

**FORMATION OF CONCEPTUAL
APPROACHES TO THE PROBLEMS OF
ENSURING NATIONAL SECURITY IN
CENTRAL ASIAN STATES - UZBEKISTAN,
KAZAKHSTAN, KYRGYZSTAN, TAJIKISTAN
AND TURKMENISTAN**

Today, the regional security of the Central Asian region can be considered only as a complex mosaic being formed and consisting of various bilateral and multilateral agreements in the sphere of security between the countries of the region. It is obvious that up to now in the Central Asian region there is no unique system forming the regional security. Moreover, there are different approaches to the formation of the national security policy in each republic, determining as a whole a military policy of the state. The following factors influence the formation mechanism of views on and approaches to security issues:

- Mutual relations between parties (if they have political power or influence);
- Relations between the clans inside the state and the level of their presence in the security sector;
- The personality of the political leader and his capability, the old fashioned views of the leadership in a context of bipolar apprehension of the world and incapability to change quickly for assessment of the political forces and new realities;
- Interrelations with neighbouring countries;
- Presence and influence of a strong security sector.

The lack of a unique system of views to the vitally important interests in the sphere of the states' security in the Central Asian region does not lead to the "bar component" system which would provide the necessary level of protection from potential and existing threats and risks.

The activity of international terrorist groups, religious and extremist movements on a background of increasing social differentiation of the population, unsettled international problems, and uncertainty of political priorities of the further development of countries is widely acknowledged today as the basic threat to Central Asian security.

Let us consider in this regard the formation mechanism of conceptual views on the problems of national security and their realization by the Central Asian countries - Kyrgyzstan, Kazakhstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Kyrgyzstan

The President of the Kyrgyz Republic is at the same time commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces and the Defence Council Chairman. Direct management is assigned to the Ministry of Defence. Coordination of actions for all security sectors of the state is assigned to the general staff of the Armed Forces. The Defence Ministry, by way of the Defence Council, carries out the task of elaborating conceptual views on the formation of armed forces and the defence doctrine.

The Kyrgyz parliament, due to a variety of political parties, unions and groups, is incapable to be operatively engaged and to settle the problems of military formation. Therefore, all issues of a military character are to be considered by the Ministry of Defence which prepares the relevant documents for their approval by the President. The parliament of the country tries to control the defence budget, without getting involved into the Ministry's activity.

The concept of national security and the military doctrine have a declarative character without taking into account realities of the present. The country's leadership is more looking ahead to the "Collective Security Treaty Organization" where it basically relies on the Russian military power. At the same time, due to financial difficulties, issues of the Armed Forces are also considered. The way they do it emphasizes

the lack of professional advisers and the narrow military and theoretical views of the commanders.

The countries' security services do not take part in the military policy formation process.

Kazakhstan

The President of the Republic of Kazakhstan is the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces and the Security Council Chairman – a special body of a collective leadership dealing with defence and security issues of the country.

In the “Kazakhstan – 2030” Strategy, adopted in 1997, national security is proclaimed as the first priority. In 1999 - 2000 Kazakhstan adopted the Strategy of national security for the period 1999 - 2005, the military doctrine, the concept of military reform and the state program for military formation of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

In his activities for the formation of the state military policy, the President of Kazakhstan relies above all on “Barlau” (the national security service) as the “main consultant” for the country's security service. The Security Council implements instructions of the President on the formation of the state military system, commencing with the priority directions of foreign policy. In foreign affairs, Kazakhstan conducts its policy by taking into account interests of Russia and China, preferring the first.

Tajikistan

Nominally, the President of Tajikistan is the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the country. But in fact the country is divided into areas which are controlled by military troops of different (mostly criminal) leaders. The state Security Council (SC) considers conceptual issues surrounding national security and military formation. The SC also deals with the problems of threats and risks to the vital interests of the

Republic, working out the measures of adequate and appropriate reaction to them.

At present, the leadership of the country has just begun seriously studying the creation of the state military system in full. The period of national reconciliation, which put an end to civil war, has not yet ended. The parliament of the country is broken into fractions – “us” and “them” and neutral groups. In these circumstances the most important task is not defence against outside aggression (which is improbable and of a hypothetical character), but the stabilization of the internal political situation in view of the struggle between clans for spheres of influence and political power. The main military ally of Tajikistan is Russia who supports the government of President Rakhmonov.

Given this fact, the military system of the state is based first of all on holding power and maintaining control over key areas of the state. There is neither a national security concept nor a military doctrine in the Republic. There are only separate Presidential decrees and orders for times of military danger.

The Parliament is beginning to study the questions of centralizing the military power from isolated groups and units to an united system.

Turkmenistan

In connection with the proclaimed neutrality of 21 December 1995, the President of the country – the supreme commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces - determines state military policy alone. The Parliament and the security service can only make recommendations on some issues. Other states have no success in their attempts to make Turkmenistan participate in any collective regional security system.

Turkmenistan conducts its foreign military policy only on the basis of bilateral agreements, having the big ambition and plan to create a powerful, modern Armed Forces. There is no clear programme of the military system formation.

Uzbekistan

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the President is the supreme commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. He also appoints the National Security Council and its chairman. Under the President, there is the position of state adviser on the coordination of the activities of law enforcement bodies.

The security sector (Ministry of Defence, of Interior Affairs, the State Border Guard Committee, the National Security Service and MEM) submits its recommendations on the state's military system formation to the National Security Council. At the same time, the President discusses interior and foreign policy affairs with the Cabinet of Ministries.

The basic conceptual conclusions on the realization of the state's military system formation are to be considered carefully by experts in each part of the security sector and thereafter by the analytical divisions of the President's Administration.

They systematically analyse the presence of internal and foreign policy risks and threats and work out measures of adequate reaction to fully eliminate or mitigate these negative influences. The Security Council plays the main role in this activity.

The states of the region are involved at various degrees of intensity in the activities of the "Collective Security Treaty Organization" (CSTO), and also of the "Shanghai Organization of Cooperation" (SOC) which claim to play the role of guarantors of collective security in the region. Regional antiterrorist centres have been created within the framework of these organizations, and forces of quick reaction within the CSTO. All this determines one of the basic directions in the process of the creation of an unique security system for the Central Asian region. The logical result of it could be the formation of a military-political block of states (like NATO for example).

But proceeding from the analysis of existing approaches of the Central Asian states to the issue of the creation of a regional system of security

(RSS), it is more likely to assume that in the near future there will be no unique approach to the assessments of threats of national character and no mechanism of unique military system formation. Bearing in mind the strategic interests of the USA, Russia and China in the region, there is no hope for the early creation of a regional security system.

It is necessary to consider that, at present, the states of the region are undergoing difficult stages of statehood formation and of national identity determination, and are searching for the conditions to create a common economic area and for integration at a regional level. A number of local analysts think that the degree of military-political cooperation in the region depends on the efficiency of the economic integration process. However, this process is complicated by some factors including the realization of various models of internal political and economic reforms, the differences in foreign political and economical orientations and priorities, and also a certain rivalry for leadership in the region.

The following conclusion can be drawn from the above. In Central Asia, the problems of maintaining security at national and regional levels mostly depend on the efforts of the countries of the region and their cooperation with foreign partners in the domain of security.

Governance of the Security Sector in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan

Since gaining independence in 1991, the Central Asian republics - Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan have started independent ways of development, each one according to its own model. Each state has its own system of protection of the vital interests of the country. In this initial stage, the set of values for each republic was being determined and the creation of their own systems of protecting national interests was being studied.

The majority of countries in the region realize today that, for a secure development of the states, it is necessary to create conditions under which neighbouring countries would also be secure. The concept of “mutual security” under present conditions brings countries to the

understanding that even more attention should be given to economic, social, internal political, ecological, demographic intensity problems, etc. than to foreign affairs and military problems.

The national interests of the Central Asian countries are formed by the influence of internal and external factors, by the specificities of independent development models and are results of the changes that took place in international relations after the collapse of the bipolar system. The internal factors are the negative consequences of the processes of statehood creation, which at different speeds and in different forms use elements of the market economy and democracy for sovereign development. As a result of this process, and first of all at its initial stage of independent development, the states of Central Asia have faced up to the challenges of an economic crisis and a slump in production, growth in unemployment and social discontent of citizens, powerful migratory waves and the outflow of the Russian-speaking population, a sharp increase in the feeling of national consciousness and of religious identity, etc. These factors already challenged themselves the national security of the states and emphasized the necessity for their prompt settlement which, however, must also consider external factors.

The formation of the new structure of international relations has brought about new problems for the countries of the region. Attempts of re-considering the long time existing global order in international relations are always connected to changes in the understanding of the new situation, which leaves behind the old principles of the bipolar world.

At that time, the national interests of each republic were determined in general and the national security protection system which helped to make first steps towards statehood was also formed. The legislative base was created and the priority directions of development were determined. In this initial period the country needed the formation of the new security sector as an element of the state defence system.

The absence of military protection after the collapse of the Soviet Union made the independent republics start from zero. The first step was the

formation of armed forces and of national security systems by the creation of national security sectors.

Parts of the Soviet Defence Ministry, the KGB and the Interior Ministry in the Central Asian region were taken under the jurisdiction of the republics, which began transforming elements of the national security system.

In the period after the bipolar system, approaches to both global and regional stability had also changed. Hence, security keeping measures at different levels - global, regional, and national - had to be re-considered.

In the Central Asian region today, there are rather favourable conditions for spreading ideas of a radical Islam. Unemployment and an impoverishment of people is the very social ground which allows youth to become involved in a large number of extremist organizations.

Under these conditions, Central Asia may become the sphere of interest of international terrorism and religious extremism. Their leaders openly declare the necessity to establish a new Islamic order in the region and to capture the Muslim relics of Samarqand and Bukhara. Destabilization and military actions in Central Asia are becoming the real threat to development in the region.

It is obvious that this problem can not be settled in the framework of one single state. Therefore, the integrational aspect of cooperation has repeatedly been declared as a main condition for maintaining security in Central Asia. All countries in the region seriously consider threats to security such as international terrorism, drug smuggling, destabilization and military actions on neighbouring territories, illegal migration and a mass wave of refugees, influence of Islamic extremism, and coming to power of military - dictatorial Islamic regimes in the states of Central Asia.

The revision of the purposes and tasks of the security sectors in these new realities lead to the conclusion of necessary joint actions to decrease or fully liquidate external and internal threats at the regional level.

Working out the principles for the practical realization of coordinated actions of security sectors of the CIS countries against international terrorism and taking preventive measures become more and more the most important tasks at present. The joint operation against terrorists in the Ferghana Valley in autumn 1999 demonstrated not only the necessity of collective action but also illustrated their efficiency.

Two military manoeuvres named "the Southern borders of Commonwealth" (October 1999 in Kyrgyzstan and in April 2000 in Tajikistan and Uzbekistan) showed that the Armed Forces of Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are able to operate together in the case of an aggravation of a situation on southern CIS borders.

The Committee of Secretaries of Security Councils (CSSC) of the participating states of the Collective Security Treaty (CST) met in April 2001 in Yerevan. It was the beginning of the formation of new directions in security measures in the CIS and Central Asia in particular. The CSSC really became one of the supreme advisory bodies of the Council of collective security together with the Council of Ministers for Foreign Affairs and the Council of Defence Ministers, focusing attention on the consideration of the current problems of international terrorism, drug-trafficking, illegal spreading of weapons, and also of situations in crisis areas.

Reflecting the strategic concept of the CST, the committee organizes its work along three operative directions: Western, Caucasian and Central Asian. The last direction is considered as the most dangerous one to the CIS countries. Participants do not exclude the chance of Uzbekistan joining the CSSC too as the situation in the Central Asian region is significantly aggravating, creating a real threat which Tashkent can not settle alone. The recurrence of events "in the Chechen way" in Tajikistan or Uzbekistan represents an essential threat to the region as a whole and also to Russia. Therefore, issues of actions against international terrorism, of the formation of regional systems of collective security and of the creation of collective special forces of the CST countries for Central Asia were discussed in Yerevan.

The system of operative information exchange between intelligence and other security services which gather and process data on enemy actions and the coordination of security sectors activity against aggressive actions were also discussed. Such measures were legally approved: in October 2001 the participating countries of the CST signed two agreements - "About the status of formations of forces of a collective security system" and "About a deepening of military-political integration within the framework of the Collective Security Treaty and measures on the formation of regional systems of collective security".

It was decided that a collective force would be created in the summer of 2003 and that each participating country would prepare a battalion for counteraction to extremists. Permanent collective forces would consist of 1,500 - 1,700 troops in addition to the already functioning antiterrorists centre whose regional branch would open in Bishkek in 2003. It is supposed that the agreement on the status of the forces of the regional collective security signed by the leaders of Armenia, Belarus, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russia and Tajikistan in Bishkek would contribute to the further development of military cooperation of the CIS countries, to the strengthening of integration and to joint efforts against the attempts of destabilizing the situation in Central Asia.

Regarding the struggle against terrorism there are some hopes of a CIS Antiterrorist centre being organized in Moscow by joint efforts and of a regional antiterrorist centre of "the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation" which is planned to be opened in Tashkent. According to the experts' opinion there will not be an overlap in the activity of these two centres but an augmentation in the joint efforts in the struggle against the common danger.

All this gives reason to think that the military cooperation of the CIS countries bears prospects to include joint efforts against the threats operating from the territory of Afghanistan.

One basic element of the national security systems of the Central Asian states is that the military component, the state control system,

infrastructure and other communications of the countries integrally entered into regional systems of communications.

In this context it would be useful to observe a military component of each state of the Central Asian region.

Republic of Uzbekistan

Since independence in 1991, the question of the creation of its own Armed Forces has become of the highest importance for the Republic of Uzbekistan. For the practical realization of social and economic reforms, Uzbekistan, as an independent state, vitally needed the strengthening of social stability and of state security. The necessity to create its own Armed Forces was also dictated by the complexity of military-political conditions in the region.

Conflict zones on the southern borders of Uzbekistan were potential sources of military danger. This circumstance put forward the defensibility of the state as a major condition for maintaining national security and stability, not only for the country but also for the region as a whole.

Until 1999, military security of Uzbekistan was understood as the provision of protection of the country from external aggression. Now political extremism, terrorism, organized crime of a trans-national character, illegal arms and drug trafficking, migration or the so-called "new dimensions of security" draw more attention. Changes in the understanding or the recognition of threats and in the character of modern military conflicts have been pointed out in official documents of the Republic of Uzbekistan concerning its military policy. In February 2000, the National Security Council under the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan approved the defence doctrine and, in May 2001, a new edition of the law «On Defence» was adopted.

When forming a military-political course, Uzbekistan proceeds by considering the possibility of regional and local wars and military conflicts in Central Asia. In this regard, military conflicts of limited and

average scale along with diversion and terrorist forms and methods are considered as more probable.

In official documents, it is underlined that Uzbekistan may be under strong pressure given existing and potential conflicts in the region and near its borders. There is also the possibility of guerrilla war with the purpose of creating conditions for external aggression and intervention or the involvement of forces from outside the region into the conflict. Thus, attempts to create centres of conflict in several strategically important zones provoking large-scale extreme situations are probable.

Reform of the Armed Forces

Military reform in Uzbekistan is carried out with the purpose of optimising the structure of the Armed Forces and of the formation of a relevant military infrastructure.

The First Stage of Reforms - 1992-1997

The first stage in the construction of the Armed Forces began in January 1992. Until the end of 1997, the Armed Forces functioned in the newly developed organizational-regular structure in which the creation and the balanced development of different Armed Forces units in view of the Central - Asian specific character (battlefield) were a basic element.

The system of a disposition of military units, divisions and other objects with their dispersal throughout administrative-territorial areas of Republic of Uzbekistan was simultaneously improved.

The principles of national security and the basic directions of military formation and management of the Armed Forces were fixed in the military doctrine of the Republic of Uzbekistan adopted by Oliy Majlis (parliament) in August 1995.

The Second Stage of Reforms - 1998-2001

The basic directions of the further modernization of the military system of the country were actively discussed in all government structures.

The following directions were determined as the second stage of reforms in the Armed Forces:

- Firstly, to create military-administrative units of the Armed Forces throughout the country's territory with a view to improving management efficiency and their concentration on the most important strategic directions and the formation of a territorial defence system.
- Secondly, to reduce the number of the Armed Forces without damaging their battle capability with a view to the formation of an army of reasonable quantity, good structure and of professional quality.
- Thirdly, to continue the modernization of the organizational structure, the management of the Armed Forces system based on the experience of foreign armies.
- Fourthly, to develop the programme of military-technical modernization of armaments.

Four military-territorial formations (military districts (MD)) and one operative command point were created in 1998. It was done within the framework of military reform with the purpose of further modernization of the management of the Armed Forces, i.e. the increase of their efficiency of application and the improvement of interaction of power structures.

- Northwest military district - Nukus city.
- Southwest special military district - Karshi city.
- The central military district - Dzhizak city.
- East military district - Ferghana city.

In 2001, the Tashkent garrison was transformed into the fifth MD - the Tashkent military district.

During this period, the military-political situation in the region continued to become more complicated. Afghanistan, as the main source of destabilization of the borders of the state, has turned into a preparation camp for international terrorists and religious extremists and into the main supplier of drugs. In August 1999, parts of the extremist organizations invaded the Batkent area in Kyrgyzstan from the territory of Tajikistan, took hostages and tried to break through to the Ferghana Valley of Uzbekistan.

In November of the same year, they repeated their attempt to invade the Yangiobad area in Uzbekistan but were counterattacked. Taking all this into account and a more effective realization of the use of the Armed Forces against international terrorists, the leadership of the republic decided to carry out a step-by-step reformation of the arms management system and of the coordination of the interaction within the security structure of the state – the Ministry of Defence, the Committee on protection of frontiers (CPF), the Ministry of Internal Affairs (MIA), the National Security Service (NSS) and the Ministry of Emergency Measures (MEM).

The creation of military formations with the necessary mobility, self-sufficiency and which are equipped with modern combat technique, able to act effectively and reliably in any potential zones of military operations became the basic task of reforming the Armed Forces.

In 2000, when international terrorists made new attempts to invade the territory of Kyrgyzstan and the mountain areas of the Surkhan-Darya and the Tashkent areas, special assignment divisions of Uzbekistan's security sector effectively attacked the bands.

With a view to the modernization of the management system, the main staff of the Defence Ministry was progressively transformed into the general staff, and onward into the joint staff of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan. Powers, functions and tasks of the Defence Ministry and the joint staff were divided.

All this occurred within the framework of the first two stages of reforming the Armed Forces. All basic models and mechanisms of the new organization were examined during military exercises and antiterrorist operations.

The Third Stage of Reforms - 2001-2005

The results of the first two stages of reforming the Armed Forces allowed for a step to be made towards the next issue – the modernization of the Armed Forces management system. The purpose of this stage is to reform and to separate the management functions of the operative, strategic planning and the fighting application of troops on the one hand and the administrative management of the Armed Forces on the other hand.

The first function of planning and of organising interaction is realized by the joint staff of the Armed Forces, and the second – the control and the administrative management of troops - by the Defence Ministry.

The strategic course of the construction of the Armed Forces was determined by the President of Uzbekistan who said that «our military doctrine has a defensive, preventive orientation».

The defensive doctrine (till 1998 the military doctrine) of the Republic of Uzbekistan is based on the principles of the military doctrine adopted earlier and on the concept of national security. It represents a system of officially accepted views, principles and approaches for providing national security to the Republic of Uzbekistan in the military domain.

According to the constitution of the Republic of Uzbekistan, the President is the supreme commander-in-chief of the Armed Forces. He also appoints the Council of National Security and its chairman. The new post of the President's state adviser on the coordination of the activity of law enforcement bodies was created in 2000.

The heads of the ministries, the state committees and other bodies possessing military formations included in the Armed Forces manage these forces.

Structure and Number

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan started their formation in 1992 on the basis of the former Turkistan military district abolished in June 1992 in connection with the USSR collapse.

The date of creation of the Armed Forces of Uzbekistan is 14 January 1992. Later, this day was declared the Day of the Defender of the Fatherland.

The military-power and militarised structures of Uzbekistan include:

- The divisions of the Defence Ministry;
- The troops of the Committee on protection of frontiers;
- The internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs;
- The military formations of the National Security Service;
- The divisions of the Ministry of Emergency Measures.

The divisions of the Defence Ministry include land forces, air forces and anti-aircraft troops, forces of special assignment and the national guard. A constant reduction of their number has been observed since 1999. If in 1998 the total number of people in the divisions was estimated at 80,000, in 2002 it was between 50,000 and 55,000. The total number of people in the armies of the Defence Ministry will be decreased to 45,000. According to the International Institute of Strategic Researches (London), the number of land forces is 40,000 people organised in one tank core, ten motorized, one easy mountain, one air-landing, three air-assault and four engineering brigades, and also one brigade of national guards. The number of people in the air forces and anti-aircraft troops of the Republic of Uzbekistan is over 10,000 organised in seven aviation and helicopter units.

The basic forces of the Defence Ministry are concentrated in the area of Tashkent and Termez. Divisions of the national guard of 1,000 people protect strategic bases and objects. The basic military air bases are located in the area of the cities Karshi (Hanabad) and Andijan.

The airdromes in the area of the cities of Termez (Kokayda) and Chirchik can also be used as military air bases. However, the operative capacity of the majority of the airdromes is insignificant. In 2001 - 2002, during the preparation and the carrying out of operations in Afghanistan, the airdromes used by the antiterrorist coalition were renovated and modernized.

Forces of Special Assignment

After the collapse of the USSR, the Armed Forces of Uzbekistan were left with the 15th brigade of special assignment, 459th separate unit of special assignment (the separate group of special troops is formed on its base) and also the educational troop of the special assignment, who prepared staff for fighting divisions during the war in Afghanistan. These divisions have been kept until now in some transformed option.

Border Armies of the Committee on Protection of Frontier

The committee of protection of frontier (CPF) incorporates five boundary districts with one or two border groups. The total number of CPF comes up to 5,000 people.

Internal Troops (the Ministry of Internal Affairs)

The number of internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs amounts to 19,000 people. Brigades and groups of protection are deployed in industrial and administrative areas. The serious role in providing military security is played by the Office of struggle against terrorism of the MIA.

Divisions of National Security Service

The national security service of the Republic of Uzbekistan is estimated as highly effective. In its structure there are divisions on the protection of especially important state objects, and also the divisions on struggle

against terrorism. The total number of the NSS divisions makes 5,000 people.

Acquisition and Professional Training

The principle of regular army personnel is now guiding the formation of the Armed Forces of Uzbekistan following a recruitment problem due to the loss of officers from the Soviet army at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s.

However Uzbekistan was able to use studying-training objects available in its territory and also to create new educational institutions for the training and preparation of national military staff. In 1995 the Academy of Armed Forces of the Republic of Uzbekistan was set up for the preparation of command staff for all security sectors of the country. Preparation of officer staff is also carried out by the Tashkent supreme combined-arms command-, the Chirchics supreme tank command-engineering-, the Samarqand supreme automobile-artillery- and the Dzhizak supreme aviation military schools. In addition, the Academy of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, NSS Institute, Military school of border armies, Customs College and the Supreme fire-technical school of the MIA are preparing relevant specialists. Part of the military staff (military medics, signal men, experts of air defence) is being prepared at specialized faculties in civil high schools. The military faculties of civil high schools also prepare reserve officers.

Preparation of military staff is also carried out at foreign educational centres with the participation of foreign experts. Foreign experts take an active part, especially in the preparation of special assignment divisions. From the end of the 1990s instructors from the USA were invited for these purposes. In 2000, during the creation of the Antiterrorist Centre of the CIS, when it was presumed that security services and special assignment divisions of Uzbekistan would participate in its activities, they had training with the Russian "Alpha" division. In June 2002, unconfirmed information reported the possible assistance of Turkish and British specialists in the creation of special divisions for Uzbekistan and that some officers are already studying at NATO educational centres in Italy and Germany.

Military-Economic Maintenance

The defence budget of the Republic of Uzbekistan is based on the economic opportunities and real needs of the country and proceeds from a principle of conformity of the level of military-economic maintenance to the security needs of the country in the military sphere. Expenses of the Republic of Uzbekistan on defence constantly grow. For example, defence expenses in 2001 in comparison with 2000 increased by 2.8 %. And in 2002, accounting for rates of growth, these charges came to over 107 million dollars.

Fragmentary military-industrial base of Uzbekistan and its discrepancy to needs of defence has an essential value for providing military security. Industrial enterprises involved in military production assignments were part of various components of the military-industrial complex of the USSR, depended on partners from outside of the republic and were not connected with each other.

In most cases they are unable to produce armaments and military technical equipment independently. In this regard, the Armed Forces of Uzbekistan is fully dependent on other states for its technical equipment.

International Military and Military-Technical Cooperation

In the field of providing military security, Uzbekistan has partnership relations with countries of the Central Asian regional complex of security. It takes part in international structures having a military-political component such as the CIS, the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation (SOC) and the NATO Program «Partnership for peace». At the bilateral level, relations with Russia and the USA are most significant for Uzbekistan.

Uzbekistan - CIS

Despite the fact that the Collective Security Treaty was created on the initiative of Uzbekistan, in 1999 Tashkent refused to prolong the participation in the CST because of its inefficiency.

Uzbekistan holds a specific position in the work of the CIS Antiterrorist Centre which is intended to coordinate the interaction of Commonwealth states in the struggle against international terrorism and extremism. Uzbekistan participates in exercises held by the Centre ("South-Antiterror-2001"), however at the same time it does not take part in its financing nor in the work of the operative group of the Centre in Bishkek.

Uzbekistan also has a special position regarding the Coordinating committee on issues of air defence under the Council of the Defence Ministers of the CIS states-participants. This body is considered the most effective among all the collective structures of the Commonwealth. Since 1995, exercises and command-staff training of air defence forces of the CIS countries have been carried out almost every year. In 2001, Uzbekistan took part in command-staff training on a bilateral basis without participating in shootings in the framework of the exercises "Fighting Commonwealth-2001".

Uzbekistan – SOC

Participation in the Shanghai Organization of Cooperation allows Uzbekistan to belong to a regional policy and therefore avoid accusations of refusing to participate in collective security systems in the region. On the one hand, Uzbekistan manoeuvres between the interests of Russia and China, on the other hand it tries to control and influence their policy in the region. The participation in the organization of two regional powers at once eliminates the risk that the forum will be dominated by the interests of an outside regional centre.

Uzbekistan-NATO

Cooperation of Uzbekistan with NATO is carried out through the PFP Program and on a bilateral basis. Uzbekistan is a PFP participant since 1994, and began actively participating in international peace-making exercises organized in the PFP framework in 1995. Apart from that, some divisions of the Uzbekistan Armed Forces participate in training preparation in the USA, Germany and Norway in the same framework.

The American and German military instructors assist in the retraining of the Armed Forces of republic. Officer staff are being trained in Turkey, the USA and Germany.

Until October 2001, NATO activity in Uzbekistan, as well as in Central Asia as a whole, was limited to questions of non-proliferation, gathering intelligence information about the Uzbekistan security policy and information on the NATO strategy and peacekeeping measures in the regions where NATO is not interested to send troops. Cooperation also concerned non military aspects, such as the protection of the environment etc.

After the beginning of the US military operation in Afghanistan, NATO member states asked Uzbekistan for help in the military-technical sphere for the preparation of some projects. Basic attention is paid to the struggle against terrorism and drug trafficking with the preparation of special operations forces, explorative and mountain divisions. The Memorandum of military and military-technical cooperation with Turkey was signed in June 2002- the Agreement on military cooperation with Poland had been signed in March 2002. Cooperation with Germany actively develops with the Bundeswehr using the airbase "Kokayda" for the maintenance of its peace-making contingent International Security Assistance Force in Afghanistan.

Uzbekistan-Russia

Until 1999, relations between the two states were in many aspects determined by processes inside the CIS and their positions on regional conflict settlement in Tajikistan. Tashkent toughly reacted to any strengthening of positions of Russia in this country. However, actions of illegal armed formations on the borders between Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan in 1999 - 2000 brought a strengthening of the military-political role of Russia in Central Asia and also changed Uzbekistan's position.

Tashkent does not doubt the necessity of the development of relations with Russia, however bases it exclusively on bilateral relations, refusing

to participate in regional multilateral cooperation. In relations with Moscow, Tashkent takes «a special position».

In February 1999, Uzbekistan decided to exit the CST however, in the autumn after Putin's visit to Tashkent, Uzbekistan and Russia signed the Treaty for the further deepening of widespread cooperation in military and military-technical areas.

In the summer of 2000, at the summit of heads of the CIS participating states, the President of Uzbekistan declared that it was necessary for all «to recognize openly the long-term interests of Russia in this region» and called Russia to give more attention to Central Asia.

In March 2001, Moscow and Tashkent signed agreements on deliveries from Russia of artillery systems, helicopters (including - Ka-50-2 «the Black shark»), items of air defence and ammunitions. They also agreed on increasing quotas for Uzbekistan in the Russian military high schools, especially in the pilot schools and academies. In May 2001, the Treaty on cooperation on border questions was signed.

Uzbekistan - the USA

150 officers of the Uzbek army were trained in the USA in 1995 - 2000 according to the program of the international military education and preparation. In turn, the American militaries took part in exercises in the territory of Uzbekistan ("Balance -2000"). The USA also assisted the Uzbek militaries and frontier guards in purchasing military equipment and a permanent group on military-technical cooperation was created.

At that time, the USA was not ready to act as the guarantor of security in Central Asia. They considered the region at best as an object of minor interest coming from a wider understanding of security, connected with Russia, China, Southern Asia and global problems such as terrorism, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and drug trafficking.

The situation changed after the beginning of military operations in Afghanistan on 7 October 2001. President Karimov was one of the first

to support American actions in Afghanistan. In a communiqué from a session of the National Security Council (1 October 2001) it was declared that Uzbekistan was ready to contribute to the liquidation of terrorist bases and camps in Afghanistan and to make available its national air space for these purposes.

On 7 October 2001, Uzbekistan and the USA signed an agreement on the provision of air space and also a necessary infrastructure of one of its air bases by Uzbekistan. The agreement did not determine the terms of US military presence and concerned the use of the air base only within the framework of antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan.

In to the Agreement, US Armed Forces acquired air base "Hanabad" for humanitarian purposes and also for search and rescue operations. According to the International institute of strategic researches, approximately 1,200 US militaries (within the framework of operation "Enduring Freedom") have been deployed on the base.

It is presumed that the divisions deployed on the air base are the 720th tactical group of the US Air Force Command of special operation forces, the 10th mountain division whose militaries participated in the exercise "Centrazbat-2000" and the 96th battalion on communications with civil authorities and investigations. On the same air base are military-transport planes, search and rescue helicopters, planes of radio-electronic and psychological struggle (EU - 130 «Commando solo») and also pilot-less plane-scouts "Predator". At the same time, Uzbek military planes continue to be deployed here.

In exchange for the American presence in Uzbekistan, the USA will give Tashkent financial help and investments estimated at 8 billion dollars. This includes the re-equipment of the Uzbek Armed Forces to bring its armaments and military technical equipment up to NATO standards and the repair and release of some types of armaments and military technical equipment. It is also planned to develop the unique integrated system of communication and to start the development of a new system of anti-aircraft defence.

Besides operations in Afghanistan, the USA continues to pay attention to questions surrounding the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. Thus, in October 2001 the USA and Uzbekistan signed the agreement on which Americans have to destroy the biological weapon buried on the island of Vozrozhdenie in the Aral Sea.

In March 2002 during the visit of president Karimov to Washington, the USA and Uzbekistan signed the Declaration on strategic partnership and cooperation in political, economic and legal areas and also in the sphere of security and the Cooperation agreement on the non-distribution of nuclear technologies. To date, military-political cooperation is the basic component in Uzbek-American relations and in many respects determines their dynamics.

Republic of Kazakhstan

Kazakhstan is a participant of the CST of the CIS, supports the creation of a system of collective security in Asia and has held meetings on confident building measures in the Asian continent (this idea was put forward in 1995 by the Kazakhstan President at the 47th session of the UN General Assembly). Kazakhstan supports the creation of a Joint Armed Forces (JAF) based on armies of union country-members.

Kazakhstan supported the Agreement on the creation of the Commonwealth joint system of anti-aircraft defence, the concept and Treaty on the cooperation of CIS countries on the protection of external borders (formation of unique command, creation on an equal footing of the common material base of boundary parts, professional training under the unique program in base educational institutions of participating states).

Kazakhstan has guarantees of security from such nuclear powers as Russia, the USA, Great Britain and China, fixed in the Memorandum from 5 December 1994.

Foreign policy activity of Kazakhstan is directed by the expansion of contacts with strong states that are capable to provide economic

assistance and to foster independent development. The Republic of Kazakhstan cooperates with NATO since 1994.

Strategy of National Security

In the Strategy adopted in 1997, «Kazakhstan-2030», national security was proclaimed the first priority. In 1999 - 2000, Kazakhstan approved the Strategy of National Security for the period of 1999 - 2005, the Military doctrine, the Concept of military reform and the State program of military construction of the Republic of Kazakhstan.

The Military Doctrine

The first Military doctrine of Kazakhstan adopted in 1993 had been focused on the maintenance of military security at the stage of formation of the sovereign state. Changes in means, methods and the character of military actions during the last years have necessitated the development and adoption of the new Military doctrine.

The new Military doctrine of Kazakhstan (10 February 2000) proved for the first time the necessity of adequately developing the Armed Forces to be able to respond to new tendencies and threats in the military sphere. It is oriented towards the creation of a compact, high level capability, mobile army with advanced forces of rapid reaction, special troops knowing anti-guerrilla tactics, mountain and desert wars. It determines the basic parameters and stages of military reform. Considering the most probable threats and new tasks, the Armed Forces are undergoing a change in structure and the introduction of a new organizational principle of construction based on the triad «one battalion-one brigade-one core».

Participation in the International Antiterrorist Coalition

Kazakhstan is participating in antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan. The leadership of the republic declared its readiness to contribute to the restoration of Afghanistan by providing territory for the storage and transit of humanitarian cargoes.

Astana plans to transfer 3,000 tons of wheat to Kabul and to become in the near future one of the main exporters of grain to Afghanistan.

Up to now, the contracts on delivery to this country of 70,000 tons of grain are concluded and more than a third of it has already been delivered. Kazakhstan also declared its readiness to direct experts on the development of the gas sector, agriculture, the restoration of its transport infrastructure, irrigational systems etc. to Afghanistan.

Kazakhstan sent its peace-making battalion "Kazbat" to Afghanistan for what the political decision of the country's leadership deems necessary. "Kazbat" will consist of engineering-sappers, a medical unit and a unit of communication.

The government of Kazakhstan is developing a program of rendering assistance to Afghanistan which has four basic directions: firstly, deliveries of humanitarian help; secondly, sending civil experts of different structures to Afghanistan for restoration of the country; thirdly, providing warehouses for the storage of humanitarian cargoes and the operation of mini-enterprises which process raw material in southern regions of Kazakhstan; lastly, Kazakhstan is ready to consider the sending of peace-keeping forces to Afghanistan.

Regarding the granting of territory to foreign armies of participating states of the antiterrorist coalition, Kazakhstan, taking into account the opinion of Moscow, has declared the granting of an air corridor and airdromes for the use of military contingents of Great Britain and the USA. According to official representatives, it will only occur within the framework of the carrying out of antiterrorist operations.

Kazakhstan coordinates its actions with the USA within the framework of antiterrorist operations in Afghanistan.

Armed Forces

The Armed Forces of Kazakhstan were created on 8 May 1992.

The President is Supreme Commander-in-Chief. The Security Council, a special body of joint administration on questions of defence and security, includes the Prime Minister, the first assistant to the Prime Minister, the State Adviser on state-legal issues and the chairman of the State commission on extreme situations.

On 7 May 1994, the State Committee of Defence of the Republic of Kazakhstan was transformed into the Defence Ministry.

In November 1997, the functions of the Defence Ministry and the Joint Staff were divided. The military-political management, the organization of defence construction in the country and management of the Armed Forces were assigned to the Defence Ministry. Operational and strategic functions of the Armed Forces were assigned to the Joint Staff. The principle of three-specific structures of the Armed Forces was approved: general purpose forces (GPF), air defence forces (ADF) and forces of protection of frontiers (FPF).

The number of Armed Forces of the Republic of Kazakhstan for 1 January 2003 totalled 69,000 including GPF - 46,800, ADF - 10,000 and FPF 12,000. Mobilization resources of the country stand at 3.55 million people.

General purpose forces (GPF) form the backbone of the Kazak Armed Forces. The GPF includes motor-shooting and tank troops, ALA, rocket troops and artillery, air defence troops and also divisions of special troops (engineering, chemical, communications, radar-tracking and others).

The organizational principle is based upon battalion, brigade (the same troops but with an additional battalion of stored technical equipment), division, corps. The corps is the supreme operative association within the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan. The structure of GPF is as follows:

two army corpuses, two divisions (tank and motor-shooting) and five separate brigades with a separate landing-assault brigade in Kapchagay and a separate landing-assault battalion in the Southern district.

Air Defence Forces (ADF) have been created by uniting the air forces and air defence of the country. The ADF possesses more than 540 units of aviation technical equipment of which the most part is concentrated in warehouses including 100 anti-aircraft missile launchers (including C-300).

The supreme collection of aircraft is at the Air Forces base (it is equated to an air division).

Russia delivered 3 PU antiaircraft-rocket complexes C-300PMU to Kazakhstan and plans the delivery of another 3 units (for the debts for rent of Baikonur and testing grounds). The Armed Forces of the country have also up to 100 units of other mobile antiaircraft-rocket complexes. Kazakhstan has plenty (up to 500 pieces) of portable antiaircraft-rocket complexes “Strela” and its modifications.

The capital of Kazakhstan is equipped with a system of air defence consisting of a modern aviation base with up to 36 planes, the MIG-35 and also antiaircraft-rocket battalion C-300. In the area of the capital, there are two starting rocket-antiaircraft installations on constant duty with the possibility of their immediate using during an aggravation.

Forces of Protection of Frontier (FPF)

FPF were formed on 18 August 1992. The number of border troops of the Republic of Kazakhstan totals 12,000 persons.

The protection of the frontier is carried out by border groups (BG), frontier posts (FP) and commandant's offices (CO). The average number of FPF divisions is as follows: BG - 300-320 persons, FP and CO - 25-35 regular. FPF protects the **Uzbek-Kazakh border**.

In the last two years, additional parts and divisions and more than 10 new control-check points were deployed on the southern border of Kazakhstan.

The Navy (Naval Forces)

Since November 1997, the Naval Forces are a part of the FPF deployed on the Caspian Sea. The total number is about 1,000 person (it is expected to increase to up to 3,000). Actually, the Naval Forces consist of 10 coast guard boats, 2 small hydrographic boats, 3 helicopters Mi-8 and 6 helicopters Mi-2 which are based in the ports of Aktau and Atirau.

All sea zones, within the limits of the national border, are now under control of the special operative service "Bars".

Preparation of the Naval Forces military staff of Kazakhstan is carried out by the Supreme Naval School.

The Republican Guard (RG) is a separate military formation of the Armed Forces under the President of the Republic. Recruitment to RG is carried out on a voluntary basis and consists of 2,500 people.

RG possesses armoured troop-carriers BTR-80, small arms, communication facilities and special and automobile technical equipment.

Internal Armies (IA of the Ministry of Internal Affairs)

The number of IA is about 20,000 persons. Brigades and troops of protection are deployed in industrial and administrative areas (Almata, Shymkent, Ust-Kamenogorsk, Leninsk) and also on borders. Divisions of so-called operative troops are located in potentially "hot" spots - in the cities of Shymkent, Uralsk, Aktyubinsk and Petropavlovsk.

Reform of Armed Forces

Military reform in Kazakhstan is carried out with the purpose of optimizing the structure of the Armed Forces and the formation of a relevant military infrastructure. It includes three stages:

1998 - 2005: the creation of legislative and normative bases for the construction of future armies and the gradual transition to contract-alternative services.

2006 - 2015: the re-equipment of the army with the newest weapons and combat material.

2016 - 2030: the achievement of an organizational and qualitative level of army comparable with the advanced countries of the world.

District structure: four military districts within the limits of administrative and territorial units of the country have been created since 6 July 2000: the Southern based in Taraz, the Eastern based in Semipalatinsk, the Central based in Astana and the Western based in Aktau.

Admission of staff is carried out on the basis of the laws «On comprehensive obligations and military service» and «On contractual military service».

Principles of Admission under the Contract and Obligation

The service term is 18 months except for the Air Forces which has a service term of 24 months or 12 months for persons with a high level of education. Mobilization resources are about 3.5 million people.

The military reserve in Kazakhstan consists of 1.3 million people, including 120,000 officers. Another 78,000 including 9,000 officers can be additionally mobilized. Due to mobilization opportunities, the republic can also form two motor-shooting, one tank divisions and one reserve artillery and antiaircraft-rocket brigades.

Military Education System

For the formation of the officer corpus of the republic, the following military educational institutions have been created:

The Academy of Armed Forces was formed by decree of the head of the state on 11 February 1997. It has the following faculties: combined-arms, artillery, communications and transport. The education process offers eleven areas of specialisation. The post graduate course

specializes in general tactics, the operation of armament and military technical equipment and military history.

The Aktyubinsk High Military Aviation School prepares cadets for a command-tactical front, army aviation, tactics, management, engineers for the service of planes and engines, aviation equipment, radio-electronic equipment and aviation armaments.

In the Almaty Military Institute of Border Armies, cadets are trained in four faculties: border troops, internal troops, governmental communication and officers' education and improvement of professional skills.

The Supreme Naval School was formed in 2001. 180 cadets are studying in this institution.

The military faculty under the Academy of Civil Aviation prepares engineers for the operation of communication facilities and radio engineering maintenance.

Defence Expenses

In 2000, defence expenses of the Republic of Kazakhstan amounted to 17 billion tenge (101.7 million dollars) instead of the planned 12 billion. In 2001 expenses were 211 million dollars and in 2002 approximately 200 million dollars.

The budget for 2002 also included the last year's debts, medical treatment of military pensioners, scientific research, some works of defensive character, protection of military objects, formation of information control system and the realization of interstate agreements on renting of military and space testing grounds.

New budgetary programs have been adopted: the modernization and purchase of communication systems, cartographic-geodetic maintenance, creation of an automated system of accounting and reporting, combat training and the provision of accommodation for military personnel.

Manufacture and Delivery of Military Assignment Production

Condition of a military-industrial complex

The basic capacities of a military-industrial complex of the Soviet Union are still kept in Kazakhstan. The high degree of economic integration of the republic with other CIS countries makes Kazakhstan dependent on the importing of products.

Before 1991 there were about 100 enterprises in the defence sector. Kazakhstan produced small armaments, rocket systems, components of anti air force systems and equipment for Naval Forces (up to 95 % of some products made in the USSR).

Petropavlovsk in the north of the republic, Shevchenko in the west, Ust-Kamenogorsk in the east, Celinograd in the centre and Almaty in the south were the regional centres of the Kazakhstan defence sector.

Currently 24 enterprises of military-industrial complex (MIC) of Kazakhstan continue to deliver to Russia torpedoes, rocket complexes, onboard equipment and shooting armaments etc. About 60 Kazakhstan enterprises in total make up to 400 kinds of products (basically accessories for weapons and military technical equipment) for 200 orders from the Russian defence sector.

The above-mentioned 24 enterprises include the following specialized branches: shipbuilding - 5; radio industry - 3; armament industry - 7; space-rocket industry - 7; electronics - 5; aviation industry - 2; industries of a communication facility - 1.

Delivery of Weapons and Military Technical Equipment

Less than 20 percent of defence sector production is now for really military assignments which are used for the needs of the national Armed Forces.

In 1999, the defence sector industry income from the export of military-technical production amounted to 13 million dollars. In 2000, Kazakhstan considerably expanded its markets for military production and defence sector income came to more than 20 million dollars; in 2001 24.4 million dollars and in 2002 some 30 million dollars.

Military export of the republic increases and Kazakhstan currently exports its production to 15 countries. Except for armoured technical equipment and planes, the defence sector of Kazakhstan, with foreign investments, is capable to develop programs on production of anti-aircraft, tactical and operational-tactical rockets, and modern systems of air defence. Ural large-calibre infantry machine gun NSVT-12,7 and the "police" automatic gun PP-90 have drawn much attention of Russia, China, etc during the international military exhibition IDEX-2001 in the United Arab Emirates.

Astana offers the old but reliable Soviet aircrafts: Su-24 (the first unsuccessful contract between Kazakhstan and Syria for delivery of this plane was signed in the middle of 1992), fighters-bombers MiG-21, the MiG-25 and helicopters Mi-4 and 8-8.

The more expensive types of military production made in Kazakhstan are torpedoes and underwater mines, and also the multi-purpose underwater devices "Omar", "Meduza" and «Complex». These units allow to carry out the most various tasks - from inspection of underwater pipelines and raising of fragments from depth of 1,000 meters to inspection diving to drifting submarines.

Military and Military-Technical Cooperation

The Kazakh-Russian Relations

The Friendship, Cooperation and Military Assistance Treaty of 1992 guarantees Russia's help in the formation of the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan. It legalizes the further staying of Russian military personnel in Kazakhstan, provides many of the Russian troops with accommodation and allows them to carry out their movements across Kazakhstan to the South. The contract mentions an acute problem that is the use by Russia of strategic testing grounds and other military constructions from Soviet times.

The Treaty on military cooperation signed in March 1994 determines a principle of common use of the Caspian Sea by the Navies.

The Russian-Kazakh strategic agreements have found further amplification after the adoption of the new Russian foreign policy concept (28 June 2000) concerning the CIS participating states. According to this document and in view of the geopolitical position, Kazakhstan is obliged to consider Russia as its main strategic partner and to adhere to regional agreements on security.

The agreement of 16 January 2001 on the Russian military testing grounds in Kazakhstan creates a legal basis for timely staying of the Russian troops in Kazakhstan.

Cooperation on Border Protection

In the beginning of 2001 the Council of the Federation of Russia ratified the Treaty between Russia and Kazakhstan on cooperation in the protection of external borders. The document determines the basic directions of cooperation border protection between the two countries: the possibility for the militaries of both countries to serve in border troops of any of the two countries, constant exchange of information on the situation, cooperation in operative, intelligence and counterintelligence activity, rendering of assistance in professional training for border troops.

Joint Military Preparation

In August 1992 Kazakhstan and the Russian Federation signed the agreement on the training of a big group of Kazakhstan militaries in Russia. Russia agreed to do it without any compensation.

According to agreements between Kazakhstan and Russia, the senior and junior officers of the Kazakh Army continue their studies in Russian military high schools. At present 700 students of Kazakhstan's Armed Forces are being trained in 39 Russian military high schools, more than 100 of them graduated from military academies, including the Academy of Joint Staff of the Defence Ministry of the Russian Federation.

The Joint System of Air Defence

The Russian Government has approved the jointly prepared five-year draft agreement with Kazakhstan on the sharing of military testing grounds by the Russian air forces and the air defence of Kazakhstan. One of the purposes of the agreement was the improvement of interaction between the air defence forces of the two states. The project was prepared on the basis of the bilateral Contract on military cooperation (26 March 1994) and the Concept of joint air defence of the CIS (19 January 1994).

The joint patrolling by forces of Russia's and Kazakhstan's air defences began on 1 May 1996 according to a bilateral agreement and the agreement of the CIS on the organization of the integrated system of air defence (10 February 1995). This system of joint Russian-Kazakh patrolling is considered to be the basis for the realization of the initiatives on the organization of a joint regional system of air defence in Central Asia.

Cooperation in the field of manufacture and deliveries of arms

In January 1993, Russia and Kazakhstan signed the agreement on mutual military assistance. The subsequent agreements provided joint planning and training, coordination of military intelligence, support of military-industrial communications including cooperation in military trading with third countries.

Kazakhstan is planning to use capacities of its military-industrial complex within the framework of military-technical cooperation with Russia and already conducts negotiations in this field. In February 2002, both states set up the special subcommittee on military-technical cooperation which determined as primary goal the development of the program on military-technical cooperation of defence-industrial complexes till 2010.

Kazakhstan - CST

Kazakhstan is a member of the CST. Due to the antiterrorist campaign in Afghanistan, the focus of CST activity is moving towards the

strengthening of the coordination of the CIS participating states' military-technical cooperation by Moscow. Russia promises to deliver armaments and military-technical equipment to CIS countries on favourable terms.

The leadership of the Council of Collective Security notices an active role of Kazakhstan, both in performance of treaty obligations and in military-economic integration.

Kazakhstan - NATO

The political administration of Kazakhstan considers the close cooperation with the NATO member states, including cooperation within the framework of the PfP-program, as a condition for the country's military security.

In the last years the administration of Kazakhstan has considered the USA, Germany and Turkey as alternative sources of modern arms. Within the framework of military assistance Kazakhstan received 6 patrol boats from the USA and 4 patrol boats from Germany. Kazakhstan is planning to receive from Germany also radio engineering equipment and from the USA communication facility and devices for the control and protection of nuclear materials.

Kazakhstan and the USA signed a number of agreements in the field of defence and security.

Within the framework of the program of military financing, the USA rendered to Kazakhstan a military financial assistance of 2.75 million dollars in August 2002. Currently, Kazakhstan is purchasing American military-technical equipment for mobile forces, various models of "Hammer" army automobiles and "Bell Textron" helicopters. In the framework of the same program in 2003 additional 3 million dollars will be rendered to Kazakhstan. Apart from American training of Kazakh officers in the leading military high schools, 1.8 million dollars will be assigned for these purposes during the next two years. At this time, some

30 Kazakh officers are studying in the USA (National University of Defence, Academy of the Air Forces and Academy of West-Point).

In April 2001 Turkey rendered military-technical assistance of 1.2 million dollars to the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan. For these funds, military equipment and 30 automobiles were purchased from. The same year, the Turkish side presented to the Kazakhstan's Defence Ministry a patrol boat which is used as an educational vessel in Naval school.

The opening ceremony of the military-technical representation of Joint Staff of the Military Forces of Turkey took place in August 2001 in Astana. The primary goal of this representation is the coordination of military cooperation between the defence sectors of Kazakhstan and Turkey.

Kazakhstan and Turkey signed more than 11 agreements on military-technical cooperation. Within the program of military interaction between both countries, assistance of 10 million dollars is supposed to be rendered to Kazakhstan's Armed Forces till 2010.

During the last few years Kazakh military experts have studied mainly in four high schools in Turkey and three high schools in Germany. At the same time the administration of Kazakhstan inquires for study possibilities in educational institutions of other countries. In the beginning of 2002 the group of experts of the department for military education of the Defence Ministry of Kazakhstan visited the Sevastopol (Nakhimov's) Naval Institute.

In 1998 - 2002, the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan took part in the CIS «Fighting commonwealth» and «the Southern shield of Commonwealth» military exercises and the PfP-program "Centrazbat". In the near future Kazakhstan's peace-making battalion "Kazbat" is supposed to be given certification of the UN and NATO which will testify "Kazbat's" readiness for actions in any region of the world after five months of preparatory training including language courses abroad.

From 12 – 28 July 2001 Kazakhstan's militaries participated in the command-staff computer exercises «the Shield of the world-2001» in the Yavorovsk's educational centre (Ukraine).

From 7 – 30 August 2002 on the Kokchegaysk's base of a landing-assault brigade in Kazakhstan, the Armed Forces of Kazakhstan and divisions of the American Forces of special assignment held joint tactical exercises under the code name «Balance Bar». Other joint exercises of Kazakh and US Armed Forces with the participation of 300 militaries are planned for summer 2003.

Republic of Kyrgyzstan

The General Data on Armed Forces

In 29 May 1992 according to the Decree of the President of the Kyrgyz Republic, units and parts of the Armed Forces of the USSR located on Kyrgyz territory were taken under the jurisdiction of Kyrgyzstan.

Kyrgyzstan has never considered any state or coalition of states as its enemy and has opposed the use of military force for achieving political and economic targets. However, it has recognized as necessary the country's preparation to protect it against possible military attack. These obligations are determined in the military defence concept of Kyrgyzstan and fixed in the law on defence. They mean to keep military potential at a level of providing military security and capability of the Armed Forces which allows repulsing a possible aggression.

The obligations of Kyrgyzstan in the framework of the CST of the CIS rather than the negative development of the military-political situation and of military threats to Kyrgyzstan's security were the stimulus to the creation of own Armed Forces. Originally Armed Forces were perceived only as an obligatory attribute of statehood.

However, practical measures in view to strengthen the country's defensibility were limited by the establishment of number of the armed forces without any feasibility study and calculations. Thus, the state's

needs regarding maintenance of military security and its economic opportunities were not considered.

While the states of the world community spend 3 - 5% of their GDP for defence, Kyrgyzstan spends less than 1%. Moreover, there is a clear tendency towards the reduction of its military budget. If in 1995 it made 0.68% of GDP, in 1997 - only 0.56% and in 2000 - 0.50%.

According to international criteria, the army should annually update 9 - 10% of its arms and military-technical equipment. After the collapse of the Soviet Union up to today, Kyrgyzstan has hardly spent any funds for the needs of the Armed Forces because of financial restrictions nor is the republic is planning to update its armament. At present, more than 50% of its arms and military-technical equipment has become worthless.

The legal documents on a military policy have mainly declarative character and do not determine the directions of the development of the state's military organization, mechanisms of legislative, legal regulation and realization of a military policy.

The military leadership of Kyrgyzstan is planning to compensate the lack of finance by reducing the regular Armed Forces down to a level provided with economic opportunities at preservation of existing military expenses.

The troops' structures haven't been changed much, mainly towards a staff reduction. They still represent the typical structure of the Soviet Army, specialized more in acting in desert areas.

The management of the Armed Forces is not organized properly. Even today, Kyrgyzstan doesn't have an office of the Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces. The existing structure of the Defence Ministry, its technical equipment, notification and communication systems do not allow to carry out a qualitative management of troops during the mobilization period or in case of times of war.

Due to insufficient financing of the army, operative, fighting and mobilization preparation of troops are conserved. As a result the professional ability has considerably decreased.

All the above-mentioned clearly shows that today the Armed Forces as a basic component of the military security system and of all systems of the security sector do not satisfy the needs of the country. The small number of the Armed Forces, their low fighting ability, their poor and weak technical equipment, and their insufficient mobilization potential do not guaranty military security.

Today, the number of the Armed Forces of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan is 25,600 people. In the Ministry of Defence, the number is 12,600 people, including: the Land Forces of about 10,500 people, the Air Forces and air defence of up to 2,100 people. The Border Force has about 10,000 people and the Internal Forces include up to 3,000 people.

Supreme Commander-in-Chief is the President of the Republic of Kyrgyzstan.

The Data by Types of Armed Force

Land Forces

Land Forces of Kyrgyzstan have one motor-shooting division and a separate motor-shooting brigade (mountain).

The motor-shooting division (permanent location is a suburb of the city Bishkek, the village Rybachye) consists of three motor-shooting regiments, tank, anti-aircraft artillery and artillery regiments.

The structure of the Defence Ministry also includes three separate machine-gun artillery batteries, two bases for the storage of armoured technical equipment, military hospital and a separate group of special assignment called "Scorpion".

Arms and combat technique are mostly old. Kyrgyzstan doesn't have any resources for the creation of a modern army and that is the reason why it addresses Russia, China, Kazakhstan and some European countries with the request to render military-technical help on a barter basis for delivery of electric power, uranium and other raw metals.

Military Air Forces and Air Defence

The military Air Forces of the republic consist of two aviation brigades: a separate fighting aviation brigade stationed in the city of Tog-mak, and a separate transport aviation brigade stationed in the city of Kant; one helicopter brigade and a military air base both in Bishkek.

Air Forces and Air Defence are equipped with: warplanes - 66, including combat planes - 10; helicopters - 30, including combat helicopters- only 12. Russia started to re-equip divisions of Kyrgyzstan's air defence by complexes PK C-75,125. The Russian Defence Ministry conducts negotiations on the long-term leasing of some other air defence systems, including the "C-300".

Border Service of the Kyrgyz Republic

On 1 October 2002 the unique Border Service was created under the Chief Directorate of border service of the Defence Ministry and the Chief Directorate of border control of the National Security Service of Kyrgyzstan with the office in Bishkek. Today, the formation of an independent force department – the Border service (BS) of the Kyrgyz Republic has been started.

The border service will be an executive body of the state management under the government that promotes state policy in the field of border protection. It will be headed by a chairman appointed by the President after consultation with the Prime Minister. The border troops consist of approximately 5,000 people: six border groups stationed in the cities of Osh, Naryn, Prijivalsk, Batken, Isfana and Haydarkan. Each border group, depending on length and complexity of a protected site, consist of 8-12 frontier post with 650- 950 people each. Approximately 70% of the

militaries in the border groups serve on contract basis. The basic arms of the frontier posts are RPG-7, PKM, RPK, AK-74, PNV, GAZ-66, KShM, stationary RS "Barret", and portable RS "Aselsan". Russia, China, Turkey and some other Western countries actively assisted Kyrgyzstan by rendering technical and mountain equipment and communication facilities.

Admission to and Training in the Armed Forces

The collapse of the system of military-patriotic education has led to a fall in prestige of military service, to growth of anti-army mood, attempts of the youth to avoid military service. The Parliament of Kyrgyzstan approved that recruits for military service would be released if they pay an amount equivalent to 500 dollars, and the term of service was shortened from 2 years to 1 year, but at the same time the maximum age of recruits was raised from 27 to 35 years.

Kyrgyzstan doesn't have the basis for preparing its own military personnel. The militaries study mainly in Russian military institutions and in some Western countries. On the one hand, it can lead to further misunderstandings between militaries with different points of view on purposes, tasks, structure of armies, ways of conducting operations, etc. On the other hand, the Western military experts do not take into account the specific features of battlefields in Kyrgyzstan.

At the same time, the leadership of the republic, bearing in mind Batkents events and antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan, is planning to reform the Army (on a contract basis) and to pass over to a professional, mobilized and technically re-equipped Army.

This is the reason why on the international arena the administration of Kyrgyzstan tries to balance between the interests of such states as Russia, China and the USA. With the financial assets granted for providing the antiterrorist coalition with air base, Kyrgyzstan purchases from Russia arms and military technical equipment to be delivered on specially favourable terms (low prices or long-term credits like for the members of the Collective Security Treaty).

The military reform is planned to be carried out in three stages with the completion date in 2010.

Military and Military-Technical Cooperation

Kyrgyzstan – Russia

Russia takes all necessary steps for delivering military-technical equipment to Kyrgyzstan on most favourable terms. In May 2002 Russia rendered to Kyrgyzstan military-technical assistance amounting to 770,000 dollars (communication facilities and security equipment for the modernization of the Kyrgyz-Chinese and Kyrgyz-Tadjik borders).

The Russian naval units testing technical equipment for torpedoes and long distance communication still stay in Kyrgyz waters. A group of Russian military advisers consult local specialists on issues of protection of the CIS's southern boundaries. The Russian atomic energy ministry cooperates with Kyrgyz enterprises on enrichment of uranium for military purposes. The renovation of some Kyrgyz military enterprises also draws much attention of Russian investors.

The second session of the Kyrgyz-Russian commission on military-technical cooperation took place in Bishkek in November 2002. Kyrgyzstan expressed readiness to give up some industrial enterprises (joint-stock company "Dastan" producing arms for navy fleet, joint-stock company "Janar" producing technical systems for border protection, joint-stock company "Aynur" and the Bishkek stamping factory producing bullets for automatic weapons) to Russia as repayment of debts.

According to Kyrgyz analysts, military cooperation between Bishkek and Moscow is nowadays based rather on political than on economic aspects. Both sides try to demonstrate that the opening of the military base near Bishkek for the US and coalition forces cannot influence their military cooperation.

However, the present state of affairs shows that military cooperation with the West brings more political and economic dividends to Kyrgyzstan than the same cooperation with CIS countries.

In 2002 Kyrgyzstan agreed on the prolongation of deployment of Russian military objects on the territory of Kyrgyzstan for at least 7 - 15 years (the communication centre of the Russian Navy 50km from Bishkek and the military exercise ground "Ozero" on Issyk Kul lake, where new types of naval arms are tested).

The Russian specialists restored air bases which provide defence (by complexes C-125) of the air space over Bishkek. They are also planning to use the enterprises of Kyrgyzstan's military-industrial complex for mutual needs.

Since 1998 the Russian Defence Ministry has delivered technical equipment amounting to 14 million roubles (466,000 dollars) for Kyrgyzstan's air defence, in 2002 - equipment amounting to 4,1 million roubles (136,000 dollars). Accessories for the system RK worth 3,5 million roubles (116,000 dollars) and several systems of RK C-300 will also be delivered to Kyrgyzstan in the near future.

Within the framework of interaction between the NSS of Kyrgyzstan and the Federal Security Service of the Russian Federation, at the end of 2001 special automobiles with mobile radio finders (for tracking radio signals) and control of radio-electronic situation were delivered to Osh, Batkent's and Jalal-Abad's areas of Kyrgyzstan.

Kyrgyzstan's debts to Russia are estimated at more than 150 million dollars.

Kyrgyzstan – CST

In accordance with the decision approved by the CST in December 2002, the Russian Air Forces transferred three Su-27 warplanes and two Su-25 from the Russian aviation group in Tajikistan to the air base in

Kant (20km from Bishkek). Earlier, two military transport planes (Il – 76) landed at the same base.

The joint aviation group located at the Kant air base will consist of five Su-27 fighters, five Su-25, two An-26, two Il - 76, five L-39 training planes, and also two multi-purpose helicopters Mi-8. Approximately 700 militaries and civil personnel are supposed to be deployed as well.

In interaction with Su-25 located near Dushanbe this group is now able to cover practically all areas of Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan.

From the military point of view the Kant air base is strategically very important. It is 600km closer to Russia than Dushanbe where Russian warplanes are deployed. It enables to strengthen a group without intermediate landings in the Central Asian airdromes. Kant is one of two bases available in Kyrgyzstan for warplanes to land. The international airport "Manas" is occupied with contingents of the US and its allies providing aviation support to the coalition forces in Afghanistan. Initially, the Kant air base was suggested to the Americans for this purpose. However, the US refused referring to the lack of necessary equipment on this air base.

Kyrgyzstan – USA

In February 2002, the USA and France started to re-equip “Manas” international airport for the military air base "Gansi". At "Manas", hangars for fighting aircraft technicians, warehouses for fuel and ammunition are under construction. A total up to 60 military planes can be deployed at this base.

Accommodation of the military contingents of the US and its allies at the airport Manas and the creation of “Gansi” base showed to the administration of Kyrgyzstan to what «vein of gold» a foreign base can turn (for the take-off and landing of a military transport plane the owners get 7,000 dollars, each flight of a warplane costs 2,000 dollars, and 20 million dollars were spent by the coalition states for renovation works).

The West is interested in the creation of a multipurpose centre on the territory of Kyrgyzstan for providing control over a group of troops in Landjousk military district NOAK and the rocket troops of this district, as well as over the rocket exercise ground "Shuanchenczi" and the nuclear ground "Lobnor" (desert Takla-Makan).

Signing agreements with 13 states that participate in the international operation against terrorism on the deployment of militaries to support the US was also very important for Kyrgyzstan.

Of the 95 million dollars which are supposed to be rendered by the US to Kyrgyzstan within the assistance program, 37.4 million dollars will be invested into security and law enforcement bodies.

The help also provides support to the development of infrastructure of border guards and of the security services working between various ports of import including purchase of the modernized helicopters, aviation electronics, systems of supervision and communication, border systems, devices of night vision, vehicles, armoured jacket, communication facility and spare parts for helicopters and planes.

The US State Department increased financial assistance to the security sector from 0.5 million dollars in 2001 up to 1.25 million dollars in 2002 so that the Scientific Centre and Fund of civil researches and developments would help Kyrgyzstan to re-educate former Soviet military scientists for peace civil researches.

Kyrgyzstan – Germany

In 2002 Kyrgyzstan and Germany signed the arrangement on rendering military-technical assistance to the military forces of Kyrgyzstan by delivering special equipment, instruments of night vision and other technical systems. The parties also agreed on opening a joint centre in Bishkek for studying the seismic, geological and ecological situation in Kyrgyzstan.

Turkey expressed readiness to render military-technical assistance to the military forces of Kyrgyzstan amounting to 1.1 million dollars by delivering communication facility and equipping military personnel. Since 1999, Ankara has rendered assistance worth 3.5 million dollars to Kyrgyzstan.

On 15 June 2000 the Defence Ministry of Kyrgyzstan and Turkish Armed Forces signed the Protocol on the preparation of divisions of special assignment. Since July 2000, this program has been carried out and up to date, 339 militaries have already had training and studies.

Countries such as France, India and China also rendered military-technical assistance to Kyrgyzstan. Only the Chinese help made up to several million dollars.

Republic of Tajikistan

Armed Forces

The Armed Forces of the CIS states in Central Asia were formed in the beginning of the 1990s on the basis of the former Soviet Army located on their territories. In comparison with all of them in Tajikistan the Armed Forces consisted mainly of guerrilla groups.

Definitely, the Presidential Guard created in May 1992 was the first rather regular division of Armed Forces of Tajikistan. It consisted basically of Kulyabians and was supposed to act against demonstrations of the opposition. The same year a brigade of special assignment was created and a separate battalion under the President also consisting of Kulyabians. In the period following these divisions became a basis of the fighting formations of the People's Front.

The next stage of the formation of national Armed Forces began in December 1992 after the People's Front had occupied Dushanbe. It is considered that at this time the administration of the country started

forming regular parts of Tajikistan's Army from groups of the People's Front.

The third stage is connected to the process of peace settlement in the country. In June 1997 the government and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) formed the Commission on National Reconciliation. They signed the "General agreement on peace and national consent". According to this agreement the government started the process of formation of the incorporated army from divisions, groups and gangs appeared during the civil war. It was agreed that the UTO would have 30% of the posts at all levels of the government. On 27 June 1999 the UTO and the government of Tajikistan signed the conciliatory Protocol on disarmament of the illegal armed formations. It was a very important and decisive step in the creation of a regular army.

Structure of Armed Forces

Nowadays, the Armed Forces of the Republic of Tajikistan represent poorly integrated formations scattered throughout various parts of the country with the purpose of providing security in "hot" areas. They have neither a stable regular structure nor a precise concept of their formation. The administration of the country relies on a combination of security forces divisions, militia and militarised supporters of the former People's Front and also on UTO armed formations that begin to support the government.

Divisions of the Defence Ministry, border troops of the Committee on the protection of the frontier, units of the directorate of interior troops of the Ministry of the Interior, divisions of the Ministry of Security, formations of the Ministry of Emergency Measures, the Customs committee and the Presidential Guards can be related to military-power and militarised structures (Armed Forces) of Tajikistan.

Divisions of the Defence Ministry

It is difficult to estimate the situation in the Defence Ministry due to lack of true information. Different sources have different data.

According to Russian experts, the number of the governmental forces consists of approximately 7,000 people equipped with 40 tanks, 125 fighting machines, 24 artillery systems and 21 fighting helicopters (Mi-24 and Mi-8). According to the International Institute of Strategic Researches (London) the number of the Army of the Republic of Tajikistan consists of 6,000 people forming two motorized brigades (one training), mountain and artillery brigades, brigades and units of special forces and rocket troops.

Border Armies of Committee on the Protection of the Frontier (CPF)

The border troops include the Headquarter (Dushanbe) and five border brigades (BB). Three brigades provide protection of the Tajik-Afghan border (2nd, 3rd and 4th BB), two brigades (5th and 6th BB) supervise the Tajik-Uzbek border in the area of Leninabad. The CPF consists of about 2,000 people. A significant number of frontier guards is concentrated mainly along the Tajik-Uzbek border in the area of Leninabad and composed of former UTO fighters.

Units of the Directorate of Interior Troops of the Ministry of the Interior

For the last decade the basic threats to the present regime in Tajikistan do not come from the outside but exist within the country. This is the reason why the military forces are mainly based on the units of the Directorate of Interior Troops of the Ministry of the Interior consisting of 15,000 people rather than on the Army. Armed Forces are equipped with 15 fighting helicopters (five "Mi-24" and ten "Mi-8").

The first operative brigade of special assignment possesses the key position among the units of the Directorate of Interior Troops of the Ministry of the Interior. The brigade was formed in 1994 from operative troops (up to 1993 – Dushanbe's OMON). The basis of the brigade is a group of self-defence formed in Dushanbe in 1992. In 1998, the brigade took part in the suppression of the coup in the area of Leninabad. The brigade is estimated as the best organized, trained and equipped division

in Tajikistan. All divisions of the brigade are equipped with satellite communication.

The organization structure includes 4 battalions (operative, special assignment, motor-shooting, patrol), 4 separate units (intelligence, commandants, automobile and communications) and 2 special groups (mountain and skiers). Its staff consists of 2,300 militaries.

Experts consider the brigade as a part of the opposition to the present President Rakhmonov.

Divisions of the Ministry of Security

According to experts the Ministry of Security of Tajikistan remains one of the strongest security services in the CIS area and it is actively supporting the idea of an integration of the security services of the CIS countries. The staff of the Ministry does not exceed 3,000 people. The structure consists of a separate motor-shooting troop (Kulyab), a separate motor-shooting brigade (Kurgan Tyube), some educational divisions, an unit on the protection of the commodity base of the joint venture "Zarafshan" (gold mining) and the group "Alpha" of about 150 persons.

Formations of the Ministry of Emergency Measures

The Ministry of Emergency Measures was formed from an analogue committee in July 1999 in order to give to one of the most influential UTO field commanders M. Ziyoev an illusion of power. The Ministry had formally no power to interfere in confrontations and internal disorders. However, M. Ziyoev doubled the number of employees and expanded the power of the Ministry. The present formations of the Ministry of Emergency Measures consist of 2,000 – 2,500 fighters supervising key sites of the Tajik-Kyrgyz and Tajik-Uzbek borders. During the civil war the leader of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan (IMU), Juma Namangani, was the commander of M. Ziyoev's staff. In January 2001, M. Ziyoev tried to let the members of the IMU pass from Tajikistan to Afghanistan.

Irregular Armed Formations of the Opposition

There is reason to believe that leaders of the UTO are at least neutral to President Rakhmonov. However, in Tajikistan the regular armed formations are opposed to the government. Although the majority of the UTO commanders supported the peace process, not all of them could join the power structures of Tajikistan. Some of them refused to accept the peace agreement of 1997.

At the end of the 1990s the UTO consisted of about 5,000 armed fighters. By March 2000 according to the agreement of 1997, one part of 4,498 UTO fighters were integrated into the Army and the other part into security structures. In the Garm and Gorny Badacnshan regions, practically all former members of the armed opposition were integrated into the Ministry of Internal Affairs and are forming a significant part of it.

On the one hand, the integration of the opposition into the armed structures passed more or less successfully. On the other hand, the authorities had difficulties in financing the army. On 23 June 2000 the government declared that 4,000 former UTO fighters who had joined the army would be demobilized by August 1. However, in the end only 1,500 people demobilized. Some of them joined again the irregular armed formations. Since 1 August 2000 Tajikistan had cancelled the institute of contract service. This action reduced the number of former UTO fighters in the power structures of the state.

Zones of Influence and Control

Darband (sphere of influence of Mullo Abdulo), Garm (sphere of influence of M. Nizomov), Dgirgatal (sphere of influence of M. Iskandarov - chairman of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan), Tavildara (M. Ziyoev's zone), Kalaliy-Humb (S. Muhabbatov's area - chairman of the Committee of Oil and Gas), Kulyab (the zone of the Cholov brothers), Dangara (President Rakhmonov's native land), Kofarnihon (zone of influence of the first vice-prime minister A. Turadzhonzoda), Kurgan Tyube (M. Hudoberdiev's former area, now sphere of influence of groups controlled by M. Ziyoev), Varzob (S. Kasymov's zone).

The largest part of the Garm area and the Karategin Valley, and Kofarnihon where field commanders support the first vice-premier Hodzhi A. Turadzhonzoda have got out of control. All of them, as it is considered, are neutral to the government in Dushanbe. The Gorno-Badakhshan autonomous region presently conducts independently from the central authority. The authorities in the area are represented by self-defence groups of 3,000 people. The Council of Badakhshans Jihad headed by Salam Muhabbatov operates in the area of Pamir.

It is quite difficult to estimate the number of these armed formations as they are mixed with the local population and can freely recruit new members.

Dushanbe tries to bring the situation under control by carrying out local operations of liquidation of the illegal armed formations.

In Darband in September 2000 (Central Tajikistan) the operation against a group of Mullo Abdullo led to the result of about 28 fighters being killed and 40 being captured. In spring of 2002 Mullo Abdullo was detained in the mountains of Kandahar by American special troops. The groups of Rahmon Sanginov and Mansur Muakkalov (150-200 people) were attacked in August 2001. During the operation both leaders and another 36 fighters were killed, 66 were detained.

Admission and Professional Training

The Armed forces of the Republic of Tajikistan are organized on the principles of a regular army. Since 2000 admission to army has been carried out exclusively on obligatory appeal.

There is a tendency to local and family-related principles in the formation of divisions: commanders try to select fighters from the local district. The determined service period for soldiers and sergeants is two years.

The military-engineering college based in Dushanbe prepares officers. There was also opened the military lyceum (analogue Suvorovs schools).

Militaries of the Ministry of Internal Affairs are trained on the mountain educational bases "Navruz" and "Sharvoda".

The military educational institutions of Russia, which annually accept about 100 cadets from Tajikistan, train Tajik officers. At present about 500-600 people are studying there. These centres also prepare junior officers for the Tajik Army. Cadets from Tajikistan are trained in Ukraine and in China as well.

A good tactic manoeuvre capability, experience of fighting in mountain areas, and knowledge of explosives are considered to be the high fighting qualities of the Tajik Armed Forces. In general, the army leadership recommended themselves as good tacticians, satisfactory managers of the operative level and week strategists.

Military-Economic Maintenance

The military budget of the Republic of Tajikistan is rather stable and amounted to 82 million dollars in 2000 (10.9% less than in 1999). The limitation of defence costs is dictated by the economic situation in the country. In view of the economic situation Tajikistan cancelled the contract service and reduced the number of its Army. Till now the country has been suffering from shortage of technical equipment, weapon, ammunition, military property, etc. The essential negative fact is the absence of military-industrial base in Tajikistan.

The International Military and Military-Technical Cooperation

International military and military-technical cooperation of Tajikistan formally began with the deployment of collective peace-making forces (PMF) which later left the country. At the moment of their deployment in September 1993 the PMF included a Russian division (about 6,000 people) and Uzbek, Kazakh and Kyrgyz battalions (500 people each). Till September 1994 the number of peace-making forces had been increased up to 16,000 people. However, in 1995 - 1997 Kyrgyzstan removed its battalion from Tajikistan and Uzbekistan remained with

only one unit (100 people) which left Tajikistan in November 1998. Later, Uzbekistan removed its frontier guards from Tajikistan's territory. In February 1999 the Kyrgyz border battalion was also removed from Tajikistan, and in 2000 Kazakhstan did the same.

Thus, only Russian troops represented by the 201st motor-shooting division, several separate parts, a unit of the space monitoring system (all of them should be included into the structure of the Russian military base) and an operative group of the border armies remained in Tajikistan. The 201st motor-shooting division includes motor-shooting units, artillery units, a tank battalion and divisions of fighting maintenance, including a separate aviation squadron. The division is stationed in three large settlements - Dushanbe, Kurgan-Tyube and Kulyab - and consists of 6,000 people. The division is involved in operations in 11 directions of the Tajik-Afghani border, in the protection of some important Tajik and Russian objects and it possesses forces of air defence.

The Russian frontier troops are represented by an operative group of border forces (with the headquarters in Dushanbe) structured in the 48th (Pyanj) and the 117th (Moscow) border groups providing protection of the frontier with Afghanistan. The total number amounts up to 14,500 people. Thus, the Russian militaries are mainly command personnel. The basic personnel consist of Tajik citizens. The group was formed on 19 October 1992.

The administration of the chief military adviser, which directly participates in the military reform in the republic, was organized under the Defence Ministry of Tajikistan on the basis of intergovernmental agreements with Russia.

Tajikistan is a participant of the CST of the CIS and of "SOC". On 20 February 2002 Tajikistan, the last of the Central Asian states, joined the PfP-program of NATO.

A joint military-tactical training of divisions of the Tajik and French Defence Ministries located at the airport of Dushanbe was organized

from 3 – 6 August 2002 at the military exercise ground "Farhabad" (45 km from Dushanbe). Warplanes of the Air Forces of France were involved in the manoeuvres. At the present time more than 250 militaries and about 10 military-transport planes of France are deployed at the military airdrome of Dushanbe.

On 27 August 2002 Tajikistan signed the agreement on granting to the US military contingent in Tajikistan immunity from the International Criminal Court of the United Nations known as Clause #98. Thus, Tajikistan became the fourth country after Israel, Romania and East Timor, guaranteeing immunity to the American contingent in its territory.

Republic of Turkmenistan

The Republic of Turkmenistan considers possible local wars and confrontations in the neighbouring countries as the main military danger. Military security of the country is being provided in the three basic directions - Caspian, Afghan and Uzbek.

The security system of Turkmenistan is under significant influence of the clan structures of the country. President Niyazov's internal policy tries in many respects to weaken the existing clan-tribal connections and at the same time to balance between them.

The military-political course of Turkmenistan is based on the principle of "positive neutrality» meaning that the republic: does not consider any state as enemy, will not join any collective block, will not use the Armed Forces against any state except in case of self-defence, will not deploy foreign armies in its territory, will support the world community in the prevention of war and confrontations.

According to the Constitution of the Republic of Turkmenistan the President is the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces who gives orders for general or partial mobilization, uses the Armed Forces with the subsequent approval of these actions by Parliament, appoints

supreme command of the Armed Forces. There is a Presidential Council of Defence and National Security under the President.

In June 2001 the Council of National Security was renamed into «the Security Council of the Turkmen State».

The Armed Forces of the Republic of Turkmenistan started its reformation on the basis of parts and divisions of Turkistan military district deployed in the territory of Turkmenistan at the moment of the disintegration of the Soviet Union.

At present, the Ministry of Defence, the division of the state border service, the internal troops of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the division of the Ministry of National Security and the Service of personal protection of the President can be related to military-power and the militarised structures (Armed Forces) of Turkmenistan.

The Ministry of Defence

Divisions of the Ministry of Defence include the Land Forces, the Air Forces and the troops of air defence. They consist of approximately 17,000 – 19,000 people. The territory of Turkmenistan is divided into 5 military districts.

The number of the Land Forces makes 14,000 – 16,000 people organised in four motor-shooting divisions (one educational), an artillery brigade, troops of jet systems, an anti-tank artillery, engineering-sapper units, two brigades of anti-aircraft-rocket complexes and a separate landing-assault battalion, parts and divisions of the brigade of rocket complexes, a helicopter squadron, and divisions of communication and intelligence. The road car inspection and fire brigades are also submitted to the Defence Ministry.

Turkmenistan started transformation of divisions into brigades, and actually the Land forces have the mixed structure. As a rule, divisions (brigade) are completed (basically by protection and service forces). Exception is the 84th elite motor-shooting division named Niyazov.

Military-air forces and troops of anti-aircraft defence are considered as the most efficient structure in the Armed Forces of Turkmenistan. Their further development, connected to the strengthening of the bases in Ashgabat and Marah, is called to provide reliable protection of the country's energetic interests in the Caspian Sea. Aircrafts are used for patrolling the Caspian Sea thus compensating the insufficient power of the fleet.

The number of the Air Forces and the troops of air defence organised in three aviation regiments, one anti-aircraft-rocket brigade, three anti-aircraft-rocket regiments, and two separate radio engineering brigades is about 3,000 people.

Since 1 March 1999 air defence forces of the country have started to cover the air space of the capital Ashgabat.

The group of the forces of air defence has the systems RK "Kub", "Krug", "C-75" and "C-125". The Defence Ministry is planning to purchase the additional system of Russian RK C-300. Preparation of experts for 3RK C-300 will be carried out in the educational centre of Tedzhen which is still under construction.

70% of the military helicopters and planes on the air bases Mary-1 and Mary-2 need general renovation because of theft of parts made of nonferrous metals. The anti-aircraft-rocket unit which should protect the air space over the border with Afghanistan and Uzbekistan is partly destroyed.

Turkmenistan prepares the military reform with the purpose to «create a mobile army equipped with advanced weapons». According to official documents the government of Turkmenistan is planning to form a small but efficient army, «capable to protect state integrity and national sovereignty against possible aggression». At the same time President Niyazov declared that the main task of the Army will be the prevention of interior conflicts.

Divisions of the State Border Service (SBS)

After the announcement of the cancellation of the Agreement on joint protection of the frontier between Russia and Turkmenistan, Turkmenistan started to strengthen its border forces. The number of the SBS staff consists of 16,000 people including 10 border groups (BB), 60 frontier posts (FP) and two border commandant's offices (BCO). There is a separate helicopter squadron supporting actions of the Border Service.

Four border divisions operate on the borders with Afghanistan (Kushka and Koytendag), Afghanistan and Uzbekistan (Kerki) and Kazakhstan. The Navy fleet of Turkmenistan is also subordinated to the command of the border armies.

The SBS structure also includes the battalion of border patrol ships (20 fighting boats of class "Grif" and "Kalkan") and the battalion of the surface ships (trawler, sanitary boat, diving boat and four hydrographic courts) deployed in Turkmenbashi (former Krasnovodsk).

The number of the staff of the fleet together with the shore services consist of about 2,000 people. The fleet's main base (300 people, 7 boats and one trawler) is located in the port Turkmenbashi. The base of a river flotilla is located in Kelife on the Amu Darya river. Despite of the small probability of military operations in the Caspian Sea, there is a possibility of mutual provocation because of its uncertain legal status. This is the reason why the development of the fleet was named by the government of Turkmenistan to be one of the priorities of military construction.

On the initiative of the Ministry of National Security of Turkmenistan 9 "Dgeyhun" groups were created under the SBS. Commanders of the groups "Dgeyhun» were given practically unlimited power: the right to detain, to independently carry out searches, to arrest and keep in custody persons crossing the border till expiry of the term of preliminary investigation. Staff training was conducted by experts of the border armies of Russia. Functional duties of the division "Dgeyhun" also

included the control over border groups deployed along the whole border of Turkmenistan.

In mid-March 2002 President Niyazov ordered to subordinate the State Border Service of Turkmenistan from the control of the MNS directly to the President administration.

Divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, Ministry of National Security and Service of Personal Protection of the President (SPPP)

Bearing in mind that the main threats don't come from the outside but from the inside of the country the general reform of the Armed Forces of Turkmenistan led to the strengthening of the role of the SPPP (2,000 people), the Ministry of Internal Affairs (2,000 people) and the Committee of National security (CNS) (2,500 people).

The Ministry of Internal Affairs, its divisions and the CNS were mainly based on the structure of militia and the KGB of the Soviet Union. Their primary goal is the struggle against criminality. The CNS concentrates on political crimes.

In June 2000, President Niyazov proposed to create a council controlling the CNS, the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and supervising the movements of foreigners in Turkmenistan. The creation of such council was considered as a strengthening of the control over the negative exterior influence on the people and as a minimization of crimes having external sources. On 17 May 2001 the Committee of National Security was transformed into the Ministry of National Security (MNS). Divisions of the Ministry of Internal Affairs and the MNS were developed throughout the territory of the country with the basic groups in Ashgabat, Kyzyl-Arvat and Tashauz.

By autumn 2001 the number of the MNS staff was increased up to 2,500 people (new personnel came mainly from the Defence Ministry). President Niyazov declared that the MNS should be more concentrated on internal security (struggle against drug trafficking and control over

foreigners in Turkmenistan) and that all secret agents abroad should return.

The head of the MNS, Nazarov, was appointed at that time as the adviser of the President on national security and the coordination of law-enforcement activities and activities of military bodies. Furthermore, he was empowered to control the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

By that time some foreign mass media mentioned contacts of Turkmenistan's representatives in diplomatic missions with drug smugglers. Probably the MNS wanted to take control over the most powerful monetary stream. At the same time significant steps were taken for strengthening discipline in security service, the promotion of employees to "civil" organizations, cleansing in police, army and state bodies.

By 2002 former employees of the MNS involved in the different state organizations had practically created a "shadow" vertical of power.

Cleansing of the MNS, the Defence Ministry and the State border service began in spring 2002. The report on the activities of the MNS was on the agenda of the session of the Cabinet of ministers on March 5, 2002. President Niyazov said that security services had to be absolutely honest and clear in front of the people what couldn't be said about the MNS. The Heads of the Ministry of Internal Affairs, the State Office of Prosecutor and the Supreme Court accused the MNS of interfering into investigations by the militia and the Office of Prosecutor, as well as judicial hearings in courts and brought the relevant evidences and proves to the attention of the session. It was also argued that the MNS went out of any control. Performance of the Ministry was recognized as unsatisfactory; approximately 80 percent of its leadership was fired. The Minister of Internal Affairs, Berdyev, became a new minister of the MNS.

Admission to Armed Forces

The formation of the Armed Forces of Turkmenistan is based on the principles of a regular army. According to the new edition of the law on military service, the age for military service is determined from 18 to 30 years. However, the military service can be begun at the age of 17, provided a personal statement. In comparison with the law of 1993, the service period for soldiers and sergeants has increased from 18 to 24 months (18 months for persons having a higher education). In the fleet and in sectors of coastal maintenance, the service period is 30 months.

Postponement for high school students and the alternative service are cancelled. Military faculties at universities and institutes are closed. Due to the lack of financial resources, contract service has been cancelled since 2001. Experts reckon that the needs of the Armed Forces can be covered thanks to a general conscription. It is supposed that the annual contingent of recruits can reach 100,000 people. As ordered by President Niyazov all contracts with militaries have been cancelled since the end of 2001.

Like in other states of Central Asia, the system of military-patriotic education in Turkmenistan was destroyed, the prestige of military service has decreased, and recruits of the Armed Forces are mostly weak, have health problems and are not prepared for military service. Their educational level is very low.

In order to decrease the influence of clan, tribal and regional groups and to strengthen national identity, admission to the Armed Forces is carried out by an outer-territorial principle: as a rule, militaries serve outside of the district from which they were called.

Since August 2002 special military units which were in close contacts with different branches of the national economy have been created within the Armed Forces. More than 20,000 soldiers work on cotton fields, in hospitals, trade, motor transportation inspection and committees on tourism.

Today, not only young people having reached the age of 18 but also those who have already served and were demobilized in the ranks of sergeants and soldiers with high education till the age of 35 could be called to the Army. On Niyazov's opinion due to these measures militaries could practice civil specialties and get jobs after demobilization. He also proposed to devote one week per month to military service and the rest of the time to civil professions.

Training and Preparation of Military Staff

The outflow, for various reasons, of officers of the Soviet Army from the republic at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s created a problem of admission of staff and of professional training of the Armed Forces. In this regard in October 1992, the military faculty preparing officers for tank, infantry, and aviation divisions and officers of echelon and communication was opened at Turkmen Mahtumkuli State University in Ashgabat. In September 1993, 600 people graduated from Ashgabat Military Institute.

Preparation of the military staff is also carried out in foreign educational centres according to intergovernmental agreements with Russia, Ukraine, Turkey and Pakistan. Foreign centres prepare more than 450 experts (200 in Turkey, 200 in Ukraine and many more in Pakistan and Russia). Training, as a rule, is carried out in exchange for deliveries of natural gas or on account of the debts. Assistance in the preparation of military experts is rendered also by the USA within the framework of NATO programs. Thus, in 1999 - 2000 within the framework of the program on International Military Education and Training, 13 military men of Turkmenistan were trained in the US Defence Ministry.

Turkmenistan proclaimed as a main criteria for the selection of manager personnel a "cleanliness of the family tree in three generations". In consequence, personnel selection led to the replacement of persons of non-Turkmen nationality within the system of the government. Such practice led in many cases to the selection of incompetent but people loyal to the President.

In September 1998, the Turkmen President ordered to reduce the number of admissions to the military institute to 150 cadets. The certification of people for officer posts was cancelled. As a result, units and parts of the Armed Forces didn't exceed 15 - 20% from their regular number.

Turkmenistan is considering the creation of the first military school in Chardjev for the education of aviation technicians and experts of air defence and is planning to transfer Ashgabat Military Institute to Mary where the so-called "Arabian Centre of air defence" has been deployed since the Soviet Union times.

International Military and Military-Technical Cooperation

The neutral status proclaimed in 1995 allows Turkmenistan to abstain from decisions of many international political and economic problems both at a level of the sub-region and at the international level. The country is not a member of any military or military-political organization.

Turkmenistan abstains from multilateral cooperation in the military and military-technical field stipulated by the Charter of the CIS preferring the development of the bilateral level. Representatives of power structures of Turkmenistan participate in many meetings within the framework of the CIS in the role of observers. A unique exception is its participation in work of the Co-coordinating committee on questions of air defence in the Council of Ministers of Defence of the CIS participating states.

Like the majority of the states of Central Asia, Turkmenistan does not produce any arms or military technical equipment. Therefore, most of its contacts within military-technical cooperation result in purchase, or repair of arms and equipment, sale of some arms remained in the country after the disintegration of the USSR, and re-export. Turkmenistan conducted a number of intermediary operations in the 1990s on the international arms market. Some types of arms and military technical equipment were bought in Bulgaria, Czechia, Slovakia, Romania,

Belarus, and Ukraine and were sold to Turkey, Iran, Russia, Southern Yemen and Sudan.

Turkmenistan has a contract on the repair of warplanes Su-25 in Georgia in the joint-stock company "Tbilaviastroy" on account of debts of this state for Turkmen gas. 22 planes were repaired in 2001. The Georgian experts participate in the training of Turkmen pilots on an air base of Mary-2.

Turkmenistan – Ukraine

Turkmenistan actively develops cooperation with Ukraine where the sphere of mutual interests includes barter deliveries. According to the Turkmen-Ukrainian intergovernmental agreement of 2001 "Turkmenoilgaz" is to carry out deliveries of natural gas to Ukraine during the period till 2006. Up to 50% of the cost of gas Ukraine reimburses by delivering military technical equipment and accessories to Turkmenistan and carrying out training of military experts.

With a view to the maintenance of the State border service with necessary combat material, in 2001 20 sea fighting boats of the "Grif" and "Kalkan" classes were received from Ukraine delivered on account of a commodity part of payment of Turkmen natural gas. In 2002, Turkmenistan already received four boats "Kalkan-M". At the Lvov aircraft-repair factory it is planned to repair four MiG-29.

Turkmenistan – Belarus

In 2002 Belarus has left with the initiative to the Turkmen administration about the sale of modern military technical equipment for Turkmen Armed Forces.

Turkmenistan-NATO

Cooperation of Turkmenistan with NATO is carried out through the PfP-program and on a bilateral basis in the usual format for Central Asian states. Thus it is interesting to note that Turkmenistan was the first state

of Central Asia to join the program (May 1994). Within the framework of cooperation the preparation and retraining of military experts, and also deliveries of technical equipment (all in insignificant volumes) are carried out.

Turkmenistan - USA

During 1992-2001 the US government has allocated from the budget about 217.42 million dollars on the financing of programs in Turkmenistan, and has also given to this country material surpluses of the Ministry of Defence and humanitarian goods by private organizations for the sum of 45 million dollars. Of the last receipts it is possible to note the patrol boat of the Point Jackson class handed to Turkmenistan by the Central Command of the Ministry of Defence of the USA.

In the budgetary year of 2002 the corresponding divisions of the US government allocated means at a rate of 16.9 million dollars on help programs for Turkmenistan, including help on security of 8.3 million dollars.

In 2002 Turkmenistan has received 7 million dollars from the Fund of extreme reaction within the framework of the help program for questions regarding export control and border security.

Within the framework of this program there is support to Turkmenistan's border service, the Ministry of Defence and other force departments with a view to the maintenance of operative interaction and the amplification of the control outside the country. The purpose of the program will consist in the prevention of transit transportations of weapons of mass destruction, of technologies connected to it and other illegal kinds of weapons. Since 1999, American instructors have been working in Turkmenistan on the formation of a special division of border armies for the struggle against drug smuggling.

Besides, in 2002 the USA has allocated 450,000 dollars on the international program of military preparation and training.

The amount spent for the humanitarian programs for Turkmenistan includes the deliveries of goods by the transport program of the State Department. Within the framework of this modest program, which will provide delivery of humanitarian cargoes amounting to almost 5 million dollars, the State Department carries out transportation and distribution of medical goods, clothes and foodstuffs for the most requiring groups of the population.

The most intensive contacts in military matters in Turkmenistan exist with Russia and Afghanistan.

Turkmenistan-Russia

In order to solve the problems of the creation of own Armed Forces in conditions of shortage of manpower, funds and absence of educational objects, Ashgabat has not taken an ordinary decision as it has created the incorporated command with Russia.

On 31 July 1992 Russia and Turkmenistan concluded the Treaty about joint efforts in connection with the creation of Turkmenistan's Armed Forces. According to this document Russia represents itself as the guarantor of Turkmenistan's security. Also it was marked that parts and divisions of the Border Armies, the Air Forces and air defence remain under Russian command and are organizationally part of the Armed Forces of the Russian Federation. Other military formations pass under the incorporated command with a gradual transfer of administration to Turkmenistan within 10 years. In a transition period Russia was to render to Turkmenistan military-technical and operational and tactical support, and also to pay indemnification for the right of accommodation of the equipment on the territory of Turkmenistan. Turkmenistan covered the expenses under the maintenance of parts of joint submission. In 1992 in the Ministry of Defence of Turkmenistan, the operative group of the Ministry of Defence of the Russian Federation (a disposition of management in Ashgabat), providing cooperation and coordination of actions of the two states in the military sphere began to operate. Till

1994 there were two Russian regiments of launchers of antiaircraft-rocket complexes in Turkmenistan.

On 23 December 1993 the Russian-Turkmen Treaty about the joint protection of Turkmenistan's frontiers and about the status of military men of the Border Armies of the Russian Federation on the territory of Turkmenistan was signed. In accordance with the Treaty of March 1994 the operative group of the Federal Border Service (FBS) of Russia (a staff in Ashgabat) has been created. It provided protection of overland and sea borders of Turkmenistan (the sea border with Iran was protected by two patrol ships with mixed Russian - Turkmen crews). Russia's FBS also conducted training of officer staff and younger experts for the Border Armies of Turkmenistan. The number of Russia's FSB operative group in Turkmenistan was 2,000 up to 3,000 people (1,500 of them were officers and ensigns). The structure of the group also included a separate signal battalion (Ashgabat), sergeant school structure (Ashgabat), the 170th separate aviation regiments (Mary) and the 46th separate battalion of border patrol ships and boats (Turkmenboshi).

However, differences in the understanding of processes of military construction and a military-political rate have resulted in January 1994 in the dissolution of the incorporated command. On 20 May 1999 the administration of Turkmenistan declared the decision to terminate the contracts of 1993. By 20 December 1999 the Russian frontier guards had completely left the territory of the republic. Some analysts connect the withdrawal of the Russian frontier guards with Turkmenistan's reorientation towards cooperation with the USA. However, it can also be connected with its desire to independently supervise the financial and trading streams that are taking place across the border with Afghanistan.

In 2002, Russia and Turkmenistan developed the joint program of long-term cooperation in the military area for five years. Russia is going to deliver weapons and combat material to Turkmenistan in exchange for gas.

Within the framework of the developed program Russia will provide deliveries of arms and combat material of the newest sample and carry

out modernization of available technical equipment. The specified services will be paid by Turkmenistan with natural gas.

Today, Turkmenistan has more than 22 contracts and agreements with Russia, military communications providing a wide spectrum. Among them are about the cooperation between the main intelligence service of the Joint Staff of Russia and the intelligence service of the Ministry of Defence of Turkmenistan, about the preparation of military staff of Turkmenistan in educational institutions of Russia, about the joint aerodrome-technical maintenance of air courts, and about military-technical cooperation. There is especially large military cooperation of Turkmenistan with Russia in the field of use of military infrastructure.

Turkmenistan-Afghanistan

Till October 2001, there was an active military-technical cooperation of Turkmenistan with opposing groups in Afghanistan, consisting in deliveries of combustive-lubricating materials and of small arms including ammunition. Since the winter of 1994 the branch line from Kushka up to Turgundi has been operating. Since 1997, deliveries have been carried out regularly. Thus, it is stressed that Turkmenistan adhered to neutrality in the Afghani conflict and maintained close political and economic relations both with B. Rabbani's government and with Taliban movement. Turkmenistan considered it wrong to divide Afghani people in groupings and to search for ways of settlement beyond the framework of the peace negotiating process with the help of means of compulsion. Ashgabat expressed its interest in the stabilization of the situation in Afghanistan, and character of a mode to which it appears under force, did not play for it special role.

S. Niyazov repeatedly declared that all events in Afghanistan are the internal business of the Afghani people and that Turkmenistan « does not test the threat from the party of the Taliban. In Turkmenistan's opinion, economic projects involving the conflict parties in Afghanistan together with neighbouring countries could bring huge benefits. The chosen position allowed Ashgabat to act as an active intermediary in the attempts of an intra-Afghani settlement.

As Russian special services approve, the basis of the close relations of Ashgabat and groupings in Afghanistan consists in traffic in drugs and weapons. In the opinion of experts of the United Nations, Turkmenistan became one of the basic routes for illegal drug traffic from Afghanistan.

Besides it, on a position of Turkmenistan the opportunity to realize put forward in 1994 the American company United Oil of California (UNOCAL) and Saudi firm Delta the civil-engineering design of the gas main connecting Turkmenistan with Pakistan and, probably, India influenced. The gas main in the extent about 1,500km intended for delivery of the gas extracted on Dovletobod a deposit in the south of Turkmenistan, through territory of Afghanistan up to distributive system in the Pakistan city of Multan.

With the beginning of military operations in Afghanistan S. Niyazov, referring to Turkmenistan's neutral status, refused to make the country's air bases available to the forces of the antiterrorist coalition. The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkmenistan distributed the statement in which it was emphasized that the republic was not going to offer either its territory or military objects to foreign states for carrying out military actions. The air space of the republic was not open for flights of military planes of the alliance, either. Thus, the administration of the country gave ground and air corridors for the delivery of humanitarian cargoes to Afghanistan. As a result today Turkmenistan became the second country after Pakistan regarding the volume of transit of humanitarian help for Afghanistan.

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