The United States officially recognized the independence of Turkmenistan on December 25, 1991, and formally es-

tablished diplomatic relations with Turkmenistan on February 19, 1992. The U.S. embassy was opened in Ashgabat on March 17, 1992. Jeffrey White served as chargé d'affaires ad interim. Throughout the 1990s Turkmenistan and the United States maintained positive working relations, although U.S. public and human right activists frequently criticized **Ashgabat** for its human rights record and its harsh treatment of the political opposition and independent **mass media**. Turkmenistan expressed its condolence to the U.S. government and victims of the September 11, 2001, terrorist attacks. It provided its airspace for humanitarian and rescue operations by the U.S. and North Atlantic Treaty Organization airplanes, but, unlike Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan, Ashgabat refused to open its territory for a military base during the United States–led war in Afghanistan.

U.S. companies, such as Boeing, General Electric, Mobil, Chevron, and some others, have become active in Turkmenistan since the early 1990s. Several U.S. companies expressed interest in participating in building gas and oil pipelines, although security concerns hampered those projects. The U.S. companies decreased their business activities in early 2000, citing the slow pace of privatization red tape and lack of economic reforms.

The U.S. government has provided assistance to Turkmenistan since the early 1990s. Between 1992 and 2004 Ashgabat received approximately US$250 million through various assistance programs. In addition it received about US$50 million in surplus Department of Defense and privately donated humanitarian commodities. In 2003 the assistance program included the Export Control and Related Border Security program that helped to strengthen the Turkmenistan border guards' capabilities to prevent the transit of weapons of mass destruction, proliferation-related technology, and other banned weapons; International Military Education and Training and Foreign Military Financing to encourage military reform; anticrime training and technical assistance that focused on counternarcotics efforts and improved detection, interdiction, and enforcement capabilities through the establishment of counternarcotics units; construction of a forensics lab for use in counternarcotics investigations.

The U.S. government supported establishment of the Central Asian-American Enterprise Fund, which aimed to promote the

creation and expansion of small to medium-sized business in Turkmenistan as well as in the other Central Asian republics. It also funded training and exchange programs that sought to create Turkmenistan cadres of reform-minded and Western-oriented citizens. Between 1993 and 2003, the U.S. government funded the travel of 1,170 Turkmen citizens to the United States on various exchange programs. In 2003, for example, funding was provided for exchange programs focusing on the education of young people, such as the Future Leaders Exchange, for scholarships to study at the American University of Central Asia in the Kyrgyz Republic, and some others. In addition the United States supported the Internet Access and Training program, which supports six free access sites in five cities in Turkmenistan. In 2003, about 160 Turkmen citizens traveled to the United States on academic and professional exchange programs.

UNOFFICIAL MUSLIM CLERGY. A group of Muslim clergy (mullahs [*mollas*]) that appeared during the Soviet era due to restrictions on a number of registered mosques and official Muslim clergy. They performed various religious rituals and led prayers, but they were not registered with the state authorities. Representatives of unofficial Muslim clergy often received informal Islamic **education** from old sheikhs or mullahs, and they often brought in some local traditions and practices, including those learned from **Sufism**. These mullahs often had more radical views and were critical of the **official Muslim clergy**. The Soviet authorities largely tolerated the existence of the unofficial Muslim clergy as long as they refrained from public actions or interference in the politics. Since 1991 some representatives of this group have been registered with the state authorities. Many of those who did not register joined various grassroots Sufi orders or Islamic groups, including **Hizb-Ut-Tahrir**. *See also* ISLAM.

USSAT (also *khalypa*). 1. A master, teacher, or highly qualified expert in his field. 2. Head of a craftsman shop or a craftsman order in Central Asia. 3. A term used in contemporary Turkmenistan and other parts of Central Asia to refer to an expert, lecturer, or a head of a working group.

UZBEKISTAN (official name *Uzbekiston Respublikasi* or *Uzbekiston*). This republic is located east of Turkmenistan, with which it shares 1,621 kilometers of its border. Uzbekistan is the third largest state in Central Asia (447,000 square kilometers). It is the most populous country in the region, with a **population** estimated at about 25.2 million in 2003, or nearly 45 percent of the total Central Asian population. The Uzbeks account for 80 percent of the population, Russians about 5.5 percent, Tajiks about 5.1 percent, Kazakhs about 3.0 percent, Karakalpaks about 2.5 percent, Tatars about 1.1 percent, and others about 2.5 percent. Between 200,000 and 250,000 **Turkmens** live in Uzbekistan.

During the Soviet era Uzbekistan together with Turkmenistan and other Central Asian Republics was part of the Central Asian economic region and shared most of its **transportation**, **pipelines**, telecommunications, and other infrastructure, as they were built to service the whole region as a single entity. After 1991 Tashkent inherited the most vital parts of this infrastructure network, and there were considerable disagreements over transportation fees, border **trade**, and border control issues between the two states. In 2000 Uzbekistan was among Turkmenistan's largest trading partners. Turkmenistan's trade with Uzbekistan was estimated at 15 percent of its total foreign trade, or at about US$200 million. Turkmenistan exported about US$110 million in goods and **services**, mainly **agricultural** products and machinery, and imported about US$90 million in goods and services, mainly natural **gas**, machinery, and consumer goods.

In November 2002 a group of Turkmen citizens made an assassination attempt on the life of President **Saparmurat Niyazov**. Turkmenistani officials accused Uzbekistan of supporting the plot. Uzbekistan also enforced a strict control and visa regime on the borders between the two countries, leading to numerous complaints among the local citizens. This control of the borders, as well as territorial claims from both sides, since the borders were never formally confirmed during the 20th century, created much of the friction in political relations between the two neighboring countries in the early days of independence. In December 2000 Uzbekistan imposed entry visa requirements for citizens of Turkmenistan, creating a huge obstacle to travel and business between the two republics.

Uzbekistan is a member of the **Central Asian Forum** (formerly Central Asian Economic Union), **Commonwealth of Independent States**, **Commonwealth of Independent States Collective Security Treaty** (Uzbekistan left it in 1999), **Economic Cooperation Organization**, **Organization of the Islamic Conference**, **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe**, Shanghai Cooperation Organization, and some other regional and international organizations.

– V –

VAQF. Religious endowment, properties, and land donated to mosques and ***medreses***. During medieval times the Islamic religious institutions controlled significant areas of arable land in Central Asia, including present-day Turkmenistan. In the 1920s the **government** confiscated the *vaqf* properties and land and distributed it among the local people. In the late 1990s some religious leaders suggested reestablishing the institution of the *vaqf* in Turkmenistan. *See also* ISLAM.

VELAYAT. *See* WELAYAT.

VEZIR (from Arabic *wazir*). 1. A chief minister and advisor to **khans** or sultans in Central Asian and Middle Eastern states in the medieval period. 2. A minister and representative of a sultan in the Ottoman Empire.

– W –

WAHHABISM (also *wahabi, wahabiyah*). A radical puritanical Islamic movement established by Abd-Al-Wahhab (1703–1787) on the Arabian Peninsula. Abd-Al-Wahhab called for a return to the original practices of **Islam** and to the strict application of the Islamic norm (**Shariah**). During the Soviet era Wahhabism was practically unknown in Turkmenistan as the Soviet authorities kept strict control over the religious practices among Muslim communi-

ties in the republic. In the 1990s a significant amount of literature on Wahhabism was allegedly brought to Turkmenistan from Middle Eastern countries and distributed among the Muslim population of **Mary** and **Lebap** *welayats*. In addition several dozens students received **education** or training in religious institutions in the Middle East. Wahhabists received no significant support among the **population** of Turkmenistan, though there were reports that it exerted some appeal among radical Islamic groups in the republic. The Turkmenistani **government** supports Islamic revival in the country and funded the building of many new mosques, but it vigorously resists propagation of any radical Islamic teaching, especially Wahhabism.

WAHHABIST. 1. A follower of **Wahhabism**, who usually adheres strictly to the religious duties of **Islam** as interpreted by Abd-Al-Wahhab. 2. A term often used in Turkmenistan and some other Central Asian Republics to refer to any person who strictly follows the pillars of Islamic belief, though not necessarily a follower of the Wahhabism movement.

WATAN ("fatherland"). A term used among people in some Central Asian Republics. In the 1990s President **Saparmurat Niyazov** introduced the slogan *Khalk, Watan, **Turkmenbashy!*** (People, Fatherland, Turkmenbashy!) as a national motto and a foundation of the state-promoted ideology of an independent Turkmenistan. The slogan was modified to *Khalk, Watan, Beyik Turkmenbashy!* (People, Fatherland, Great Turkmenbashy!).

WELAYAT (also *velayat*). Province. The term *welayat* replaced the Russian term ***oblast*** in **Tajikistan**, Turkmenistan, and **Uzbekistan**, although it is not used in **Kazakhstan** or Kyrgyzstan.

WOMEN. In Turkmen society women traditionally held prominent positions, although some patriarchal traditions affected their social and political status. However, the status of women was significantly different in sedentary areas close to ancient cities, such as **Bukhara**, **Khiva**, or **Merv**, from in the pastoral nomadic rural areas. In the northern and western parts of southern Turkmenistan, where people

were engaged in **pastoral nomadism** until the 20th century, the traditional role of women went far beyond that of being just a housewife. Women played an important part in economic activities and often accompanied and fought alongside their husbands in numerous wars. Meanwhile, in sedentary areas of Turkmenistan, where the influence of settled societies and Islamic traditions was stronger, women were often perceived in their traditional role of housekeepers. They often assumed a secondary role in public life and were often compelled into forced marriages to men who were able to pay ***kalyng*** (dowry). One of the symbols of these differences is the fact that in the past many women in sedentary areas wore a *paranja* (veil) every time they went outside their houses; in contrast, in northern and western Turkmenistan this tradition was not strictly followed.

The Soviet authorities enforced the policy of gender equality in the 1920s. The **liquidation of illiteracy** campaign eliminated mass illiteracy among women by the end of the 1930s and the *kalyng* was outlawed. There was an unofficial but strictly followed policy of quotas for women in all state institutions and public organizations. During the Soviet era women held up to 20 to 30 percent of important public positions in the ruling **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** and in the **government**, including ministerial positions. At the same time, however, the public views of the position of women in family life remained quite conservative, as divorce was strongly discouraged and any relations outside wedlock were strongly disapproved.

The situation changed significantly after independence in 1991. The **Constitution of Turkmenistan** guarantees equal rights of men and women. However, the state abandoned the quota system and women quickly lost most of their positions in the public sector and in government. Still, Turkmen women have organized several women's organizations in order to maintain more prominent positions in public life and defend the rights of women. Some of them, like Shekersoltan Mukhamedova, Gozel Nuraliyeva, Aksoltan Ataeva, and others, obtained ministerial and diplomatic positions and became influential politicians at the national level. However, certain pre-Soviet traditions, such as forced marriages, *kalyng*, the wearing of the *paranja*, and others found their way back, especially in rural areas in **Lebap** and **Mary** ***welayat***.

At present, women constitute about 52 percent of the total **population** of Turkmenistan. The proportion of women among students at the tertiary level was about 58 percent in 2000. Due to the steep economic recession many women lost their jobs, and they constitute between 60 and 70 percent of unemployed people.

– Y –

YASHULY. *See* AKSAKAL.

YIGIT (also *jigit* or *dzhigit*). 1. A horse rider or warrior. 2. In the traditional Turkmen society every young person between age 25 and 40 was obliged to serve in the military in the case of war or armed conflict. 3. In contemporary Turkmenistan the term is often used to refer to a brave and energetic young man.

YOLDOSH (also *yuldash*). 1. Comrade. A formal title widely used in Turkmenistan during the Soviet era, especially with reference to a senior public or **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** official. 2. Friend, companion.

YOUTH UNION NAMED AFTER MAGTYMGULY. A popular youth movement established in November 1991. The organization's main goal is the spiritual development of Turkmenistani youth. It maintains its cells in all major schools, universities, and public organizations, and has branches in every *etrap*, town or city, and ***welayat***. The young people usually join the union in high school and maintain the membership in this organization until the age of 28. The Youth Union publishes the newspaper the *Nesil* and works with the youth TV channel Yaslyk. According to media reports the membership at the movement stood at about 700,000 in 2004. The union held its third congress in **Ashgabat** in May 2004.

YURT (also *yurta*, sometimes called *öý*). A traditional felt tent in Turkmenistan, as well as in Kyrgyzstan, **Kazakhstan**, and Mongolia. It is used for dwelling, especially in the steppes and during military expeditions. The *yurt* consists of a light collapsible wooden lattice

frame, which creates a circular-shaped wall and a cone-shaped roof with a smoke ring on the top. The structure of an assembled *yurt* is covered by felt rugs (traditionally made of **sheep** fleece). The exterior of the *yurt* is often white, although the color of the exterior may vary or may have some nomadic patterns over the exterior walls. The interior of the *yurt* is traditionally divided into a man's part and a **woman's** part, and the center is reserved for a fireplace. The floor is often covered by **carpets** and by a traditional cotton-filled quilt or mattress. The whole *yurt* can be assembled within a few hours and is light enough to be transported on **horses** or camels.

In contemporary Turkmenistan *yurts* are often used as a place for family or public celebration or for a country escape. The popularity of the *yurt* surged after independence in 1991, as *yurts* began to be produced in various sizes and with various internal decorations.

– Z –

ZACASPIAN OBLAST. The *oblast* established by the **Russian Empire** colonial administration, with its center in Askhabat (now **Ashgabat**) in 1882. Its total area was about 532,000 square kilometers and it covered most of the territory of the Turkmen land. The *oblast* consisted of five *uezds* (districts)—Askhabad, Krasnovodsk, Mangyshlak, Merv, and Tenzhen. They were further subdivided into *volost, pristavstvo, aul (**oba**), aksakalstvo,* etc. In 1899 it became part of the Turkistanskii Krai (**Turkistan**). In 1918 the Zacaspian Oblast became part of the newly created **Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (TASSR)**. In 1921 Zacaspian Oblast was renamed Turkmenskaya (Turkmen) Oblast.

ZACASPIAN PROVISIONAL GOVERNMENT. In July 1918 a group led by Fedor Funtikov declared the establishment of the independent Zacaspian Provisional Government that received support from Great Britain. This government was locked in a bitter struggle against the Bolshevik forces and their supporters, and it was responsible for the execution of several prominent Bolshevik commissars in Askhabat (**Ashgabat**) in 1918. In January 1919 the Zacaspian Provi-

sional Government's troops were defeated by the Red Army, and the government was dissolved.

ZAMAN PAJYGALI (also *pajygali dovur*). 1. Period of tragic events or social catastrophes, which affected the whole society. 2. Among the Central Asians the term is often used in reference to the disaster of the popular uprising of 1916 and some particularly destructive natural disasters, such as famine, extremely cold winters, or years of drought.

ZELILI (real name *Kurbandurdy Mametdovlet-ogly*) (1780–1848?). Prominent Turkmen poet, one of the early classics of modern Turkmen poetry. Born in the village of Kara-Guzy, Kurbandurdy Mametdovlet-ogly received formal education from the ***medrese*** Shirgazi (**Khiva**) and *medrese* Geoklen (**Koneurgench**). After graduation he returned to his home and taught at a *medrese*. In 1816 he was captured and taken as a prisoner to Khiva. He was able to return home only after 1825. It was his poetry, however, that made him famous among **Turkmens**. Many of his lyric, patriotic and philosophical poems, such as *Watanym, Seni, Jandan doýan ýaly boldum*, and many others, became songs popular not only in his native region but among all the Turkmens and other peoples of Central Asia. He also composed several poems about love of the fatherland, nostalgia for home, and others themes. In contemporary Turkmenistan he is admired and highly regarded for his contribution to the development of modern Turkmen poetry.

ZNANIYE SOCIETY OF TURKMENISTAN (*Bilim Jemgyyty* in Turkmen). A public organization established in 1947 in Turkmenistan. The society held public lectures on cultural, political, social, and other issues in various parts of the republic, inviting prominent experts in the field. In addition it published several series of brochures, popularizing science and social and legal issues. The **government** and **Communist Party of Turkmen SSR** always heavily censored the political content of the lectures. Initially the society played an important role in Turkmenistan's cultural developments, as most of its members lectured in all parts of the republic, including the most remote areas. However, in the 1970s the organization was

largely reduced to a propaganda machine of the Communist Party of Turkmen SSR. During the Mikhail Gorbachev era (1985–1991) it became one of the few organizations in the republic that, in line with the **perestroika** policy, initiated public discussions of political and economic changes. After 1991 the society lost most of its state subsidies and was closed.

ZYNDAN. 1. A prison during medieval times. 2. A harsh place where people experience extreme discomfort.

Appendix A: Selected Statistical Data

Table 1. Turkmenistan: Main Economic Indicators (1990–2004)

	1990	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Memorandum items								
Population (year-end, millions)	3.7	3.8	3.8	3.9	4.0	4.6	4.7	4.9
GDP (in millions of *manats*)	7,300	17,000	306,000	5,584,000	87,200	652,000	7,751,700	11,108,800
GDP per capita (in U.S. dollars)	340.4	134.6	351.8	1,390.0	517.0	591.9	464.1	495.1
Share of industry in GDP (%)	16.0	20.0	59.0	55.1	38.1	52.8	54.4	32.9
Share of agriculture in GDP (%)	48.0	46.0	19.0	11.5	32.7	16.2	12.6	20.2
Current account/GDP (%)	n.a.	88.6	68.5	14.1	4.0	0.9	0.1	−25.3
External debt—reserves, in US$ millions	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	−650.0	−509.0	−615.0	−504.0	70.5
External debt—GDP (%)	0.0	0.0	0.0	3.1	20.0	20.2	30.6	56.5
External debt/exports of goods and services (%)	n.a.	0.0	0.0	5.8	16.9	22.9	33.5	133.5
Output and expenditure				(Percentage change in real terms)				
GDP[a]	2.0	−4.7	−5.3	−10.0	−17.3	−7.2	−6.7	−11.3
Industrial gross output	3.2	4.8	−14.9	4.0	−27.9	21.4	30.7	−33.0
Agricultural gross output	n.a.	−4.2	−8.5	8.0	−17.6	4.5	−45.2	123.7
Employment				(Percentage change in real terms)				
Labor force (year-end)	n.a.	3.4	3.6	3.1	2.5	9.2	−0.1	0.2
Employment (year-end)	3.4	1.9	0.1	4.4	1.4	5.0	1.8	2.0
				(In percent of labor force)				
Unemployment[b]	2.0	2.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Prices and wages				(Percentage change)				
Consumer prices (annual average)	4.6	103	493	3,102	1,748	1,005	992	83.7
Consumer prices (year-end)	n.a.	155	644	9,750	1,328	1,262	446	21.5
Producer prices (annual average)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Producer prices (year-end)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	1,293.0	n.a.	n.a.
Gross average monthly earnings in economy (annual average)	10.3	92.9	664.5	2,119.3	587.7	639.8	757.1	220.0
External sector				(In millions of U.S. dollars)				
Current account	n.a.	447	927	776	84	24	2	−608
Trade balance	−249	590	1,140	1,100	485	441	304	−259
Merchandise exports[c]	151	1,238	2,149	2,693	2,176	2,084	1,692	743
Merchandise imports[c]	400	648	1,009	1,593	1,691	1,644	1,388	1,003
Foreign direct investment, net	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	79	103	233	108	108
Gross reserves (year-end), excluding gold[d]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	818	927	1,165	1,172	1,285
External debt stock	0	0	0	168	418	550	668.	1,356

Source: Strategy for Turkmenistan. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2002.
[a]Data for 2001 EBRD estimates. Official GDP growth was 20.5 percent, but there are serious data concerns over this figure.
[b]Every Turkmen citizen is guaranteed employment, thus official unemployment does not exist.
[c]From 1996 exports of gas are recorded free of board and transit costs are added to imports.
[d]Foreign exchange reserves of the central bank plus the foreign exchange reserve fund.
[e]Economist Intelligence Unit. Turkmenistan Country Report, January 2004, 10.

(*continued*)

Table 1. Turkmenistan: Main Economic Indicators (1990–2004) (*continued*)

	1998	*1999*	*2000*	*2001*	*2002*	*2003[e]*	*2004[e]*
Memorandum items							
Population (year-end, millions)	5.0	5.2	5.4	5.5	5.8	n.a.	n.a.
GDP (in millions of *manats*)	13,995,000	20,056,000	22,900,000	30,062,905	39,192,910	n.a.	n.a.
GDP per capita (in U.S. dollars)	509.9	452.5	474.6	537.5	622.6	n.a.	n.a.
Share of industry in GDP (%)	27.6	32.0	38.0	37.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Share of agriculture in GDP (%)	25.2	27.0	26.0	23.0	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Current account/GDP (%)	−37.4	−24.8	15.2	−2.5	0.8	n.a.	n.a.
External debt—reserves, in US$ millions	370.0	492.0	422.0	345.0	255.0	n.a.	n.a.
External debt—GDP (%)	98.7	87.0	87.8	81.1	58.3	n.a.	n.a.
External debt/exports of goods and services (%)	209.9	150.3	84.2	86.4	67.7	n.a.	n.a.
Output and expenditure			**(Percentage change in real terms)**				
GDP[a]	5.0	16.0	17.6	12.0	8.5	n.a.	n.a.
Industrial gross output	25.8	13.0	29.0	11.0	15.0	23.0	10.0
Agricultural gross output	8.7	35.0	17.0	15.0	0.0	n.a.	n.a.
Employment			**(Percentage change in real terms)**				
Labor force (year-end)	5.5	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Employment (year-end)	1.3	0.7	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
			(In percent of labor force)				
Unemployment[b]	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Prices and wages			**(Percentage change in real terms)**				
Consumer prices (annual average)	16.8	24.2	8.3	11.6	14.4	10.5	11.0
Consumer prices (year-end)	19.8	21.2	7.4	11.7	18.3	n.a.	n.a.
Producer prices (annual average)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Producer prices (year-end)	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
Gross average monthly earnings in economy (annual average)	46.3	21.9	60.3	35.0	30.0	n.a.	n.a.
External sector			**(Percentage change)**				
Current account	−952	−583	386	−74	30	n.a.	n.a.
Trade balance	−539	−210	644	325	450	n.a.	n.a.
Merchandise exports[c]	597	1,162	2,383	2,526	2,800	3,400	3,530
Merchandise imports[c]	1,136	1,372	1,739	2,201	2,350	2,500	2,850
Foreign direct investment, net	62	125	126	133	150	n.a.	n.a.
Gross reserves (year-end), excluding gold[d]	1,379	1,555	1,808	2,055	1,845	n.a.	n.a.
External debt stock	1,749	2,047	2,230	2,400	2,100	n.a.	n.a.

Source: *Strategy for Turkmenistan*. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2002.
[a]Data for 2001 EBRD estimates. Official GDP growth was 20.5 percent, but there are serious data concerns over this figure.
[b]Every Turkmen citizen is guaranteed employment, thus official unemployment does not exist.
[c]From 1996 exports of gas are recorded free of board and transit costs are added to imports.
[d]Foreign exchange reserves of the central bank plus the foreign exchange reserve fund.
[e]Economist Intelligence Unit. Turkmenistan Country Report, January 2004, 10.

Table 2. Turkmenistan: Summary Monetary Accounts, 1996–2000 (in billions of *manats*)

	1996	1997	1998	
	Dec.	Dec.	Mar.	June
Net foreign assets	4,282	3,275	3,140	4,158
Foreign assets	4,765	5,350	5,293	6,816
Foreign liabilities	483	2,076	2,152	2,658
Net domestic assets	−3,904	−2,587	−2,536	−3,347
of which: *manat* net domestic assets	117	190	417	592
Net credit to government	−4,562	4,824	5,047	6,458
Budgetary support	8	52	70	137
Foreign exchange reserve fund (net)	−4,569	−4,878	5,117	6,596
Credit to the economy	567	2,118	2,184	2,675
Credit to state enterprises	567	2,118	2,184	2,675
In *manats*	19	19	21	19
In foreign currency	549	2,099	2,164	2,656
Credit to the private sector	0	0	0	0
Credit to banks	278	565	720	756
Other items (net)	−187	−445	−393	−320
Reserve money	364	545	475	510
Currency issued	281	423	403	461
Bank deposits	83	122	72	50
Other deposits	14	142	129	301
Gross international reserves (in millions of U.S. dollars)	1,171	1,285	1,271	1,311
In months of imports	10	15	13	14
of which: FERF (in millions of US$)	1,143	1,194	1,228	1,268
CBT (in millions of US$)	27	91	42	42
Memorandum items:				
Reserve money (percentage change)				
Quarterly	48.6	13.1	−12.8	7.4
Annual	348.3	49.9	2.7	25.5

Source: International Monetary Fund. *Turkmenistan: Recent Economic Trends*. Washington, D.C.: IMF, 1999, 109.
*European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Estimates: *Strategy for Turkmenistan*. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2002.

(*continued*)

Table 2. Turkmenistan: Summary Monetary Accounts, 1996–2000 (in billions of *manats*) (*continued*)

	1998		1999		2000	2001	2002
	Sep.	*Dec.*	*Mar.*	*June*			
Net foreign assets	4,144	4,531	4,762	4,937			
Foreign assets	6,835	7,171	7,382	7,549			
Foreign liabilities	2,691	2,639	2,620	2,612			
Net domestic assets	−3,148	−3,124	3,011	3,499			
of which: *manat* net domestic assets	870	1,219	1,344	980			
Net credit to government	6,557	6,603	6,637	6,877			
Budgetary support	168	412	519	453			
Foreign exchange reserve fund (net)	6,725	7,015	7,156	7,330			
Credit to the economy	2,732	2,722	2,995	2,899			
Credit to state enterprises	2,732	2,722	2,995	2,899			
In *manats*	24	50	194	48			
In foreign currency	2,708	2,671	2,801	2,851			
Credit to the private sector	0	0	0	0			
Credit to banks	985	1,024	855	836			
Other items (net)	−308	−267	−224	−358			
Reserve money	718	1,157	1,509	1,223			
Currency issued	646	1,052	1,183	949			
Bank deposits	71	105	326	274			
Other deposits	279	251	242	215			
Gross international reserves (in millions of U.S. dollars)	1,314	1,379	1,420	1,452			
In months of imports	14	15	16	16			
of which: FERF (in millions of US$)	1,293	1,349	1,376	1,410			
CBT (in millions of US$)	21	30	43	42			
Memorandum items:							
Reserve money (percentage change)							
Quarterly	40.6	61.2	30.4	−18.9			
Annual	48.9	112.2	217.5	139.7	84.2*	86.4*	67.7*

Source: International Monetary Fund. *Turkmenistan: Recent Economic Trends*. Washington, D.C.: IMF, 1999, 109.
*European Bank for Reconstruction and Development Estimates: *Strategy for Turkmenistan*. European Bank for Reconstruction and Development, 2002.

Table 3. Turkmenistan: Agricultural Production, 1990–2003

	1991	*1992*	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*	*1996*
Grains	516.6	722.2	974.0	1,106.2	1,109.2	556.4
Wheat	205.6	373.6	508.7	711.7	878.7	453.1
Rice	53.8	64.0	87.8	113.9	88.8	40.9
Cotton	1,432.8	1,300.0	1,341.0	1,282.9	1,294.4	435.5
Potatoes	30.3	34.5	31.4	20.2	20.5	21.3
Vegetables	388.4	311.7	285.6	386.0	376.4	310.00
Grapes	167.3	125.2	114.0	132.8	163.0	94.0
Meat	175.1	172.1	192.3	189.0	196.1	199.5
Milk	458.2	470.6	711.0	716.3	727.3	754.8
Eggs (millions)	299.9	292.0	267.1	270.2	270.0	273.1
Wool	16.3	17.0	18.5	19.2	19.3	19.2
Livestock and poultry (thousands)						
Cattle	899.0	1,004.1	1,104.5	1,181.5	1,199.6	1,155.6
Sheep	5,599.1	6,265.0	6,314.1	6,503.0	6,574.0	6,138.1
Poultry	6,483.0	6,461.0	6,528.0	5,781.0	4,991.2	4,237.3

	1997	*1998*	*1999*	*2000**	*2001**	*2002**	*2003**
Grains	760.1	1,290.0	1,543.6	1,958.0	2,280.0	2,506.0	2,718.0
Wheat	706.9	1,229.4	1,510.6	1,645.0	1,800.0	1,900.0	2,000.0
Rice	27.3	14.7	19.4	41.2	47.0	52.0	63.0
Cotton	635.2	704.9	1,304.1	1,500.0	2,000.0	2,200.0	2,300.0
Potatoes	17.1	28.9	44.1	—	—	—	
Vegetables	241.2	294.6	305.9	345.0	392.0	446.0	505.0
Grapes	131.4	139.7	153.4	—	—	—	—
Meat	198.4	227.9	234.0	—	—	—	—
Milk	755.4	765.6	877.9	—	—	—	—
Eggs (millions)	274.1	277.2	325.2	350.0	413.0	481.0	563.0
Wool	17.9	18.9	19.7	—	—	—	—
Livestock and poultry (thousands)							
Cattle	1,128.5	1,423.7	1,571.5	—	—	—	—
Sheep	5,956.8	6,052.1	7,200.4	7,987.0	8,788.0	9,589.0	10,390.0
Poultry	4,234.9	3,155.8	4,033.8	—	—	—	—

Source: Turkmenistan, vozropzhdenyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Turkmenbashy the Great: The Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts]. Ashgabat, 2002, 24–25, 41–43.

Table 4. Turkmenistan: Cargo Transportation by Transportation Enterprises, 1992–2003 (in millions of tons, unless otherwise specified)

	1992	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*	*1998*	*1999*	*2000*	*2001*	*2002*	*2003*
All types of transportation	87.1*	125.4	94.4	76.9	91.3	79.8	—	—	—	—	—	
Railway	22.8	18.4	13.8	10.1	8.0	8.7	—	—	10**	11.5**	13**	14.7**
Pipelines	11.3	59.1	32.7	32.5	36.1	23.7	—	—	25**	27.8**	30.6**	33**
Sea transportation	—	0.03	0.05	0.09	0.12	0.13						
Inland water transport	1.4	1.6	1.3	1.3	1.5	1.7						
Motor transport	51.6	46.3	46.5	32.9	45.6	45.6	—	—	50**	57**	65**	72**
Air transport (1,000 tons)	9.6	14.0	16.8	7.9	7.6	8.2	—	—	14.8**	18.3**	21**	24.2**

Source: 10 Years of the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991–2000): Statistical Abstract. Moscow: SNG Stat, 2001, 623.
*Excluding sea transportation
**_Turkmenistan, vozropzhdenyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh_ [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Turkmenbashy the Great: The Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts]. Ashgabat, 2002, 39.

Table 5. Turkmenistan: Passenger Transportation by Transport Enterprises, 1992–2003 (in millions of people)

	1992	*1993*	*1994*	*1995*	*1996*	*1997*
All types of transportation	301.3	311.2	330.1	304.3	345.9	354.3
Railway transportation	5.9	4.9	4.8	5.2	7.2	5.7
Bus transportation	252.1	273.1	280.3	274.3	307.5	322.6
Taxi transportation	18.4	9.2	12.7	—	5.5	2.8
Trolley bus transportation	23.2	22.2	30.4	23.6	24.5	22.1
Sea transportation	—	0.010	0.000	0.000	0.000	—
Air transportation	1.7	1.8	1.9	1.2	1.2	1.1

	1998	*1999*	*2000**	*2001**	*2002**	*2003**
All types of transportation	—	—				
Railway transportation	—	—	2.5	2.8	3.1	3.5
Bus transportation	—	—				
Taxi transportation	—	—				
Trolley bus transportation	—	—				
Sea transportation	—	—	0.123	0.144	0.171	0.218
Air transportation	—	—	1.5	1.6	1.8	

Source: 10 years of the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991–2000): Statistical Abstract. Moscow: SNG Stat, 2001, 623.
*Government estimates. _Turkmenistan, vozropzhdenyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh_ [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Turkmenbashy the Great: The Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts]. Ashgabat, 2002, 40.

Table 6. Turkmenistan: Schools, Higher and Secondary Specialized Educational Institutions by Region*

		Schools		*Universities*		*Specialized Institutions*	
Region	*School Year*	*Total*	*Students 1,000*	*Total*	*Students 1,000*	*Total*	*Students 1,000*
Total	1995–1996	1996	940.6	15	32.1	37	13.8
	1996–1997	1947	922.9	16	29.1	22	11.5
	1997–1998	1958	947.9	16	25.8	19	9.0
	1998–1999	1948	973.2	16	23.2	19	6.7
Ashgabat	1995–1996	72	69.3	13	27.1	12	3.8
	1996–1997	71	69.7	14	25.3	7	3.6
	1997–1998	73	73.5	14	22.8	7	3.6
	1998–1999	76	77.4	14	20.7	7	2.6
Welayats							
Akhal	1995–1996	298	149.6	—	—	4.0	0.5
	1996–1997	301	146.6			1.0	0.6
	1997–1998	304	150.3				
	1998–1999	301	151.1				
Balkan	1995–1996	199	77.9	—	—	4	1.5
	1996–1997	199	74.8			4	1.0
	1997–1998	200	74.8			2	0.8
	1998–1999	191	73.9			2	0.8
Dashoguz	1995–1996	576	215.1	—	—	4	2.1
	1996–1997	577	211.7			3	2.0
	1997–1998	575	216.6			3	1.5
	1998–1999	568	222.6			3	1.1
Lebap	1995–1996	415	205.7	1	4.2	8	3.1
	1996–1997	413	202.7	1	3.1	4	2.1
	1997–1998	420	209.5	1	2.3	4	1.3
	1998–1999	426	216.0	1	1.9	4	0.8
Mary	1995–1996	386	223.0	1	0.8	5	2.8
	1996–1997	386	217.4	1	0.7	3	2.2
	1997–1998	386	223.2	1	0.7	3	1.8
	1998–1999	386	232.2	1	0.5	3	1.3

Source: Turkmenistan: National Human Development Report, 1999. Ashgabat: United Nations Development Program, 1999, 41.
*Students studying abroad are excluded.

Table 7. Turkmenistan: Information and Communication Technologies (ICT) at a Glance

Country background information	*1995*	*2002*	*Europe and Central Asia*	*Lower Middle Income*
Poverty (% of population below $1 per day)	—	12.1	—	—
Adult literacy rate (% ages 15 and over)	98.0	97*	97.4	86.6
Urban population (% of total population)	44.5	45.2	62.7	49.4
Gross national income per capita (atlas method, $)	1,020	1,200	2,160	1,390
Gross national income per capita (purchasing power parity, $)	3,080	4,570	6,690	5,130
Gross domestic product growth (1990–1995 and 1995–2002, %)	−9.6	9.0	2.8	
Scientists and engineers in research and development (per million people)	—	—	2,068	807.5
Expenditures for research and development (% of GDP)			0.8	0.9
ICT infrastructure and access				
Telephone mainlines per 1,000 people	71.0	80	235	146
In largest city	153.0	155	449	524
Waiting list (1,000 people)	85.0	61	12,155	27,675
Revenue per line ($)	82.0	127	268	283
Cost of local call ($ per 3 minutes)	—	0.06 (0.015)**	0.08	0.04
Mobile phones (per 1,000 people)	—	2	141	110
International communications	—	—	—	—
Outgoing traffic (minutes per subscriber)	44.0	50	65	58
Cost of call to U.S. ($ per 3 minutes)	—	11,7 (3.0)**	2.13	4.5
Daily newspapers (per 1,000 people)	—	7	102	
Radios (per 1,000 people)	235.0	256	447	346
Television sets (per 1,000 people)	187.0	196	407	
Computers and Internet	*1995*	*2001*	*2001*	*2001*
Personal computers (per 1,000 people)			52.1	28.1
Computers installed in educational institutions (thousands)	—	—	—	—
Internet users (thousands)	—	8.0	18,777	68,936.9

Source: World Bank. *ICT at a Glance: Turkmenistan, 2003*. World Bank, 2003
*UNDP estimates (2001).
**As of April 2004. Price in commercial exchange rate is given in parentheses.

Table 8. Turkmenistan: Output of Selected Industrial and Manufacturing Production, 1991–2004

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997
Electric power, billions of kilowatt-hours	15.0	13.2	12.6	10.5	9.9	10.1	9.5
Oil, millions of tons	5.4	5.2	4.8	4.4	4.5	4.9	5.4
Gas, billions of cubic meters	84.3	60.1	65.3	35.7	32.3	35.2	17.3
Cement, thousands of tons	9.4	1,050.0	1,118.0	690.0	437.0	438.0	601.0
Cotton yarn, thousands of tons	5.3	5.4	5.1	5.3	11.4	20.8	23.7
Cotton fabric, millions of square meters	29.2	31.2	30.9	24.8	23.2	32.2	35.0
Flour	450	457	430	439	442	342	315.9

	1998	1999	2000	2001*	2002*	2003*	2004*
Electric power, billions of kilowatt-hours	9.4	8.9	8.8	9.1	9.4	9.7	9.9
Oil, millions of tons	6.8	7.2	10.0	11.0	13.5	19.5	24.0
Gas, billions of cubic meters	13.3	22.9	38.0	41.6	61.8	67.1	75.4
Cement, thousands of tons	750.0	780.0	1,000.0	1,200.0	1,200.0	1,200.0	1,200.0
Cotton yarn, thousands of tons	28.8	40.5	41.1	43.3	49.4	53.5	60.5
Cotton fabric, millions of square meters	38.9	41.3	48.1	51.0	55.4	74.5	85.8
Flour	371.8	512.7	—	—	—	—	—

Source: Turkmenistan, vozropzhdenyi geniem velikogo Turkmenbashy: Zolotaia epokha Turkmenistana v tsifrakh i faktakh [Turkmenistan, Revived by the Genius of Turkmenbashy the Great: The Golden Epoch of Turkmenistan in Numbers and Facts]. Ashgabat, 2002, 23, 36–38.

*Government prognosis.

Table 9. Turkmenistan: Employment of Population by Sector (in thousands)

	1991	1992	1993	1994	1995	1996	1997	1998	1999	2002	2003
TOTAL	1,527.4	1,577.5	1,627.9	1,691.5	1,748.7	1,780	1,815.9	1,838	1,908		
Industries	154.3	154.6	169.3	169.1	176.6	183.4	203.4	229.8			
Agriculture, forestry, and fishery		646.1	695.7	711.4	739.2	783	811.8	844.4	887.5		
Construction	163.4	164.1	169.3	170.8	159.1	146	132.2	108.2			
Transport and communication	90.1	85.2	83	86.3	83.9	83.7	87.2	90.7			
Wholesale and retail trade		85.5	88.3	100.9	108.3	110.2	108.3	109.0	115.8		
Consumer services, real estate, etc.	36.7	34.7	39.1	47.4	47.2	53.4	50.8	48.3			
Health, social work, etc.	84.0	82.0	96.1	98.1	101.4	103.3	109.0	89.2			
Education, culture, and art	177.2	171.9	182.3	187.8	194.1	195.8	197.9	190.5			
Science, research, etc.	13.7	11.0	9.8	10.1	10.5	10.7	7.3	5.2			
Public administration and management	32.1	44.2	22.8	22.0	24.5	26.7	27.2	28.8			
Others											

Source: 10 years of the Commonwealth of Independent States (1991–2000): Statistical Abstract. Moscow: SNG Stat, 2001, 607.

Table 10. Ethnic Trends in Turkmenistan (in thousands)

	1926	1939	1959	1970	1989	1995	2004*
Ethnic Group%	No. %	No %	No %	No %	No %	No %	No %
Turkmens	719.79 (73.7%)	741.4 (59.2%)	923.7 (60.9%)	1,416.7 (65.6%)	2,536.6 (72.0%)	3,449.6 (77%)	5,127.3 (81%)
Russians	75.35 (7.7%)	232.9 (18.6%)	262.7 (17.3%)	313.0 (14.5%)	333.8 (9.4%)	300.1 (6.7%)	n.a.
Uzbeks	104.9 (10.7%)	107.4 (8.6%)	125.2 (8.2%)	179.4 (8.3%)	317.3 (9.0%)	412.1 (9.2%)	n.a.
Kazakhs	9.47 (0.9%)	61.3 (4.9%)	69.5 (4.5%)	68.5 (3.1%)	87.8 (2.5%)	n.a.	n.a.
Tatars	4.7 (0.5%)	19.5 (1.6%)	29.9 (1.9%)	36.4 (1.6%)	39.2 (1.1%)	n.a.	n.a.
Ukrainians	6.8 0.7%	21.7 (1.7%)	20.9 (1.3%)	35.3 (1.6%)	35.5 (1.0%)	n.a.	n.a.
Armenians	13.8 (1.4%)	15.9 (1.3%)	19.7 (1.2%)	23.0 (1.0%)	31.8 (0.9%)	n.a.	n.a.
Belujis	9.97 (1.0%)	5.3 (0.4%)	7.6 (0.5%)	12.3 (0.5%)	28.2 (0.8%)	n.a.	n.a.
Others	(3.0%)					n.a.	n.a.
Total	975.59 (100%)	1,251.8 (100%)	1,516.3 (100%)	2,158.8 (100%)	3,552.7 (100%)	4,483.2 (100%)	6,329.0 (100%)

*Official estimates.

Appendix B: Changes in Geographic Names

Since 1991 a significant number of geographic names have been changed in Turkmenistan in order to reflect the new political and cultural environment. This also reflects an attempt to replace Russian names, which were widely introduced during the 20th century, by traditional Turkmen names. This list provides major changes in geographic names. All new geographic names are written according to the contemporary Turkmen spelling.

WELAYATS (FORMERLY *OBLASTS*)

Ashgabat *oblast*	Ahal *welayat*
Charjou (Chargew) *oblast*	Lebap *welayat*
Krasnovodsk *oblast*	Balkan *welayat*
Mary *oblast*	Mary *welayat*
Tashauz *oblast*	Dashoguz (Daşoguz) *welayat**

ETRAPS (DISTRICTS) IN AHAL *WELAYAT*

Bahardenskii *raion*	Baharly *etrap*
Geok-tepinskii *raion*	Gokdepe *etrap*
Ashkhabat *raion*	Ruhabat *etrap*
Giaverskii *raion*	Ak Bugday *etrap*
Kakinskii *raion*	Kaka *etrap*
Kirovskii *raion*	Babaykhan *etrap*
Tejenskii *raion*	Tejen *etrap*
Serakhskii *raion*	Saragt *etrap*
Altyn Asyrskii *raion*	Altyn Asyr *etrap*

ETRAPS (DISTRICTS) IN LEBAP *WELAYAT*

Darganatinskii *raion*	Birata *etrap*
Boinyuzinskii *raion*	Garassyzlyk *etrap*
Denevskii *raion*	Galkynys *etrap*
Chardzhevskii *raion*	Serdarabat *etrap*
Farapskii *raion*	Farap *etrap*
Sayatskii *raion*	Sayat *etrap*
Karabekaulskii *raion*	Garabekewul *etrap*
Kerkinskii *raion*	Atamurat *etrap*
Khalachskii *raion*	Halach (Halaç) *etrap*
Khadzhambazskii *raion*	Hojambaz *etrap*
Charshangynskii *raion*	Koytendag *etrap*
Saparmurat Niyazov *raion*	Beyik Turkmenbashy
Sakarskii *raion*	Sakar *etrap*

ETRAPS (DISTRICTS) IN BALKAN *WELAYAT*

Krasnovodskii *raion*	Saparmurat Turkmenbashy *etrap*
Gazandzhinskii *raion*	Bereket *etrap*
Gyzylarbatskii *raion*	Serdar *etrap*
Garrygalinskii *raion*	Magtymguly *etrap*
Gyzyletrekskii *raion*	Etrek *etrap*
Esengulyiskii *raion*	Esenguly *etrap*

ETRAPS (DISTRICTS) IN MARY *WELAYAT*

Bairamalyiskii *raion*	Bairamaly *etrap*
Maryiskii *raion*	Mary *etrap*
Vekilbazarskii *raion*	Wekilbazar *etrap*
Sakarchiaginskii *raion*	Sakarçage *etrap*
Murgapskii *raion*	Murgap *etrap*
Turkmengaliski *raion*	Turkmengala *etrap*
Yoletinskii *raion*	Yolaten *etrap*
Tagtabazarskii *raion*	Tagtabazar *etrap*
Garagumskii *raion*	Garagum *etrap*

Parakhatskii *raion*	Oguzhan *etrap*
Gushgynskii *raion*	Serhetabat *etrap*

ETRAPS (DISTRICTS) IN DASHOGUZ (DAŞOGUZ) *WELAYAT*

Tashauzskii *raion*	Dashoguz (Daşoguz) *etrap*
Tagdynskii *raion*	Goroglu *etrap*
Kalininskii *raion*	Boldumsaz *etrap*
Telmanskii *raion*	Gubadag *etrap*
Leninskii *raion*	Akdepe *etrap*
Koneurgenchskii *raion*	Koneurgench (Koneürgenç) *etrap***
Yiylanskii raion	Yylanly *etrap*
Oktiabrskii raion	Saparmurat Turkmenbashi *etrap*

CITIES AND TOWNS

Ashkhabad	Ashgabat (Asgabat)
Chargou	Turkmenabat (Türkmenabat)
Mary	Mary
Tashauz	Dashoguz (Daşoguz)
Nebitdag	Balkanabat
Krasnovodsk	Turkmenbashy (Türkmenbaşy)
Bairamaly	Bayramaly
Tedzhen	Tejen
Kyzylarbat	Serdar
Kerki	Atamurat
Cheleken	Hazar
Yoloten	Yoloten
Gazandzhyk	Bereket
Kushka (Gushgy)	Serhetabat
Kunaurgench	Koneurgench (Koneürgenç)
Seidi	Seyidi
Govurdak	Magdanly
Shatlyk	Shatlyk (Şatlyk)
Gumdag	Gumdag
Kara-bogaz	Garabogaz
Archabil	Archabil (Arçabil)

*The Turkmen spelling is *Daşoguz*. The English spelling is *Dashoguz*. (The Turkmen letter ª is pronounced and written as "sh").

**The Turkmen word Koneürgenç is spelled *Koneurgench* in English.

Source: *Neitralnyi Turkmenistan* newspaper (various years).

Additional information was obtained from Turkmenistan's Central Library (Ashgabat) in March 2004.

For Soviet-era geographic names see also *SSSR: Administrativnoie delenie souznikh respublik* [USSR: Administrative Composition of the Union Republics]. Moscow, 1965, 470–474.

Bibliography

This bibliography of selected publications on Turkmenistan and the Turkmen people is designed to help scholars, students, and the general public in further study of this country, people, and the Central Asian region in general. In the age of information technology it is virtually an impossible task to cover all publications and all sources in the limited space provided. There are several books available that comprehensively cover the history of Central Asia, including Turkmenistan. In addition, there are several dozen websites that provide useful Internet links, bibliography, and statistical data for further studies of Central Asia. At present, the single and most comprehensive bibliographical work is Yuri Bregel's three-volume *Bibliography of Islamic Central Asia* published in 1995, which contains bibliographical references to thousands of books in English, Russian, French, German, Central Asian languages, and other languages as well. Therefore, I chose the most prominent modern works, which can lead readers to other publications, giving priority to the most recent works. This bibliography is divided into several sections for easier navigation through the large body of contemporary works on related issues.

Travel narratives and travel reports comprise one group of publications that provide interesting information about the 18th to 19th centuries of Turkmenistan for both scholars and the general public. In the 17th and 18th centuries a number of Middle Eastern scholars and travelers described the land to the north of Iran and the Turkomans—the people who lived in this untamed environment. Some of those works, which were originally written in Arabic, Farsi, or Turkish, have been translated and are available in English, French, Russian, and other European languages.

European explorers, spies, and adventurers, who traveled to the region in the late 18th and the 19th centuries, produced very interesting and important accounts of events and travel reports. Russian geographers and travelers wrote most of these reports, as the Russian Empire was one of the powers that had a particular interest in the Central Asian region, including the land populated by Turkmens. This interest was rooted in the desire to secure the Caspian trade route with its southern neighbors, especially with Iran, Turkistan (the Russian name for the Central Asian region), and India. In the late 18th century the Russians were

among the first European researchers who produced a comprehensive description of the land to the east of the Caspian Sea, of its people, customs, environment, and history. In the 19th century the Anglo-Russian competition, known as the "Great Game," promoted further scholarly studies by Western researchers.

Among the most interesting travel reports and books of that era are works written by several Russian orientalists including G. E. Danilevskii, N. N. Muraviov, N. Khanykov, M. N. Galkin, Grigorii Karelin, and others, who traveled through the Bukhara Emirate and Khiva Khanates and the land populated by Turkmens in the 19th century. For example, N. N. Muraviov's *Puteshestvie v Turkmeniu i Khivu v 1819–1820 gg.* [The Journey to Turkmenia and Khiva in 1819–1820] was published in Moscow and provided valuable information about the Turkmen land and people of that era. This group of scholars produced brilliant studies of the customs, traditions, religious and everyday practices of Central Asian people in general and Turkmens in particular; however, many of them were written in Russian and never translated into English.

Numerous reports and books written by Western scholars can also be found among the publications of that era. There were many Western travelers who managed to survive the inhospitable deserts and mountains of Central Asia, including A. Jeningson, I. Blankennagel, Arminius Vamberi, and others. For example, in the early 19th century James Baillie Fraser published his *Narrative of a Journey into Khorasan* (1825) and Arthur Conolly, who visited Iran (then Persia), Central Asia, and Russia, published his book *Journey to the North of India, Overland from Russia, Persia and Afghanistan* (1838), which described customs and traditions of various people, including the Turkmens. A few decades later, Arminius Vamberi published his widely acclaimed *Travels to Central Asia: Being the account of a journey from Teheran across the Turkoman desert on the eastern shore of the Caspian to Khiva, Bokhara, and Samarkand, performed in the year 1863* (1864); *Travels in Central Asia* (1865); *Sketches of Central Asia: Additional chapters on my travels, adventures, and on the ethnology of Central Asia* (1868); and several other books, which appeared in English, German, and Russian. Around the same time Eugene Schuyler published his narratives of travels through Central Asia in *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja* (1876).

More systematic works were produced in the second half of the 19th century, as the Russians sent several expeditions that had the specific purpose of studying Turkmen history and geography and collecting historical materials, including archeological artifacts, original documents, and narratives. M. Alikhanov, E. Ibragimov, P. M. Lessar, N. G. Petrusevich, and many others published valuable reports. Those useful sources include Nikolai Grodekov's *Voina v Turkmenii: Pokhod Skobeleva v 1880–1881 gg.* [The War in Turkmenia: The Assault of Skobelev in 1880–1881] in four volumes (1883–1884). In addition some Russian administrators and scholars published their studies of Turkmen land.



A. Lomakin published his *Obychnoie pravo Turkmen (Adat)* [Common Law among Turkmen (Adat)] in 1897; F. M. Mikhailov published his *Tuzemtsy Zacaspiiskoi oblasti i ikh zhizn* [Indigenous People of Zacaspian Oblast and their life (style)] in 1900; D. N. Logofet published *Bukharskoie Khanstvo pod Russkim protektoratom* [The Bukhara Khanate under the Russian Protection]. At the same time, several books in English appeared in the West. For example, Henry Francis Skrine and Edward Denison Ross published a detailed history of the region in *The Heart of Asia: A History of Russian Turkestan and the Central Asian Khanates from Earliest Times* (1893).

In the late 19th and early 20th centuries the Russian school of Oriental studies became particularly active and produced significant works on Central Asian history, including the history of the Turkmens. The representatives of this school published very comprehensive historical research, which became classics of Russian Orientalism. The Russian scholars A. U. Iakubovich, P. P. Ivanov, F. Poyarkov, Nikolai Nikolaevich Pantusov, Aleksandr Aleksandrovich Semenov, Aleksandr Nikolaevich Samoilovich, and Nikolai Ivanovich Veselovskii issued numerous articles and reports on their findings. Russian orientalist Vasilii Bartold (1869–1930) published his *Turkestan Down to the Mongol Invasion* and *Ocherk istorii turkmenskogo naroda* [An Essay on the History of the Turkmen People], which strongly influenced both the Russian and Turkmen scholarly studies of the origin of the Turkmens and the ancient civilizations that thrived in what is now Turkmenistan.

The Bolshevik Revolution, rise of national identity, state delimitation in Central Asia in 1922–1924 had a far-reaching impact on the study of the history of the Turkmens and the Turkmen land. In 1928 the Institute of Turkmen Culture was established in Ashgabat, which contributed notably to the emergence of the indigenous historical school. Initially historical studies absorbed the best traditions of the Tsarist Imperial school of Oriental studies. In the 1920s E. P. Magidovich, Aga Karyev, V. G. Moshkova, and others conducted their studies on social, ethnographic, and economic changes in the Turkmen land. Yet, very soon historical studies became highly politicized and often heavily censored. Many publications on the history of the republic were designed to endorse the communist ideology and Soviet interpretation of history and to justify the state delimitation in the region and creation of the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republic. The bulk of the historical research on Turkmenistan was focused on the history of the Communist Party, civil war, and peasant movements and often they were more a part of Soviet propaganda rather than of scholarly studies.

Despite the countless limitations imposed by the government, several individual scholars continued the best traditions of the Russian school of Oriental studies. For example, Georgii Karpov published his *Ocherki po istorii turkmenskogo naroda t Turkmenistana v VIII–XIX vekakh* [Essays on the History of Turkmen People and Turkmenistan in the 8th–19th centuries] in 1940; Iurii

Bregel published his *Khorezmskie Turkmeny v XIX veke* [The Turkmens of Khoresm in 19th century] in 1961; and S. G. Agadzhanov published his *Ocherki istorii oguzov i turkmen Srednei Azii v IX–XII vekakh* [Essays on the History of the Oguzs and Turkmens in the 9th–13th centuries].

When the "iron curtain" was erected in the 1930s, Western academies were severely limited in their access to historical data and archival documentation in Turkmenistan. One of the main problems, which seriously hindered study of Turkmen history, was the inaccessibility of Turkmenistan's archives and statistical departments both for foreign and local researchers. Instead, the Soviet authorities frequently published selected collections of archival documents, such as *Russko-Turkmenskie otnoshenia v 18–19 vekakh (do prisoedinenia Turmenistana k Rossii): Sbornik arkhivhykh dokumentov* [Russian-Turkmen Relations in the 18th–19th Centuries (Before the Annexation of Turkmenistan to Russia): Collection of Archival Documents]; *Revolutsionnoie dvizhenie v Turkmenistane v 1905–1917 gg.: Sbornik arkhivnykh dokumentov* [The Revolutionary Movement in Turkmenistan in 1905–1917: Collection of Archival Documents]; and many others. Yet, though these collections were often censored and not always reliable, they remained the only sources for a whole generation of Soviet historians.

By the middle of the 20th century, however, a new native school of historians began to emerge. This development was particularly facilitated by the establishment of Turkmenistan's branch of the Academy of Sciences of the USSR in January 1941. In 1959–1960 a team of historians of the Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan produced a comprehensive two-volume work, *Turkmenistanyn SSR-nyn tarykhy* [The History of Turkmen SSR], which covered the history of the Turkmens and Turkmen land from ancient times to the Soviet era. Alas, highly politicized issues, such as relations with Iran and Afghanistan, the Bolshevik revolution, the civil war, and collectivization were either covered very selectively or were incredibly distorted. During this period a large number of books was published on the history of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan, most of them artificially constructed and heavily overloaded with Soviet propaganda, including *Turkmenistanyn Kommunistyk Partiasynyn tarykhynyn ocherkleri* [Essays on the History of Turkmenistan Communist Party].

Between 1970 and 1971 a team of Turkmenistan scholars produced *Sovet Turkmenistanyn tarykhy (1917–1937): 1–2 belym* [The History of Soviet Turkmenistan: Volume 1 and 2], which presented a slightly different interpretation of Turkmen history. Again, many topics, like the history of the Russian policy into the Turkmen land, some episodes of civil war, Stalin's purges, and many other decisive aspects were covered selectively or not covered at all, although the work introduced some new archival findings and undertook reinterpretation of certain events.

In the 1970s the government of Turkmenistan initiated the preparation of the national encyclopedia. Between 1974 and 1989 the Turkmen Encyclopedia Publishing House produced 10 volumes of the *Turkmen Sovet Entsyklopediasy* [Turkmen Soviet Encyclopedia] in the Turkmen language. This work was the first and remains the only universal encyclopedic work in the Turkmen language. In addition, the Turkmen Encyclopedia Publishing House published a one-volume encyclopedia in Turkmen in 1972 and in Russian in 1984. These encyclopedias remain among the most comprehensive reference works on Soviet Turkmenistan, although some articles were packed with distorted statistics and Soviet propaganda.

Despite all limitations and the shortage of original sources several Western scholars continued their research on the history and culture of Turkmenistan and Soviet Central Asia in the post–World War II era. Such scholars as Michael Rywkin, Edward Allworth, Alexandre Benningsen, Shirin Akiner, and others encouraged lively debates and made important contributions to the research on Central Asia in the 1970s and 1980s. However, there were still very few books devoted entirely to Turkmenistan.

After 1991 Turkmen publishers began printing a broad range of books covering Turkmen history, culture, and folklore. There were several publications on modern history, which were written for the general public and presented new trends in historical thinking in Turkmenistan. These include a publication of the *Istoriko-kulturnoe nasledie Turkmenistana* [Historical and Cultural Heritage of Turkmenistan] (in Russian) by the Turkmen government in cooperation with the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) in 2000.

In addition, the government of Turkmenistan began publication of a wide range of articles and books in which the Soviet-era interpretation of Turkmenistan's history was significantly revised. An important benchmark was the book *Rukhnama* by President Saparmurat Niyazov (Turkmenbashy), which endorsed a new official interpretation of Turkmen history. This book was reprinted in Turkmen, Russian, English, and several other languages and is available online. It is taught at the middle, high school, and university levels and became part of the national ideological doctrine. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs regularly publishes collections of documents on domestic and foreign policy issues. One of the examples of such publications is *Foreign Policy of Neutral Turkmenistan: Speeches, Statements and Interviews by President of Turkmenistan Saparmurat Turkmenbashy* (Ashgabat, 1997).

Since the 1990s independent and opposition scholars and journalists have had no voice in Turkmenistan's tightly controlled mass media and academia, and have published most of their works overseas. In the 1990s and early 2000s many Turkmen intellectuals went into exile in Russia, Sweden, Norway, and other countries where they established vibrant intellectual communities, producing a

number of journals and scholarly and polemic books in Turkmen and Russian as well as in other languages. Independent scholar Dr. Shokhrat Kadyrov, for example, prepared and published a first volume of his monumental *Rossiisko-Turkmenskii istoricheskii slovar'* [Russian-Turkmen Historical Dictionary] in 2001 and *Natsia plemen* [The Nation of Tribes] in 2003 (both in Russian).

Since Turkmenistan's independence the results of several comprehensive studies on this country were published in English in the West. In 1994 the World Bank produced the comprehensive report *Turkmenistan*. In 1995 the International Monetary Fund (IMF) also produced a comprehensive report, *Turkmenistan—Background Paper and Statistical Appendix*. Collections of documents on Central Asia, which included a large section on Turkmenistan, were published by Sharpe in *The Soviet Multinational State: Readings and Documents* in 1990 and *Russia and the Commonwealth of Independent States: Documents, Data, and Analysis* in 1996. Yet, most of the publications written by Western scholars in the 1990s, particularly on history, politics, and social and economic development, were dispersed in major academic journals and edited volumes and there were few monographs entirely devoted to Turkmenistan. In the meantime, between 1991 and 2004 Turkmen and Russian scholars produced a number of scholarly books on the modern history of Turkmenistan in both Turkmen and Russian, using newly opened archives, statistical material and memoirs, and reinterpreting many historical events and developments. In 2004 Steven Sabol and Sean Roberts published the book *Turkmenistan* in the Post-Communist States and Nations series.

Several annual publications have been covering the postindependence development of the republic since the 1990s. The most authoritative are the annual *Turkmenistan: Human Development Report* sponsored by the UNDP; *Commonwealth of Independent States* by the Interstate Statistical Committee of the Commonwealth of Independent States (semiannually, Moscow, Russia), and *Turkmenistan: Recent Economic Development* published by the IMF (semiannually, Washington, D.C.). The quarterly publication *Turkmenistan* prepared by the Economist Intelligence Unit (EIU) (London) is one of the most frequently updated sources on current economic and political developments, and the annual review on Turkmenistan published by Freedom House's project *Nations in Transit* (Washington, D.C.) is one of the most comprehensive examinations of the current political and social situation.

Major collections of historical documents on Turkmenistan may be found at the National Archive of Turkmenistan. The most comprehensive and systematically organized collections of books, periodicals, and documents are to be found in the Central National Library, in the library of the Turkmen State (Magtumguly) University and in some other institutions. The National Statistical Institute under the Cabinet of Ministries has a substantial archive of statistical materials dating from the early Soviet era. It publishes the monthly, quarterly,

annual, and semiannual statistical reviews of economic and social development. However, the authorities impose some limitations on both local and foreign users, and many documents, especially those prepared between 1992 and 2004, are classified as *Işde ulanmak üçin* (*dlia sluzhebnogo pol'zovaniya* in Russian) (for restricted use only).

Several small but noteworthy collections can also be found overseas at Indiana University, the University of Washington, and the School of Oriental and African Studies in London. Important collections of 19th and 20th century documents and statistical data may also be found at major archives and library collections in Moscow, although most of them have very limited materials on post-Soviet Turkmenistan.

Since the late 1990s several websites have become available on the Internet and are useful for people who research the modern history and political development of Turkmenistan. However, most of the Internet-based publications, both in Russian and Turkmen, are prepared outside the republic and run by independent groups or opposition parties. There were also Turkmenistan government-sponsored attempts to establish major Internet sites in English. Some regional media outlets, such as *The Times of Central Asia* (its predecessor was *The Central Asian Post*), regularly cover events in Turkmenistan in English and are available both in hard copy and online. The Internet newspaper www.turkmenistan.ru comprehensively covers development in Turkmenistan in Russian. The constitution, major laws, and legal documents have also become available on the Internet through numerous projects sponsored by the Soros Foundation, Open Society Institute, TACIS, United States Agency for International Assistance (USAID), and other sources.

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Rafis Abazov is an adjunct professor at the Harriman Institute of Columbia University, New York. He is the author of three books, including *Historical Dictionary of Kyrgyzstan* (Scarecrow, 2003), and numerous research articles on economic and political development in Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia, and Turkmenistan. He has contributed articles to *Encyclopedia of Modern Asia* and *Encyclopedia of National Economies*.

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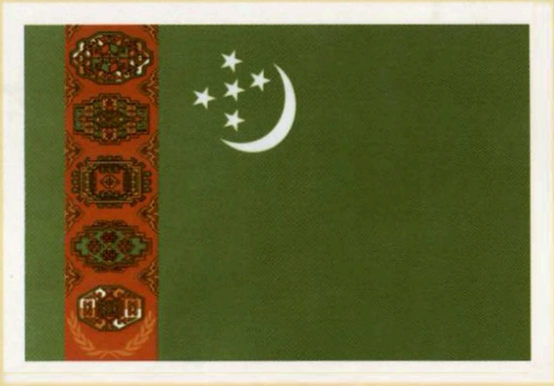
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