Introduction
INTRODUCTION

Turkmenistan, a land locked desert country, is one of the five newly independent Central Asian states that also include Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan. It declared independence on October 27, 1991 from Soviet Union. It has 4,88,100 square kilometers of the total area and shares boundaries with Uzbekistan to the north, Kazakhstan to the northwest, has on the west the Caspian Sea and is flanked in the south by Iran and shares Caspian Sea with Russia and three other countries. Russian interest centers on the fact that Turkmenistan is a large country on the southern periphery of the former Soviet Union, has great economic potential, rich natural resources including large reserves of natural gas and a sparse population.

The republic of Turkmenistan, formerly the Turkmens Soviet Socialist Republic, is situated in the south west of Central Asia. The Turkmens are descendants of the Oghuz tribes who migrated to Central Asia in about the 10th Century A.D. By the 15th Century they had emerged as a distinct ethnic group but were divided by tribal loyalties and territorial division between neighbouring powers. From the 15th to the 17th centuries the southern tribes were under Persian rule, while the north was under the suzerainty of the (Uzbek) Khanates of Khivan and Bukharan territories. But Bukhara regained its power in the latter half of the 17th century and retook Merv and deported its entire population to Bukhara.

Meanwhile the Russians had begun their expansion into Central Asia, and during the 19th century they gradually reduced the khanates to the status of protectorates. In 1877 the Russians began a campaign against the Turkmen, which culminated in the battle of Geok Tepe in 1881 at which some 20,000 Turkmen are estimated to have been killed. In 1895 the Russian conquest was confirmed by agreement with the British: the international boundary thus established divided some Turkmen under Russian rule from others in Afghanistan.
In 1917 the Bolsheviks attempted to take power in the region but there was little support for them among the local population. An anti-Bolshevik Russian provisional government of Trans-Caspian was formed, and a Turkmen Congress was also established. Soviet forces were sent to Ashgabat (Ashkhabad), and a Turkistan Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic was established in July 1917. However, nationalists aided by British forces captured Ashgabat that came to be protected by a British garrison. The Governor was soon overthrown and by 1920 the Red Army, led by General Frunze, was in control of Ashgabat. As part of the National Delimitation of Central Asia, the Turkmen Soviet Socialist Republics was established in December 1922. Political power in the republic became the preserve of the Communist Party of Turkmenistan (CPT).

In the late 1920s and early 1930s, the Soviet leader Joseph Stalin made harsh and sweeping changes throughout the U.S.S.R. Private property was seized, and the Soviet government used brutal methods to punish opposition. These policies sparked a rebellion in Turkmenistan. And in 1927 the Soviet lost control of the republic to a national resistance movement called the Turkmen Freedom. After reclaiming the Turkmen SSR in 1932, Stalin executed thousands of Turkmenistan’s communist leaders including the president and the premier, whom he accused of helping the nationalists. Following the terror of the 1930s, Ashkhabad became completely obedient to the central Soviet government in Moscow.

After the Second World War, the Soviets built new plants in Central Asian cites, including in Ashkhabad and Chardzhou (modern Turkmenabat). A workforce made up of ethnic Russians and ethnic Ukrainians emigrated to the Turkmen S.S.R. The Republic’s irrigation projects diverted water from rivers to collective farms, many of which began growing fruits and vegetables instead of cotton. During the 1970s the Soviet government also developed the regions’ energy resources, including oil and natural gas.
The Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev instituted several new policies after coming to power in 1985. Glasnost (Openness) allowed more open criticism of the Communist Party and of the country’s economic system. Perestroika (Restructuring) eased government control over small business, which could now decide on their own wages, prices and production schedule. Turkmen communist leaders however were slow to adopt these reforms.

Turkmenistan is largely a desert country with nomadic cattle raising, intensive agriculture in irrigated oases, and huge gas and oil resources. One half of its irrigated land is planted in cotton, making it the world’s tenth largest producer. It also possesses the world’s fifth largest reserves of natural gas and substantial oil resources. Turkmenistan is the most ethnically homogeneous of the Central Asian republics, the vast majority of its population consisting of Turkmens. There are also Uzbeks, Russians and smaller minorities of Kazakhs, Tatars, Ukrainians, Azerbaijanis and Armenians. In contrast to other former Soviet republics, it has been largely free of inter-ethnic hostilities. ("Country profile: Turkmenistan, (Online: Web), Accessed on 23rd May, 2007, http://lcweb2.loc.gov/frd/cs/tmtoc.html p.1).

Since gaining its independence in 1991, Turkmenistan has remained impoverished and largely closed to the outside world. Its government, led till recently by President Saparmurat Niyazov, is composed mainly of former Communists who resist reform. There is a heavy reliance on imports. Its main exports are gas, oil, and oil products, which are sold primarily to Russia. The other main item of export is cotton, the price of which is low. ("Index of Economic Freedom", (Online: Web), Accessed on 24th May, 2007 http://www.heritage.org/Press/NewsReleases/nr010406.cfm, p.1). Until the end of 1993, Turkmenistan had experienced less economic disruption than other former Soviet states because its economy received a boost from higher prices for oil and gas and a sharp increase in hard currency earnings. In 1994, Russia’s refusal to export Turkmen gas to hard currency markets and mounting debts of its major customers in the former USSR for gas deliveries contributed to a sharp fall in industrial production and caused the budget to shift from a surplus to a slight deficit.
Geo-political significance of a country depends mainly on the geographical location of a country, which forms its border and defences with its immediate neighbours. Turkmenistan is an important country because of rich gas resources and being a transit route from Turkey and Iran to the east. The opening up of new railway line-Meshed (Iran) - Sarak-Asghbat-in 1996 connected directly Iran and China through Turkmenistan and Central Asia. The disintegration of the USSR opened again this vast area to the world. Consequently the focus of the international attention on the region will inevitably become significant and the great game in that sense will be played by major world powers seeking dominance over Central Asian oil. Therefore, as long as oil remains a crucial energy source in the world, Turkmenistan and Central Asia as a whole would undoubtedly become a region of critical strategic importance.

Taliban's victory in Afghanistan in 1996 came as the first direct shock to the Central Asian states in terms of Afghan conflict directly threatening their immediate security. Turkmenistan, despite being a member of CIS, remained neutral on the Afghan conflict. Turkmenistan's direct stake in routing its oil/gas pipelines across Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean Coast in Pakistan obviously determined its Afghan policy. Turkmenistan has interest to access South Asian markets-Pakistan and India. US-Saudi-Pakistan consortium of companies wanted to build a pipeline from Turkmenistan through Afghanistan and this turned Turkmen attention to focus on this project, rather than oppose Taliban.

Turkmenistan became a sovereign state in October 1991, in the aftermath of the August 1991 Putsch in Moscow. However, unlike many of the former Soviet republics, Turkmenistan has not experienced any serious economic or political crises in the years since independence. Having a land area slightly larger than California, it has a population of about 5 million. At the same time, 80% of Turkmenistan's territories are having huge deposits of oil and gas. In terms of its reserves of natural gas, Turkmenistan is fifth in the world. Of the 75 billion cubic meters produced in
1993, nearly 92% was exported. Trade in energy at world prices is viewed by Turkmen officials as the key to maintaining stability and transforming their country into the "Kuwait of Central Asia". (Kirill Nourzhanov, 1995, p.7.)

Questions surrounding the legal status of the Caspian Sea have haunted though not stopped further development of the Sea’s mineral resources. Since the fall of the Soviet Union in 1991 led to the independence of three new countries bordering the Caspian, the littoral states-Azerbaijan, Iran Kazakhstan, Russia and Turkmenistan-have been unable to agree on a legal framework for the use and development of the Sea’s oil and natural gas reserves.

On 20 December 1993, Russia and Turkmenistan agreed on two treaties which helped remove obstacles to the development of closer and stable relations between the two states. The first treaty established the principles of ‘dual citizenship’, a crucial factor in ensuring the protection and legal status of ethnic Russian living in Turkmenistan. Consequently, Turkmenistan is the first former Soviet republic within the CIS to recognize the principle of dual citizenship. To emphasize the importance attached to the agreement President Yeltsin became the first Russian citizen to be presented with a Turkmen passport. The other important agreement in November of same year was on Regulation of the Process of Migration and Protection of Migrant’s Rights, which committed both countries to eliminate any form of discrimination, particularly on political, socio-economic and religious grounds, against migration of people between the two states.

Following the break up of the Soviet Union, Russia’s foreign policy has been consistently subdivided into three different levels: The Far Abroad, the Nearest Abroad and the Near Abroad; each with its own military, political and financial objectives, and the corresponding interests willing to defend them. The Far Abroad concerns the West and the rest of the world, the Nearest Abroad represents Belarus and Ukraine (the two former Soviet republics that remain closest to Russia, geographically, ethnically and linguistically) and the Near Abroad includes the rest of
the former Soviet republics, particularly the ones in Central Asia and the
Trancaucasus.

The countries of the Near Abroad are important to Russia for many reasons: the presence of large populations of ethnic Russians in most of these countries, their strategic importance on Russia's borders, and the possibility that some of these bordering western Europe may move towards a defence relationship with NATO which would secure a higher degree of practical independence from Russia than would otherwise be possible. The dependence of these countries on Russia, for gas and oil supplies is very high. There are also dimensions of interdependence between Russia and the Central Asian 'near abroad'. Kazakhstan, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan would find it very difficult to develop their offshore Caspian resources for export without Russian support. Russia offers nearby markets and feasible transit routes for export. The USA has blocked considerations of export routes through Iran even if they were economical. Export routes through Turkey can easily be put second on economic grounds to the development of existing routes through Russia and Georgia.

However, prosperity of the Near Abroad continues to have strategic significance for Russia: impoverished states in the Near Abroad could open the way for foreign influences in those countries, apart from pressure on expatriate Russian population and economic migration to Russia. Energy projects in these countries, with Russian commercial participation, and using Russian territory or carrying petroleum through Russian pipelines can serve these wider Russian interests. They would involve co-operation rather than confrontation.

Russia continues to see Central Asia as vital to its security interests. Since the mid-1990s, these interests which are enshrined in a September 1995 presidential edict on Russian policy towards the CIS, have been defined as establishing an exclusive Russian sphere of influence minimizing the expansion of foreign presence and influences on CIS territory, preventing or containing local wars, and protecting ethnic
Russians. Russia has relied on three main tools to advance these interests.

1. Integration of the CIS under Russian leadership.

2. The use of military, economic and political leverage to harness the interests of the Caspian states to those of Russia.

3. International recognition of an exclusive Russian-led CIS peace-keeping role and Russia's "special powers" as guarantor of peace and stability in the space occupied by the former Soviet Union.

Russian military doctrine stresses the prevention of regional threats and local conflicts, the need to improve the mobility and deployability of Russia's conventional forces to deal with conflicts on Russia's periphery, the imperative of protecting Russians in the "near abroad", and the importance of preventing other countries from gaining a foothold in the region. Senior Russian military officials have expressed the view that Central Asia's borders are Russia's as well and that is because of the vulnerability of the area to Islamic fundamentalism. Russia needs to maintain a strong military presence to prevent the Caspian states from falling victim to Islamic extremism. Russia views Central Asia as a buffer zone along its southern border and has adopted a forward defense strategy predicated on the belief that the defense of Russia's borders starts at the CIS border in Central Asia. (John W. R. Leppingwell, 1994, p.77.)

Notwithstanding Central Asian participation in NATO's Partnership for Peace (PFP) Programme, American financed programs to establish regional security, and the uncertain position of several Central Asian states toward key security questions, Russia has been the main guarantor of security in Central Asia and has been able to expand its economic engagement in Central Asia.

Turkmenistan has some of the world's largest deposits of natural gas, with proven natural gas reserves of approximately 101 trillion cubic feet (tcf). The largest
natural gas fields are in the Amu-Darya basin, with perhaps half of the country's natural gas reserves located in the giant Dauletabad - Donmez field. In addition to Amu-Darya, Turkmenistan contains large natural gas reserves in the Murgab basin, particularly the giant Yashlar deposit, which contains an estimated 27 tcf. ("Central Asia: Turkmenistan Energy Sector", (Online: Web), Accessed on, 21st May 2002, http://www.era.doe.gov, p.2) During the last 10 years or so Turkmenistan has also discovered 17 new natural gas deposits in the Lebansky, Maryinsky, and Deashoguzsky regions of the country.

Turkmenistan exports most of its natural gas to Russia and has concluded various agreements to that effect. Russia agreed in 1992 to pay Turkmenistan at world prices and in hard currency for its exported natural gas. This was envisaged by an agreement on supplies of natural gas from Turkmenistan to the Russian Federation and for export. Taking account of Turkmenistan's share of the total volume of exports, Russia agreed to pay Turkmenistan in 1992 via the Russian gas company Gazprom at world prices, and in freely convertible currency for deliveries of 11.28 billion cubic metres of natural gas. According to the then deputy head of the Turkmen government, the hard currency receipts would help the republic to resolve socio-economic issues and would also be used for the further development of the gas industry. (Summary Of World Broadcasts, SU/WO215A/12, 31 January, 1992.)

Turkmenistan undertook obligation to deliver 63 billion cubic metres of gas at agreed prices to members of the CIS which was one of the items in the agreement on delivery of natural gas from Turkmenistan to Russia and for export, signed in Moscow on 20th January 1992. Under this agreement, of the 103.5 billion cubic metres of gas exported to Europe by the Russian concern Gazprom, Turkmenistan's share was 11.28 billion cubic meters, and Russia undertook the obligation to pay in hard currency and goods for this volume. (Summary Of World Broadcasts, SU/WO215 A/13, 31"Jan,1992.) In 1992, 15,000 tons of Turkmen cotton worth nearly 300 mn US dollars were exchanged for 2,300 mn tones of Russian oil, worth some 300m dollar at world prices. (Summary Of World Broadcasts, SU/WO222 A/5, 20 March, 1992.)
A Turkmen-Russian joint venture began producing liquefied gas in Turkmenistan. The plan was expected to produce 10,000-12,000 tonnes of propane-butane a year in the city of Turkmenbashy (formerly known as Krasnovodsk) using natural gas that was previously burnt off at local power stations. Turkmenistan's existing oil refineries currently produce 18,000 of the required 60,000 tons of liquefied gas a year, while the rest is imported from Russia at a price of 220-230 dollar per tone. Preparations began in 2003 for the construction of another plant, with a capacity of about 30,000 tons a year. Turkmenistan will be able to meet its requirements for liquefied gas in its fullest capacity. (Robert M. Cutler, 2003, p. 22)

The Turkmen and Russian gas authorities reached another agreement on exporting Turkmen natural gas to Western Europe in 1997. The accord was signed during the second day of a visit to Ashkhabad by the head of Russia's Gazprom company, Rem Vyakhirev. Gazprom and Turkmenistan are partners in the Turkmenrosagaz joint venture, which was formally established in August 1996 with a monopoly on the purchase of Turkmen gas and its transportation beyond the borders of Turkmenistan. (Ibid, p23)

Turkmenistan accepted in 1998 Russian terms for transporting its gas to Ukraine via Russian territory. Turkmenistan will pay Russia 1.75 dollars per 1,000 cu m of gas per 100 km. The agreement covers 20 billion cubic, mts of gas, which is the annual supply, agreed upon by Turkmenistan and Ukraine in Ashgabat on 29 January 1998. The Turkmen gas will be pumped along a 1,050 km pipeline route previously used during the Soviet period.

According to an agreement signed between the Turkmen President and Board Chairman of Russia's Gazprom giant, Russia received 20 billion cubic meters of Turkmen gas in 2000 at a price of $ 36 per 1,000 cubic meters. The contract stipulated that 40% of its price to be paid in hard currency and rest in goods.
Turkmenistan gas deliveries to Russia resumed on the eve of Putin’s visit to Turkmenistan. On 18th May, 2000 on the eve of the Russian President’s visit to Turkmenistan, Turkmenistan gas deliveries to Russia from the (Turkmen) country’s western oil and eastern gas fields were resumed. The western section of the gas pipeline Central Asia Centres CCA (III), going form the fields in Turkmenistan’s south west down the Caspian coast towards the border of Kazakhstan, was returned to production after rehabilitation work. Four million cubic meters were transported by the pipeline only during the first day. It added to the total flow of Turkmen gas to Russia, going basically from Turkmenistan’s eastern fields. The flow is served by another line of the inter-state pipeline CAS (IV) (Turkmenistan-Uzbekistan-Kazakhstan-Russia), with a capacity of 90 bn cubic meters.

The gas flow to Russia can reach a capacity of 100 mn. cubic meters per day after the commissioning of the CAC III line. The CAC III has a designated capacity of 8-10 bn cubic meters per year. To fully rehabilitate the pipeline and load it, the required measures have been taken, including connecting the gas lines from the western gas and oil fields, Barsagelmes and Koturdepe. Thus all of the Turkmenistan’s existing facilities of production and transportation of fuel have been involved to realize the arrangement achieved by President Niyazov and Vladimir Putin of a 10bn cubic meter annual growth of supplies of Turkmen gas to Russia.

Russia-Turkmenistan economic relations is not confined to the energy sector alone. Cotton fiber has traditionally been the third major export commodity of Turkmenistan. The main organization responsible for cotton marketing is Turkmenpahta, whose main functions are the purchase of raw cotton from farmers, the operation of ginneries, and the sale of the cotton fiber to the foreign buyers. Also, Turkmenpahta is responsible for the production and supply of seeds to farmers, and the provision of fertilizers as well as technical advice to producers on production and irrigation processes. Since 1996, the procurement price paid by Turkmenpahta to producers has been fixed at manat 1 million per ton. This price is low compared to the world market price for cotton fiber. Prices are the same for machine-picked and hand-
Turkmenistan, a newly independent state, has a challenging future in terms of stability, international recognition, economic independence and turbulent political developments within and outside its territory. It has potentially large reserves of oil and natural gas. Turkmenistan almost certainly ranks within the top 10 natural gas producers in the world and may even rank within the top five. Problems in terms of lack of skilled labour, lack of finances for investment in this sector, outdated and poor infrastructure and machinery, erratic relationship with the CIS countries, economic recession etc, are the major reasons which will influence the Turkmenistan’s economy in future as well. This implies that Turkmenistan cannot depend exclusively on the oil and gas industry. It must make efforts to develop the other sectors of the economy such as light industries, textiles and transportation.

Turkmenistan has declared “positive neutrality” and “open door” as the two major components of its foreign policy. Positive neutrality is defined as gaining international recognition of the republic’s independence, agreeing upon mutual non-interference in internal affairs and maintaining neutrality in external conflicts. The open doors policy had been adopted to encourage foreign investment and export trade especially through the development of transport infrastructure. Turkmenistan gained membership in the United Nations’ (UN) in early 1992.

Turkmenistan’s official foreign policy of “positive neutrality” is facing new challenges as Russia continues the drive for greater influence over Central Asian affairs. The Turkmen policy of neutrality, announced by former President Saparmurat Niyazov shortly after the country became independent in 1991, has successfully enabled the country to avoid any confrontation with its neighbours. At the same time, it has also led to a higher degree of isolation than any other country of the former USSR. Niyazov, also known as Turkmenbashi (Head of the Turkmen), had used positive neutrality as a means to steer the country away from divisive political confrontations while guiding the country towards beneficial commercial relations.
Turkmenbashi had declined to participate in the expanding network of regional multilateral agreements such as the Collective Security Treaty Organisation (CSTO), Eurasian Economic Community (EURASEC) or the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (CSO), preferring to negotiate bilateral commercial agreements and to leave politics aside. Russia’s new assertiveness in Central Asia has succeeded in helping top Russian firms to win control of energy, manufacturing, and transportation resources throughout Central Asia in a way that would appear to deepen Turkmenistan’s economic isolation.

On 26 October, 1991, Turkmenistan held a referendum on independence. The turnout was 94.1% and the overwhelming majority of Turkmens voted for seceding from the Soviet Union and forming an independent democratic state. On the domestic scene the government adopted a policy of economic and political reforms. In foreign affairs Turkmen President Saparmurat Niyazov declared a policy of neutrality. On numerous later occasions he insisted that the period of confrontation in the world is over and therefore the greatest political priorities should be peaceful co-operation, non-interference in the affairs of other countries and complete disarmament. (Anton Alexeyev, "The Armed Forces of Turkmenistan", www.cast.ru/English/publish/2002may-iune/Turkmen.pdf.20-07-2003. p. 1.)

It was a necessary step by Turkmenistan, following the position adopted in public by Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, to create its own Ministry of Defence. Nonetheless Turkmenistan's decision to create its own armed forces at the beginning of 1992 was in the interest of the Commonwealth as a whole. (Valentin Shishlevskiy, 2003), p.45.)

First indications of Turkmen intentions came during a visit to Ashkhabad on 15 January 1992 of the Commander-in-Chief of the CIS Joint Forces, Marshal Shaposhnikov. Ostensibly, the visit was for the purpose of discussing ways of maintaining the unity of the commonwealth Armed Forces, as well as co-operation and reform. At the close of the meeting President Niyazov revealed that he had
obtained Shaposhnikov's agreement regarding the creation of a Turkmenistan Defence Ministry. For the time being, formations and units on Turkmenistan's territory was to be under 'joint jurisdiction', with the Russian Defence Ministry retaining sole control over certain air defence and long range bomber units. The Turkmen Defence minister was to 'represent the interests of Turkmenistan in the Commonwealth's military council, and co-ordinate the activity of the armed forces deployed on the territory of the republic. On 27 January, a presidential decree formally announced the establishment of a Ministry for Defence Affairs. (Richard Woff, "The Armed Forces of Turkmenistan," Jane Intelligence Review, London, March 1994, p. 172).

President Niyazov was to be the Commander-in-Chief of the new armed forces, a role he assumed back in October 1991 when the republic declared its independence. In a deliberate attempt to develop a personality cult, he was promoted army general in December 1992, even though he had no previous military experience. The appointment was preceded by the formation of a Supreme State Defence Council - the highest decision making body - under the chairmanship of Niyazov. While its functions and status are modeled on the former Soviet Defence Council, membership of the Turkmen Council has been adapted to suit the republic's particular needs and circumstances.

In April 1992, Niyazov set out the basis for the creation of the Turkmenistan Defence Ministry and plans for the future regarding the creation of security and defence structures. At the same time, Niyazov outlined two other crucial aspects of military doctrine, namely the role of Turkmenistan within the Commonwealth and on appraisal of the Russo-Turkmen agreement of March 1992 and its long term implications for military co-operation and the evolution of the armed forces. According to President Niyazov speaking in September 1993, the military doctrine of Turkmenistan would be purely defensive in nature and the republic will remain true to that 'principle'. Manpower would be based both on the traditional 'compulsory system' for 18 months and a basic three year contract service. (Valentin Shishlevsly, Op. cit, p.46.)
The first senior appointments involved officials closely associated with President Niyazov since the late 1960's. In most cases, they were former party officials and senior members of the internal security and intelligence organizations. The key post of first defence minister went to Major General Danatar Kopekov, a former security service officer. He was promoted lieutenant general the same day. To a certain extent Kopekov's and subsequent appointments indicated Niyazov's determination to control military affairs, and build up his own power base within the armed forces. The choice of a former K.G.B. officer was also symptomatic of the lack of senior native professionals in the forces.

The second important appointment on 27 January 1992 was that of Colonel Begdzhan Niyazov as first deputy defence minister. He was promoted major general on taking up his duties. The next group of appointments within the defence ministry was announced in September 1992. The September promotions were followed throughout October by three further waves, involving over 100 senior officers most of whom were Russians. There were also a few Ukrainian and Belorussian, and a handful of Turkmen officers. The third batch was announced on the eve of the first anniversary of the Turkmen independence. The promotion of Russian and Slav officers by decree of the President was, above all, a ploy to retain their services and loyalty through out the first crucial stage of the formation of the national armed forces. (Richard Woff, op.cit, p. 132.)

Russian interest centers on the fact that Turkmenistan is a large country in the southern periphery of the former Soviet Union with great economic potential, rich natural resources, a sparse population and a buffer between Islamic fundamentalism and the Slav world. Moreover its role in the strategic defense cordon of the Russian federation remains paramount. Energy potential of Turkmenistan makes, it an important country for Russia's geo-strategic objectives in the region. In the absence of any alternative routes, Turkmenistan till now has remained dependent on Russia to export its energy. Though Turkmenistan avoided CIS integration process, it continues
to have strong bilateral military and economic relations with Russia.

The present research would analyse Russia-Turkmenistan relations historically as well as in the present geo-political context. It would cover various aspects of the relationship. The thesis is divided into five chapters:

- The First Chapter tries of give a brief historical background of Turkmenistan-Russia Relations.
- The Second Chapter deals with the economic relation between Turkmenistan and Russia for the period 1991-2006.
- The Third Chapter deals with Turkmenistan-Russia military co-operation and foreign relations.
- The Fourth Chapter traces the external influences on Turkmenistan-Russia relations.
- The Fifth Chapter is the concluding part, which sums up the findings of the research work.
End Notes For Introduction


