

**The personnel policy of the Turkmenistan authorities
is the triumph of corruption and nationalism**

REPORT

DEMOCRATIC CIVIL UNION OF TURKMENISTAN

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INTRODUCTION - The Origins of Nationalism and Corruption

As a result of a national referendum on October 26, 1991, Turkmenistan was declared an independent state. The results of the referendum were fixed on October 27, 1991 in the Constitutional Law of Turkmenistan "On independence and the foundations of the State system". For 26 years, this day has been the official date of the main national holiday celebrated annually - the Independence Day of Turkmenistan. Since 2018, the celebration of Independence Day has been postponed to September 27.

After the collapse of the USSR, the young state found itself in a very difficult socio-economic situation. The inter-economic ties that operated on the basis of cooperation between the parts of the single Union were destroyed.

The first President of Turkmenistan, Saparmurat Niyazov, who headed the country, was awarded the title of Turkmenbashi (head of Turkmen) by the country's parliament, took vigorous measures to consolidate society, mitigate employment problems, food difficulties, preserve air traffic, passenger transportation by rail, road transport inside the country and on the external circuit. Education, healthcare, and culture were supported. The financial and banking system was recovering. For this purpose, huge masses of depreciated Soviet money stamped with Turkmen seals were withdrawn from circulation in order to avoid monetary intervention from other regions of the former USSR. Since 1992, the State Bank for Foreign Economic Activity was founded. A year later, the State Bank of Turkmenistan was opened. On November 1, 1993, the national monetary unit, the manat, was put into circulation.

Within the framework of national socio-economic programs, including the most long-term of them – "10 years of economic stability", the reconstruction of former Soviet enterprises in all industries and, first of all, the heat and power complex, the support of the national economy, was carried out on a broad front. Highways and railways were updated, the fleet of heavy-duty vehicles and rolling stock, including locomotives, was increased, hydraulic structures at the largest reservoirs and river water intakes were reconstructed.

Civil construction was gaining momentum, especially in Ashgabat. Here, with the participation of world construction companies, an ambitious project of cardinal redevelopment of the city was implemented, and in fact, a new white marble capital was laid in the old place. Cathedral mosques were erected in Ashgabat, Velayat and etrap centers; in urban-type settlements, villages, auls, places of burial of saints, religious buildings were built for local parishioners and pilgrims. In the early 90s, Niyazov, during a working trip to Krasnovodsk, renamed in 1993 in honor of the first president of Turkmenistan to the city of Turkmenbashi, for the first time publicly announced to the elders of the city gathered to meet with him a plan for the construction of a seaside resort in the suburban village of Avaza.

Progressive technologies of land cultivation, irrigation, and land use were introduced into agriculture. The sowing fund was diversified and strengthened due to its own and the receipt from abroad of elite seeds of cereals, cotton, vegetables and fruits. Specialized fleets of agricultural machinery from the world's best manufacturers, mainly from Western countries, were expanding.

In the foreign policy sphere, an important event for the young state was the recognition of Turkmenistan's permanent neutral status by the UN on December 12, 1995, and in domestic politics - the adoption of the first Constitution of independent Turkmenistan on May 18, 1995. The people of Turkmenistan greeted with delight and rejoicing the Law of Turkmenistan December 29, 1999 "On annual amnesty and pardon in honor of the holy day "Gadyr Gidjesi" as the return of the humane customs of their ancestors on the night of the holy month of Ramadan.

Life gradually improved, and the people pinned their hopes for a bright future with the name of Turkmenbashi.

However, time passed, and there were no noticeable improvements in the financial situation of industrial workers, builders, transport workers, signalmen, farmers, state employees, retired people and other socially unprotected citizens. The salary has frozen at the level of 20-30 US dollars, the pension is in

the same size. In shops and bazaars, the choice of food products and manufactured goods was small. Free utilities gas, water, salt, presented to the world as the greatest social achievement of mankind, did not change life for the better. For the most part, the people lived hard under Turkmenbashi – no better than during the years of the card system introduced by him for basic necessities in the first years of his presidency.

But a lot has been written and said about the spirituality and God-given election of Turkmen, despite the introduction of a 9-year education, the closure of opera, ballet, circus and even the Academy of Sciences. This trend has gained extraordinary strength since 2001, after the publication of Niyazov's book "Rukhnama" ("Spirituality"). The book was completed in Krasnovodsk - in the presidential residence on the shore of the Caspian Sea. The part of society that emotionally supported the policy of national revival was inspired by the book, while the other, which had not lost its sanity and self-criticism, was alarmed and frightened. People whispered that the "Rukhnama" revealed to the author by the Almighty was intended to replace the Quran, and Turkmenbashi himself was a new mission and messenger of the Almighty. Niyazov did not debunk, but on the contrary supported these superstitions, claiming in his poems that he is the spirit of the Turkmen people and sees through every person. Many believed it. Obscurantism was reinforced on the streets of settlements and intersections of main roads by numerous billboards with a portrait of Turkmenbashi in a halo of sunlight...

Charged with this information, young people and their more mature mentors activated nationalist sentiments in society, especially among preschool and school-age children, where "Rukhnama" was taught. In 10-15 years, these guys will form the backbone of a new generation of officials and young specialists of Turkmenistan, who, as if by divine inspiration, have received the revelations of Niyazov and his associates about the special, exceptionally outstanding role of the Turkmen people in world history. And, therefore, about the special, dominant position of Turkmen in the multi-ethnic community of the Turkmen state.

It should be noted that the promotion of the exclusivity of Turkmen was conducted among the titular nation behind closed doors at numerous festivals. Fearing an inadequate reaction of the Russian-speaking population, Slavs and Caucasians were definitely not invited to meetings of this kind, which could have an undesirable effect on the Turkmen mindset formed by the ruling elite.

History teachers in general education schools, university and secondary school teachers were forced to teach "Rukhnama" according to methodological cheat sheets. Deviation from them, and even more so comments to the text of the book that do not coincide with its postulates imposed as the ultimate truth, were severely punished. During the attestation, the heads and specialists of the humanitarian sphere and the national economic complex, the middle and lower levels of public administration, were required to pass the exams on "Rukhnama" to the branch authorities. Over-aged "entrants" who had not assimilated the contents of the sacred book, as it was then called, were publicly humiliated. It is well known, for example, that the Minister of Communications, who married the daughter of an influential businessman from Abu Dhabi (UAE), and therefore, apparently, imagining that everything was allowed to him, brought to his knees those who came from the velayats to certify the heads of his subordinate enterprises (mainly Turkmen) and forced them, as in medieval madrassas, to read according to the book, correct answers to questions. Those who could not find them quickly were kicked in the ass by the minister.

No one was indignant, not even openly grumbled. It seemed that many people like the return of ancient customs. The derogatory kissing of Turkmenbashi's hands, decorated with gold rings with large diamonds and emeralds, has become widespread. Most of the flatterers, obsequiously bowing to the "popularly" elected president, coped well with the new palace ceremonies. Turkmenbashi himself did not hide his desire to become not only the head, but also the ruler of all the Turkmen of the world. As if in jest, he said more than once - don't the Turkmen want to see their padishah worthy of their heroic glory? Didn't we, the Turkmen, invent the wheel and the cart? Weren't we the first on earth to melt metal? Didn't we give mankind the white wheat "Ak bugday"? Haven't we created more than 70 states on the territory of Eurasia and not only in it? Such fame has turned many heads...

Against the background of unwinding nationalism, backed up by historiographical expansion that distorts reliable facts of world history, cases of persecution of citizens for straightforward statements and even innocent, from the point of view of state security, judgments have become more frequent. First at the administrative level, and then steeper and steeper. Surveillance of people defending civil positions other than the ideology imposed on society was established.

Simultaneously with the reformatting of the consciousness of the local population, the national composition of the leadership corps and leading specialists in all sectors of the economy, in the political,

social and cultural spheres changed. Representatives of national minorities were removed from their positions, transferred to less paid and prestigious jobs, or simply got rid of them under various pretexts.

The situation was aggravated by the plight of the masses of the people, barely surviving on meager earnings and meager social benefits. The forcible demolition of housing for the release of construction sites for the construction of a white marble New Ashgabat did not serve to increase the authority of Turkmenbashi. A fixed amount of \$600 was allocated to compensate the damage to the owners of the houses, without even providing temporary living space. People were simply thrown out into the street from their homes. The news, backed up by Turkmenbashi himself, about the storage of multibillion-dollar investments in foreign banks in his personal accounts was depressing. The population was agitated by rumors about the export abroad of the capital of the ruling family from Turkmenistan and the legalization of criminal money abroad. Turkmen were surprised and shamed by Turkmenbashi's son Murad Niyazov, who earned a reputation in business circles as a financial swindler and loser, who glorified the family with dubious business projects and multimillion-dollar losses in Madrid and Istanbul casinos. The father paid for his son's debts, who himself shamelessly drew funds from the skinny wallets of Turkmen taxpayers.

The crime rate was rising in the country - against the life, health, property of citizens and property of the state. Representatives of broad social strata were involved in the criminal zone - from homeless people to representatives of the highest echelon of power. Criminal clans ruled with impunity. In response, Niyazov conducted a large-scale night-time special operation across the country to clean up thieves in law - the leaders of the criminal world and the gangs led by them. In Ashgabat, the action turned into clashes between bandits and units of the regular army, who defeated organized criminal groups.

Niyazov did not tolerate rivals in his environment, whoever they were. They were deprived of work and dispersed a few communists who openly advocated the preservation of the Communist Party in the political field of the country in connection with its renaming in 1991 into the Democratic Party, which became the mainstay of the ruling regime. Most of the repressed communists left Turkmenistan. Human rights defenders, leaders and members of NGOs, supporters of the pro-Western path of development, the Islamic choice, oppositionists and citizens of other political beliefs and ideological attitudes were forced to leave the country. The same list includes leaders and activists of the Russian community, which included representatives of many Russian-speaking ethnic groups and confessional communities of Turkmenistan. They were forced to leave for their historical homeland and other countries by direct repression.

Persecution of the active part of the population was accompanied by migration waves of citizens of Turkmenistan. They traveled to different foreign countries, but mainly to the Russian Federation and the Republic of Kazakhstan. The seats vacated by them were occupied by representatives of the titular nation from the rural hinterland.

An ominous tragedy for the Turkmen people from the beginning to the end of Niyazov's rule was, in fact, the uncovered drug trade. Adult residents of Turkmenistan well remember how women sold drugs in the alleys of streets, on the steps of shops, near bazaars. These sellers were small, but without a doubt the most greedy of all drug dealers. Millions of doses of narcotic and psychotropic drugs have passed through their hands. They are responsible for tens of thousands of deaths of young people in Turkmenistan. Bloodied, after repeated use, single-use syringes and paper and plastic bags emptied of heroin littered the entrances of houses, pedestrian paths in squares and parks of the country in the morning. The situation was particularly dire in the border areas adjacent to Afghanistan and Iran. There, alternately changing their roles, all were drug couriers, drug dealers and drug addicts. But in the same place, the big bosses of the drug business made whole fortunes, which were subsequently legalized. For years, no one paid attention to it. The bloody lawlessness was "covered up" by law enforcement agencies and law enforcement agencies. To divert their eyes, they got off with palliative measures to combat drug trafficking and colorful fakes, for cameramen and newspapermen showing photographs and videos of burning heroin shipments confiscated from smugglers and drug couriers.

The beginning of mass corruption in Turkmen society was laid by barter transactions in the early 90s. In the conditions of paralysis of the financial system and trade and economic channels in the post-Soviet space, the initiators of natural commodity exchange between the newly independent countries were the heads of large state-owned enterprises, the so-called "red directors". In order to keep state-owned enterprises afloat and preserve at least the core of qualified personnel, they reanimated previously existing economic ties within the union branch office. The interchange expanded, penetrating into adjacent and other industries that do not have a direct production connection with enterprises headed by "red directors".

The good cause of saving industries in the interests of collectives has become a profitable monetary, commercial and industrial business for the first state speculators, who are in close contact with intermediary

cooperatives under the supervision of the first dignitaries of the state and regions. It is known that Turkmenbashi's son Murad Niyazov was actively engaged in barter profit. He monopolized the import of tobacco and alcohol products, smuggled them to the countries of Central Asia. He was also engaged in the supply of natural gas to the CIS countries, traded in astrakhan, cotton and other agricultural products. At the same time, the younger Niyazov headed the "Oriental" trading company and the state joint stock company Gyok kushak, which were exempt from taxes.

Barterers were actively used at the enterprises of the textile, glass, carpet industry, in the agro-industrial complex, at the gas and oil-producing enterprises of the fuel and energy complex, Cheleken, Chardzhou chemical plants, Krasnovodsk oil refinery, in the production associations "Maryazot", "Karabogaz Sulfate", Krasnovodsk seaport, etc.

In agriculture, there was a secretive enslavement of farmers and livestock breeders. The tenants of the land and the owners of livestock farms and flocks were in fact not daikhan associations, but officials of administrations, state agricultural enterprises, courts, prosecutors and police at the local and regional levels acting under the names of relatives. The heads of the central authorities and their colleagues in the departments did not limit their selfish interest to the areas where they came from, but actively spread it throughout the country. Villagers who tried to seek support from the competent authorities in order to curb the appetites of newly-minted latifundists and cattle farmers were quickly brought to their senses and forced to keep their mouths shut.

The repressive policy of the state was systematically formed after the November 2002 attempt on the life of Saparmurat Niyazov. Former Foreign Minister Boris Shikhmuradov, former Deputy Minister of Agriculture Sapar Yklymov, former head of the Central Bank Hudayberdy Orazov and former Ambassador to Turkey Nurmukammed Hanamov were accused of organizing the assassination attempt. The repressive reaction followed immediately. The objects of her attacks were local structures and the central office of the NSC. The crackdown on national security officers, whose arrests were carried out secretly, shocked the population of Turkmenistan. However, it had no effect on the corruption that had become ingrained in all the pores of the state. On the contrary, the corruption and permissiveness of corrupt officials have only increased.

The culmination of the corruption of the ruling elite was the 2006 trial of the Prosecutor General of Turkmenistan K. Agadzhanova, who held this post for eleven years. With bribes, from obvious and potential offenders, for commuting sentences to criminals, for adding convicts to the lists of pardoned in honor of the holy day "Gadyr Gidjesi" and other generously paid "services", she purchased a palace in a representative district of Ashgabat, residential buildings and elite apartments in the capital and in the cities of the country. Large sums of money in foreign currency, precious stones, jewelry and gold buried in the ground were found in the Ashgabat estate belonging to her (in hiding places and the palace park). Among the offerings were hundreds of simple tin buckets – even these she could not refuse...

According to the direct instructions of the Prosecutor General of Turkmenistan, illegal detentions, arrests, interrogations were carried out, the law of inviolability of the home was violated, unauthorized searches of apartments and private houses were conducted with partiality. Agadzhanova blackmailed senior state officials, including former and current ministers, and tore off large-scale compensation payments from them.

The unrestricted guardian of the law of the Turkmen Republic has enjoyed the confidence of President Niyazov for many years. Towards the end of her career, during the trial, she plunged the dictator into a state close to a comatose trance. On April 25, 2006, a few months before his death, Saparmurat Niyazov was forced to admit that Agadzhanova's criminal acts had caused severe moral damage to the authority of the Prosecutor General's Office. Among the people, Agadzhanova was called Soltan-ayal by prosecutors (Sultan-Prosecutor) and more cool. It was said that she cut off the roots of faith not only in law enforcement agencies, but also in all power structures of Turkmenistan. According to many people, regardless of their social status, nationality and religion, this official would be an ideal model for the statue of the Turkmen justice, in front of the portal of the Ministry of Adalat of Turkmenistan, because there is no justice and justice in Turkmenistan – only bribes, extortion and offerings...

Unfulfilled hopes

In 2007, the people greeted with enthusiasm the coming to power of Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow. The new president proclaimed a democratic path of development and adherence to the customs of the rule of the ancestors. In words, he refused lavish receptions in his honor, forbade sending carpets and crowded meetings under his feet during his working trips to the velayats, raised the bar against drug trafficking and corruption. These populist techniques bribed the people. Berdimuhamedow, from the first days of his presidency, introduced a 10-year education, increased the period of study at universities, returned the Academy of Sciences of Turkmenistan and scientific titles, annually introduced 10 percent allowances to wages, pensions, scholarships and other social benefits. At the same time, the exchange rate of the manat remained firm until 2015: 3.5 TMT- \$1. This ensured stable prices for manufactured goods and food, contributed to the personal savings of citizens, which were postponed for improving everyday life, implementing family plans and covering urgent and unexpected needs.

At the beginning of Berdimuhamedov's reign, the National Socio-Economic Development Program for 2011-2030 was adopted nationwide. It was detailed in the sectoral development programs. Their implementation began with pilot projects that were successfully implemented in various spheres of economy and social life. Civil and industrial construction was carried out on a large scale, new roads and railways, gas and oil pipelines were laid, innovative enterprises were built in all spheres of industry and the agro-complex. The visiting cards of the Turkmen "economic miracle" are white marble Ashgabat, the National Tourist Zone "Avaza", ultra-modern diagnostic centers, hospitals, theaters, museums. The economy includes the Turkmenistan-China gas pipeline, the North-South railway, the Altyn Asyr Turkmen Lake, the textile industry, processing enterprises, the fuel and energy complex, the chemical complex and other large-scale facilities. People saw signs of the socio-economic revival of the country and lived in hopes of their real embodiment in the life of each person. But these hopes were not destined to come true. The country has really turned into a kind of colossal construction site with large-scale new buildings that require continuous investment from the public sector of the economy. At the same time, the material well-being of the vast majority of citizens was trampled on the spot. Inflation burned previously accumulated wealth that was not covered by subsidies, as real wages steadily declined in comparison with previous years.

Despite this, on October 26, 2010, Berdimuhamedow received the title Arkadag, meaning the Support or Hope of the people. On February 12, 2012, Berdimuhamedov was elected President of Turkmenistan for the second time.

By this time, the palace attributes of honoring the first person of the state had been revived, as in the days of Turkmenbashi. Berdimuhamedow began to demand to be treated in accordance with eastern etiquette, which seemed to have sunk into oblivion since the distant sultan times. In this, new cadres played along with him. They were replenished by immigrants from the rural hinterland. The closest circle was made up of relatives and then, in a descending line, natives of the village of Babarap, where Berdimuhamedov himself was born, then especially trusted countrymen of the Akhal Velayat, persons of a certain psychological makeup and social status from other regions of the country. Many of them have accumulated initial capital on dubious transactions and speculations during the mass cooperative movement, having learned in this field the subtleties and sweetness of corrupt enrichment. It is known that Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov himself, in the second half of the 80s - early 90s of the last century, being the chief dentist of the Ashgabat region, was engaged in private practice, without officially leading the dental cooperative of fellow students from the Turkmen State Medical Institute, whom he later robbed and left with nothing. A significant part of the personnel passed to Berdimuhamedov by inheritance from Turkmenbashi. They, as pawns, could be fearlessly controlled and even replaced with new ones for no reason, in order to educate not only the obsequious officials of the new draft, but also the entire people, a sacred awe of their own person. To confirm this, it is enough to recall the video footage of meetings of the highest authorities and administration replicated around the world with officials theatrically recording standing every word dropped by Berdimuhamedow....

These were cadres tested for loyalty to the ruling regime. Their core consisted of immigrants from the Gyoktepa district, where nationalist sentiments have been strong for a long time. They fed on the stories of local elders about the Gyoktepe battle of the Turkmen-Tekin with the Russians in 1881. In these stories, the Tekin people were presented as holy martyrs, and the Russians as merciless conquerors who did not leave a single living soul in the besieged fortress of Gyok Tepe. In 1991, the Turkmenbashi Decree established the Memorial Day, which is celebrated annually on January 12. In honor of the defenders of the fortress, the largest Saparmurat-hadji mosque in Central Asia was erected on its territory in 1993-1995.

However, representatives of other Turkmen tribes opposed the excessive glorification of the Tekin people, since, for example, the yomudas of the Caspiya were the object of constant looting and raids by the Tekin people. Shortly before the defense of the fortress, the Tekin people made another raid on the Caspian Turkmen - Yomuds and, together with the loot, took away their young women. During the siege of the fortress, the captives were exposed on the walls of the fortress as live targets. Therefore, together with the Russian soldiers, the Yomudian horsemen took an active part in the military expedition of 1880 under the leadership of General M. Skobelev. During the storming of the Tekin fortress Gyok Tepe, they broke into the citadel in the first ranks and desperately fought with the Tekin. It was impossible to quench the thirst for blood revenge of the Yomud - they also engaged in deadly duels with Russian soldiers, who, with great losses for themselves, tried to stop the massacre and bloody showdowns between irreconcilable blood relatives. It should be added that after the battle, the surviving leaders of the fortress defense and representatives of the Tekin aristocracy – Makhtumkuli Khan and Tykma Serdar, received not only high military ranks and noble titles from the tsarist government, but faithfully served Akpadshe – the white tsar. It is enough to recall the privileged Tekin regiment, which carried guards in the palace of the last Russian tsar Nicholas II. Perhaps for these reasons, Makhtumkuli Khan and Tykma Serdar, who led the struggle for independence of the Turkmen - Tekin people of Akhal, did not become heroes of Turkmenistan.

However, the seemingly forgotten moral and moral conflict of the historical truth about the fortress of Geok Tepe flared up again with stubborn force. To resolve the delicate situation of the central government, which was and still is represented by the Akhal branch of the Teke tribe, it was necessary to declare the fortress a historical and cultural reserve. A museum "Gyok-Tepe" was created inside it, and on October 6, 2014, as a sign of reconciliation of the parties, a memorial complex "People's Memory" was opened in Ashgabat, in honor of the Turkmen who died in the wars, including in the Gyoktepe battle. Memorial Day, which was celebrated on January 12, was also abolished.

But the Tekin version of those long-standing events continued to live in all educational institutions, general education schools, including classes with the Russian language of instruction, in works of art, scientific works, in propaganda clichés of party and public organizations, official media and electronic mass media. The concept of the forcible annexation of Turkmenistan to Russia and the ferocious enslavement of the empire of the Turkmens became an effective marker of the development of nationalist tendencies in the minds of a significant part of the youth, from which the cadres of future leaders were scooped "for growth", including Berdimuhamedow's son, Serdar, who was elected president of Turkmenistan in March 2022.

The unique scenario of national revival, stretched over time, was realized in silence, without obvious social upheavals and in the oppressive atmosphere of increasing hostility to everything Russian and Soviet formed by S.A. Niyazov -Turkmenbashi. They meant all foreign (alien) elements – in culture, art, the state apparatus, demography, despite the long periods of their presence on the Turkmen land. Multinational cadres were being shaken up - they were replaced by representatives of the titular nation. Monuments of the Russian and Soviet periods, including Red Army soldiers and soldiers of the Patriotic War of 1941-1945, were demolished. The remains of party, state and economic leaders who made a huge contribution to the socio-economic development of the TSSR were reburied without honors, Russian cemeteries were desecrated, which served as the last refuge for people of different faiths and nationalities. Fiction and technical literature in Russian language was seized from libraries and burned in landfills, regardless of the origin of their authors. Geographical and cultural objects were renamed. These include regions, districts, cities, villages, streets, schools, bays, etc.

The trend of creeping nationalism as an instrument of national identification, without weakening, strengthened every year. The trigger for him was not the introduction in 1995 of the Latin alphabets - the new Turkmen alphabet, which was justified by the goals of the young state, but selective teaching of the state language, in which representatives of European diasporas in Turkmenistan were not given equal opportunities in mastering the language and the new alphabet. During all the years of independence, for national minorities and employees from among them, specialized courses on language training and advanced training on the basis of new office work have not been opened. Russian schools, and after their liquidation and in classes with the Russian language of instruction of Turkmen schools, the teaching of the Turkmen language was treated with disdain, thereby encouraging students' poor knowledge of the state language. Due to ignorance of the language, representatives of the older generation had to quit their jobs or move to low-paid positions. In turn, young people could not get a prestigious job, although many young people had the appropriate qualifications after graduating from universities, colleges – mostly abroad. In their own country, enrolling in professional educational institutions has become an unsolvable problem not only because of ignorance of the language (eager for knowledge successfully mastered it), but mainly because of bribery and Russophobia of members of admissions committees and their curators from the

Ministry of Education. At the same time, Russophobia spread to all Russians, regardless of their national, religious and social affiliation.

The migration waves of the Russian-speaking population, raised during the reign of Niyazov-Turkmenbashi, continued in the first, second, and third terms (2017-2022) of Gurbanguly-Arkadag's presidency until his resignation as head of state.

Immediately after gaining independence, Turkmenistan in its personnel policy began to adhere to extreme nationalism and intolerance towards personnel from among national minorities. In a short time, following the doctrine of nationalism, tens of thousands of educated and experienced specialists were dismissed from state authorities, industry, education and culture. This has led to a complete degradation of the system of governance of the state, economy and socio-cultural sphere. The most serious consequences of a thoughtless attitude towards trained personnel were significantly reinforced by colossal corruption in hiring. Corruption has opened up the opportunity to occupy many leadership positions to illiterate nouveau riches from rural hinterland who rose on the wave of permissiveness in the 90s - "new Turkmen" who do not have not only education, but also elementary experience in managing both the state and industrial facilities. The positions they held were inherited within the family clans to the young shift. Almost the entire power of Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow and his son Serdar Berdimuhamedow, the President of Turkmenistan since 2022, grew out of these cadres. Nepotism has become an unofficially legalized right accepted and justified by the majority of society - from the upper echelons of power to the lowest administrative level and the ordinary employee for hire.

The administrative nomenclature in all branches of government, including legislative, executive, judicial and spiritual, continues to be replenished and updated with new positions. Secular simony, resurrected on a national scale, has never been publicly condemned anywhere and is not condemned by anyone. It is perceived by the overwhelming part of society, which has lost its civic position, not as a crime and sacrilege, but as a necessary and inevitable evil that helps people to arrange their lives.

The sale of responsible government posts stimulated in all levels of government from top to bottom the monstrous bribery of officials in the employment of citizens, starting with cleaners and janitors, not to mention prestigious and relatively well-paid professions. But even in these conditions, preference for hiring workers was given to tribesmen, that is, representatives of the indigenous nation. Others were left with no choice but to travel abroad.

The first to leave Turkmenistan were citizens who arrived here for permanent residence 10-20 years ago before leaving. Being relatively young people, well-educated specialists, having relatively young parents abroad, they were confident in their abilities to adapt to new places and left with whole families. At this stage, the Russians, who felt the infringement of human rights most acutely, outnumbered the rest of the migrants. They were followed by the mass resettlement of Kazakhs, which was facilitated by the neighborhood of the historical homeland. Among the first settlers in 1991-2000 were residents of the Crimea, Povoljya, Transcaucasia, the North Caucasus, the Urals, Siberia, the Far East, the Baltic States - representatives of all ethnic groups of the former Soviet Union. Most of them left for Russia. Belarusians and Ukrainians, for kinship and family reasons, were sent almost equally - to Russia and to the homeland of their ancestors.

The ethnic structure of power is the basis of permanent squeezing of national minorities and general corruption

Until now, the names "Russian compatriots", "Russian-speaking citizens", "ethnic Russians" and other names of an indefinite, impersonal form are used to migrants from Turkmenistan in the country and abroad. At the same time, it is not specified that the extrusion of the mass of the non-indigenous population from Turkmenistan concerns, first of all, passportized Russians, most of whom are Great Russians - residents of the European part of Russia, whose self-name disappeared in the USSR due to the purposeful Bolshevik policy and was not revived for political reasons in the CIS. The term "Russians" itself has Turkic roots and in numerous dialect forms means, in a generalized sense, all Russian-speaking ethnic groups on the territory of Russia, which justifies its use in a certain specification when describing the large-scale migration from Turkmenistan of all Russians, including great-Russians.

According to expert verification, more than 200 thousand great-Russians left Turkmenistan after 1991. And together with representatives of other Russian ethnic groups, more than 250 thousand citizens

of Turkmenistan left the country of Turkmen happiness. In total, from the 80s of the last centuries to 2017, in an environment of increasing nationalism and intolerance towards national minorities, and often aggressive Russophobia, more than one million citizens of the Russian mentality, including Turkmen, left the country. Turkmen also left poverty for other countries. According to the closed data of the Migration Service of Turkmenistan, since the beginning of 2019, 23 thousand Turkmen men and women have left for Turkey in a year. Many of them did not return to their homeland, despite the repression of the Turkmen secret service, unleashed against them personally and their relatives who remained at home.

A powerful migration wave rose in 2014, peaking in 2017. During the COVID-19 outbreak, it declined, but this is due to strict travel restrictions.

In 2022, after the opening of flights with Russia and Turkey, migration gained a second wind and, despite the problems and high cost of purchasing tickets, it is still not weakening. Mostly young and middle-aged people leave - great Russians, Tatars, Kalmyks, Yakuts, Bashkirs, Mordvins, natives of the North Caucasus and other representatives of the Russian superethnos. The outflow of Armenians and Azerbaijanis to the Russian Federation and to the ancestral lands has intensified, and the resettlement of Kazakhs to their historical homeland has almost ended.

In 2018, according to estimates of non-governmental experts, no more than 5 million people lived in Turkmenistan (state statistics are inaccessible due to their absolute unreliability or complete absence due to technical, as the official version claims, damage). Of these, Russians of ethnic origin (great Russians) – 70 thousand. But according to Internet data from 2022, there are about 180 thousand Russians living in the country now. This figure (also clearly overestimated) clearly means the entire Russian-speaking population of the country. In fact, the real four and a half million inhabitants of Turkmenistan today are home to no more than 120 thousand of all representatives of the Russian superethnos, including 35-40 thousand great Russians. These are mostly pensioners and people of pre-retirement age. Among young people with passports indicating the nationality "Russian", there are a lot of mestizos in different generations and combinations. This category is more adapted to the circumstances and is set up primarily to stay at home. Thus, the issue with the Russian-speaking population, and, first of all, with ethnic Russians, was resolved without major shocks in the format of undeclared, non-violent, forced-voluntary soft deportation. The remaining representatives of the Russian ethnic group do not take an active part in political life, do not claim a special place in society, get used to difficult living conditions.

Uzbeks occupy a special place among representatives of a non-titular nation. They, and not without reason, consider themselves to be the indigenous inhabitants of Turkmenistan. Some of them went to neighboring Uzbekistan and other countries. But in general, the Uzbek diaspora has survived and now unites more than half a million people, being the second largest nationality in Turkmenistan. They consider their place of residence as their historical homeland, and within the limits of the compact residence of Uzbeks, wealthy citizens among them successfully compete with the newly-minted Turkmen bays for a place in the sun.

Three pillars of the internal state policy contributed to the expulsion of the Russian-speaking population from Turkmenistan, accompanied by increased humiliation and enslavement of their own people, due to the zeroing of public activity of national minorities. **This is clan-parochial nationalism imposed from above for three decades, massive corruption of the authorities from top to bottom and a multifaceted** repressive investigation enveloping all layers of society.

Currently, the highest echelons of power of all branches are practically cleared of European minorities. They are not in the middle and lower levels of government. Senior positions in ministries, departments, concerns, corporations, agencies, industrial enterprises, construction, transport and communications are occupied by representatives of the titular nation. The specialists of other ethnic groups who survived in the states stay at work at the expense of their professional knowledge, but there are few of them and their percentage is negligible. They are absolutely not left in the agricultural industry system, but this is more for natural reasons. There have always been relatively few of them there, and waves of migration and natural population decline have washed the last Russian-speaking residents out of the countryside.

The same pattern is observed in the governing bodies of party and public organizations. These entities are kept afloat by modest state subsidies and contributions from their members. Organizations are replenished by quantitative decrees issued from above, but not on a voluntary basis, but by seducing young people with preferences after joining parties and public organizations. Often, for the consent of candidates for membership in organizations, the possibility of losing a permanent job due to civil unconsciousness is used as an irresistible argument. This approach applies to all "recruits" regardless of their racial, national

and religious affiliation. It should be added that all these organizations do not perform any socially significant duties, with the exception of nominating presidential candidates, central legislative and local representative authorities according to the list approved from above. None of them has submitted a single bill or other proposal on specific problems of people's life. These are producers of fake productions, in honor of significant events and festive dates, which are innumerable. Festive promotions end with feasting and gluttony at free lunches. The money stuck to the hands, as a result of fake accounts, disappears into the pockets of event fraudsters. No one really knows about the direct duties of party and public organizations, apart from empty statutory regulations, as well as local functionaries themselves, who do not bother their heads with such questions. Suffice it to say that the work on protecting the professional interests of workers of the National Center of Trade Unions of Turkmenistan (NCTU), its regional and local organizations, is not covered anywhere - it is taboo. But the NCTU actively conducts mass entertainment events, allocating funds for this from membership fees and other trade union funds. It is no coincidence that the Chairman of the NCTU simultaneously combines his post with the post of Chairman of the Union of Women of Turkmenistan. Nothing surprising. This is a fun association of trade unions in Turkmen. A lot of accidents with injuries and deaths are hidden from the public. Complaints about non-accruals of salaries, non-compliance with working hours, illegal dismissals, etc. are not investigated. These are real facts, and there is no need to exaggerate here..

The same dark spots of the consequences of nationalism and corruption are systematically manifested in the sphere of culture, sports, education and healthcare. In the era of independence and mainly during the reign of Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow, modern theaters, conservatories, music schools and other cultural facilities were built in the capital and velayats. Diagnostic and treatment centers, multidisciplinary hospitals and sanatorium complexes have been built. The network of sports facilities has been expanded. The material base of research institutes of departments and Academies of Sciences, universities and colleges has been strengthened. Hundreds of new multimedia schools have been put into operation in the capital, Velayat centers, etraps and rural hinterland. New buildings of cultural and social purpose serve the people, but not all citizens have full access to their services and self-realization of knowledge and talents in practice.

The obstacle is the criminal commercialization of not only all sectors of the economy, but also the social sphere. Even secondary schools are infected with the miasma of bribery. School principals (all representatives of the titular nation) take uncontrolled extortion for the repair of classrooms, the organization of cultural and sports events, landscaping of school yards, etc. They extort gifts, do not disdain the offerings of parents for the admission of children to schools, transferring them to classes with a stronger teaching staff or with the Russian language of instruction, where it is still at a higher level. There, the remaining elderly teachers of the non-titular nation, who received education through conscientious study during their student years and first-class experience during their professional activities, teach in single copies. The proportion of Turkmens in classes with the Russian language of instruction is increasing, and children of other nationalities are becoming fewer and fewer every year. It is a matter of time before classes with Russian as the language of instruction in Turkmen programs are closed. The same situation is in the metropolitan Russian-Turkmen school named after A.S. Pushkin. Russians, in the broad sense of the word, are a minority in the school, but the Russian side does not care about the national composition of its students. The same is true with thousands of students from Turkmenistan studying in Russia – there are no Russians among them.

Bribes for admission to higher and secondary specialized professional institutions, fees for term papers and theses, exams are estimated in tens of thousands of dollars. Distance learning degenerates into the usual purchase and sale of certificates. At the same time, it should be borne in mind that in October 2022, the average salary of workers in the country was 1,500 manats (\$77 at the "black" rate), the pension was 815 manats (\$42). Personnel specialists in the production workshops of leading industrial enterprises receive an average of 4,000 manats (\$206). The huge gap between the amount of bribes and the salary of the parents of applicants legitimizes their social inequality when entering professional institutions. Negative processes in the field of education lead to the reverse selection of personnel who are not able to apply knowledge in their chosen specialty, because they are not in the required volume and quality. The population does not have confidence in such personnel, especially in medicine, where bribery and trade in positions also flourish on all floors. The criminal prosecution of the chief doctors convicted of these crimes does not change the situation for the better.

In cultural life, Russian-speaking citizens experienced linguistic discomfort during all the years of independence. As it was emphasized above, practically nothing has been done to overcome the language barrier. On the contrary, over time, he became higher and higher. Not one Russian, in the broadest sense of the word, did not participate in the national music and song contests "Ýañlan Diýarym". Almost zero

percent of Azerbaijanis, Kazakhs, Dagestanis, Armenians, etc. among the winners of the creative contests of the President of Turkmenistan "Turkmenin Altyn asyry". The holidays of Orthodox, Catholics, Jews, Shiites, etc. have never been mentioned in print and electronic media, congratulations on the occasion of these events have not been published, as is customary in civilized countries. National minorities were left out of the brackets, not paying attention to them. The attitude towards Russian speakers, led by native speakers of Russian – Great Russians, as second- or third-class people, has also become a serious reason for their migration.

It should be emphasized that the summing up of competitive results among Turkmen children (national minorities do not participate in them) they are held before public decisions are made on them at the meetings of the jury members interested in promoting their candidates who are under the patronage of the sponsors of the competitions. As a result, a block is put in the way of gifted youth, and untalented pawns pass into queens, receive the titles of folk artists and continue to make the audience laugh in this capacity: "squeak", grimace and clownish on stages, including foreign ones. They cannot bridge the gap between professional art and amateur performance of songs, music and dances. Because they don't want to study.

Back at the beginning of the first decade of this century, there were strong Russian theater studios in the cultural and educational institutions of the country, but they survived due to the fact that the Turkmen counterparts could not withstand competition with them. Russian studios composed of representatives of all nations gathered halls packed to capacity with spectators and delighted their fans with classical and modern works of their peoples and Western European authors.

Sports life is reflected in a colorful and multifaceted way in the media of Turkmenistan, with an enthusiastic statement of the coverage of the mass physical culture movement, and sports of high achievements of all citizens without exception. Coverage, however, is far from ideal. The bright pictures are mostly staged performances, in which young workers and students involved in the filming participate. Nevertheless, Turkmen teams win championship titles and prizes at many international venues. They owe their achievements largely to their own spirit-raising energy, the material support of parents and the dedication of the coaches of the grassroots links of the Ministry of Sports and Youth Policy. However, among the famous Turkmen athletes, only a few representatives from the once large Azerbaijani, Armenian, Russian and other ethnic communities remained. But these guys, without the patronage of anyone, at the cost of only their natural data, dexterity and willpower, assert themselves in big sports. An illustration is Polina Guryeva, who won a silver medal at the Olympic Games in Tokyo-2021 for the first time in the history of sports of independent Turkmenistan. Her success has become a real celebration not only for the sports community, but also for the entire people of Turkmenistan.

The entire system of law enforcement agencies guarding the ruling regime is extensively and deeply permeated with metastases of corruption. If it were necessary to publish a complete list of corrupt officials from the district police and the inspector of the traffic police service to the chairmen of the Supreme Court, prosecutors general, ministers of state security, justice, internal affairs, heads of other law enforcement ministries and departments who were dismissed from their posts and convicted under criminal articles during Arkadag's presidency, then it would be necessary to publish a multi-volume collection. Such an abundance of books would be envied by the most prolific writer of the XXI century - former President of Turkmenistan Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow. However, he could be counted with full justification to the team of authors of this unique publication.

The stratification of society during the years of Arkadag's rule proceeded at an accelerated pace. The process was headed by the dictator, his family and henchmen from the highest echelons of power on the ground. Corrupt figures, their relatives and close associates make up no more than one percent of the population. At the same time, they control the entire national economy and during the years of Berdymukhamedov's rule, they have pumped out more than 80 percent of profits in monetary and other terms from real GNP in various ways. Information about the luxurious life of Gurbanguly's sisters – Ainabat and Gulnabat, criminal frauds in the field of economics and the offenses of his nephews Khajimurat and Shamyrat Rejepov, has become a byword and is widely presented on the social network. Arkadag's relatives recklessly waste money from accounts in domestic and foreign banks that are not controlled by anyone. They have representative apartments in European capitals, fashionable villas on the Cote d'Azur in France, palaces in Turkmenistan. The spoils of fate arrange ostentatious trips, feasts and weddings for hundreds of thousands of dollars, at a time when the vast majority of the people are steadily plunging into poverty and disenfranchisement.

The feast during the plague is supported by the dignitaries of the family and lower-ranking officials. They actively participate in various gray schemes, including legal and semi-legal ones. For example, in order to enrich themselves, they use the reorganization and change of subordination of enterprises of the

national economic complex, ostensibly in order to adapt it to a market economy. In the public sector, where huge investments have been made to modernize enterprises, new ministries, services, a variety of joint-stock companies, agencies are being created aimed at distributing profits among their founders with real stagnation of production and a decrease in the number of workers and employees at enterprises as a result of the introduction of advanced technology and innovative technologies. Stagnant production rates are accompanied by real wages that have been frozen for many years. All this provokes an increase in unemployment, crime and the outflow of the population from the country.

An important pillar of the criminal regime is the governing core of the Union of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Turkmenistan (UIET), established in 2008. It was founded by the President of Turkmenistan Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedov. On his initiative, the second political organization in the country, the Party of Industrialists and Entrepreneurs of Turkmenistan, was established in August 2012. UIET has its own legal service, a joint-stock commercial bank "Rysgal",¹ a newspaper with the same talking name, a business center, a school of telekchi (entrepreneurs). At the initial stage, \$30 million was invested in the formation and development of the UIET. public investment.

Now the Union unites about 25 thousand entrepreneurs of different caliber. Of these, small businesses account for about 65 percent, or 16250 people. These are holders of patents for small, often seasonal, retail trade, tutoring, dental prosthetics, organization and holding of entertainment events, cargo and passenger transportation, cosmetic and other services. Among them are shoemakers, photographers, specialists in painting, car washing, apartment repairs, sophisticated household appliances, the manufacture of memorial monuments and other works. Orders are most often carried out alone or by a small group of performers with the involvement of relatives and friends. The goal of these people is to survive in difficult socio-economic conditions and create acceptable living conditions for themselves and their families.

7,500 people, or 30 percent of the number of members of the UIET, are legal entities of medium-sized businesses. In rented or own premises, they open retail stores, cafes, canteens, beauty salons, auto repair shops, small manufacturing enterprises. Representatives of medium-sized businesses are building houses in the private housing sector, are engaged in mediation in the purchase and sale of apartments, the production of household goods. They perform subcontracting work on the construction of large facilities, orders for the production of specific products (most often sewing) for the needs of industry departments. The most successful of them open markets, restaurants, industrial refrigerators for storing meat and dairy and fruit and vegetable products, production workshops and mini-factories. In rural areas, representatives of medium-sized businesses fatten small and large-horned cattle, establish the production of meat and dairy products in commercial volumes, open poultry farms, grow vegetables and fruits outdoors and in greenhouses. They supply their products to the population and wholesalers in natural, freshly frozen and canned form. The main statutory form of private medium-sized enterprises is an individual entrepreneur (individual enterprise). The annual turnover ranges from hundreds of thousands to tens of millions of manats.

Big business is represented by five percent of the total number of members of the UIET. This is 1,250 people. But in their hands the lion's share of the production, income and profits of the UIET is concentrated. At the same time, the leadership of the Union has no more than a hundred people, headed by formally undeclared members of the dictatorial Family and persons close to their pedestal.

Among the organizational and legal forms of large business, there are diversified individual enterprises But economic companies (EC) prevail - such as limited liability companies (LLC), joint-stock companies of open (JSC) and closed type (CJSC). By tacit agreement with government officials, these structures are handed over as general contractors, contracts for the implementation of large-scale government projects. Among them are transnational oil and gas pipelines, railways and highways, airports, seaports, metallurgical plants, light, food, petrochemical and gas industry plants, cyclopean irrigation facilities and processing facilities for plant and livestock raw materials. EC are actively involved in large-scale redevelopment of old and construction of new cities, large-scale laying of utility networks, road infrastructure. Health-improving, diagnostic centers, residential complexes, offices of ministries and departments, buildings of higher and secondary specialized educational institutions, secondary schools, kindergartens for hundreds of places, multifunctional sports facilities, recreational areas, racetracks, Olympic towns and other civil facilities are being built.

¹ Rysgal - production, share, fate, destiny.

This is the bright side of the achievements of Turkmen entrepreneurs, who, for the most part, work tirelessly. However, the fruits of their labor go to a limited circle of people – the directors of the backstage life of the UIET.

Joint-stock companies of UIET exist mostly on paper. They parasitize the state economy and the labor of ordinary members of the UIET. In fact, these companies are not even intermediaries, but gaskets. EC, patronized by the criminal authorities, have "stuck" to state-owned enterprises and are pumping funds out of them in various ways. At large enterprises of the fuel and energy complex, they act as field developers, handing over for processing fictitiously extracted or overloaded into the sea from floating storage bunkers to transport tankers raw materials.

At sea transport enterprises, with dispatchers and port fleet tugboats working, EC open representative offices for escorting ships from the raid to the berths and charging foreigners in foreign currency for services that are actually provided by port workers. With the port, they pay with coins at the state exchange rate, putting into the pocket of gaskets companies considerable sums saved on the difference between the official and black exchange rates. They are also received during the repair of heavy-duty vessels. Acting as a customer, EC attract ship repairers from abroad to repair, agreeing with them on kickbacks.

The same is true in civil and industrial construction. The general contractor is appointed EC. Real contractors act as subcontractors – often foreign companies with their own high-tech machinery and equipment, state repair, construction and installation departments, specialized IE of medium-sized businesses. By entering into contracts with a representative of the UIET, and not with the customer of the facilities, they become dependent on the employer in promptly resolving issues of financing, supply and acceptable coordination of prices for building materials and work. With small businesses involved under contracts as temporary teams in laying trenches for engineering and communication networks, internal electrical wiring, landscaping, landscaping of construction sites, etc., they do not stand on ceremony. In their relations with them, the EC of the UIET arbitrarily violate the terms of labor agreements, delay the repayment of earnings or completely refuse wages. The goal is the same – to make money out of thin air by any means.

It is useless to complain about employers from the UIET to the court. At the top of the hierarchical ladder of the UIET are current and retired heads of branch and law enforcement ministries, departments, administrations of velayats involved in corrupt business under the cover of officials. The top of the UIET has a free pass to the corridors and apartments of power, its members are connected not only by friendly, blood-related and tribal ties, but also by corporate responsibility.

UIET is a syndicate of like-minded people, naturalized by the type of holding, but with a significant difference from modern companies. In it, the bigwigs of criminal business who have close ties with the presidential entourage, without any controlling stake, control not only the property, but also the behavior of the heads of enterprises - members of the UIET. Resourceful businessmen own palaces, supermarkets, fashionable restaurants fictitiously designed for other owners. They buy wholesale warehouses, factories, factories on the cheap at auctions, squeeze farmland and feedlots from gengeshliks (former village councils) and daikhan associations. The bosses of the UIET monopolistically dispose of wholesale trade in tobacco and wine and vodka products, manipulate all groups of entrepreneurs, not excluding big business. They corrupt their wards with lucrative contracts, seduce them with cheap foreign currency loans, and then collect their debt in manats at the black market rate, ruining debtors or putting their property under their full control.

On their explicit and hidden accounts, including "under the nightmare", huge funds have been mobilized that pose a threat to the ruling regime in a certain situation - only a blind person does not see this. As if advertising his special position in the state, the permanent head of the UIET A. Dadaev invariably appeared in front of the public accompanied by an honorary escort of cars of a representative class and surrounded by guards not inferior to the president's security. In the spring of 2020, the odious first businessman of Turkmenistan was sent to honorable exile – to retirement. However, Chadaev's dismissal did not change the very essence of the UIET as the largest criminal syndicate of modern Turkmenistan.

Poisonous tentacles of corruption permeate with branching threads the entire law enforcement system of the country, which is closely connected with the authorities. This is a consequence of the absolute closeness of the country from principled internal and external criticism. The detailed exposure of corruption in Turkmenistan goes beyond the scope of the report, being the task of a systematic study of professional services, including international class. Therefore, we will limit ourselves here to a dashed analysis reflecting the key points of the state of affairs in the legal field of Turkmenistan.

Turkmenistan has repeatedly adopted government documents on combating corruption. All of them were populist in nature, being instruments of the struggle against comrades-in-arms who had crossed the line of what was permissible in their greed. On June 1, 2017, Berdimuhamedow signed another Decree in vague wording "On the establishment of the State Service of Turkmenistan for Combating Economic Crimes." Chairman of the Customs Service of Turkmenistan M. Chakyevev, with a far from impeccable track record, was appointed to the post of director of the newly created department. On the same day, an indicative personnel castling took place. Chairman of the Supreme Court B. Charyev was transferred to the post of Director of the National Institute of Democracy and Human Rights under the President of Turkmenistan, his predecessor G. Hallyev moved to the chair of the Chairman of the Supreme Court. As they say, the fight against economic crimes began with "new forces" and with a "clean slate".

A noisy propaganda campaign was organized at enterprises and institutions of the country. It was headed by judges, prosecutors, investigators, police officers and other officials from all law enforcement and security services. Most of them were listed among the people as registered bribe takers and extortionists. The speeches were organized in an explanatory and informative form, revealing the meaning of corruption as a disgusting phenomenon that corrodes the state. They were replete with examples from foreign chronicles and the few surnames of minor persons brought to criminal responsibility for bribes and fraud in Turkmenistan. It was funny to watch their theatrical speeches stigmatizing corruption, which became an all-consuming narrative in those days. No one believed them and did not doubt that the zealous speakers themselves were laughing in their hearts at their role...

The staff of the representative offices of the state service for combating economic crimes on the ground were recruited in most cases from those who zealously stigmatized corruption during the period of mass clarification of the Decree. It is not surprising that two years later the service collapsed, and its employees, having consolidated their negative reputation, safely moved to senior and "bread" positions in the police, prosecutor's offices, hyakimliks, etc.

In September 2020, the Supreme Commander-in-Chief of the Armed Forces of the country Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow signed a Decree approving the Regulation on the Inter-Sectoral Coordination Commission on Combating Corruption. And although the purpose of the struggle is more specifically outlined in this resolution, corruption continued to flourish.

In numerical terms, those in power are an insignificant minority compared to the population, the majority of which lives on savings and hard-earned money. But on the side of officialdom is an administrative resource, the power of money, gold and passions. What constitutes the deep essence of corruption, which is a natural habitat for the overwhelming number of officials of Turkmenistan. They are fighting uncompromisingly for its preservation, using various means to ensure the achieved position. It is no secret that in the hyakimliks of velayats, etraps and cities, the employees of the prosecutor's office, the police, etc., who have committed a crime, sit in the places of the heads of housing departments, trade, complaints. Citizens have nowhere to turn for justice. Thousands of applications are shelved, and in Russian they are thrown into the trash.

Turkmenistan has closed court proceedings. It is conducted in the Turkmen language and is incomprehensible to ordinary Turkmen because of the new language, not to mention national citizens, who, as a rule, are not provided with translators. The adopted decisions and sentences, replete with violations of procedural norms and legislative codes, are issued to the participants of the trial in the Turkmen language. Translations of texts into Russian,² certified by the seals of licensed translators, are not accepted as evidence in the courts of the second and higher instance, allegedly because of non-identity with the original. People fall into a vicious circle of lawlessness and arbitrariness, from which it is impossible to escape without bribes.

It is impossible to get an appointment with local judges and prosecutors because of the countless slingshots invented on the way of applicants. The entrance to them is guarded by paramilitary guards. The applicants' documents are handed over to the attendant through a window in a cramped dressing room. Even a crystal honest person, after spending a few hours waiting here, will feel half a criminal.

It is important to note that during all the years of independence, more than one acquittal has not been registered in Turkmenistan. Decisions made in favor of victims of injustice are achieved by bribes or non-gratuitous support of relatives and fellow countrymen in power, as well as by the clash of vested interests of officials involved in administrative litigation and court cases. Civil and criminal proceedings are not covered on television and in the press. In order not to spoil the false picture of the varnished life in

² Language of international communication.

Turkmenistan, court proceedings are deliberately conducted in complete secrecy from the general public. In addition to stencil messages, nothing is known about the removal of dignitaries from their posts. The corruption scandal of 2016 related to former Prime Minister B. Khodjamammedov, who was convicted of multimillion-dollar bribes, remained a secret. A public assessment was not given to high-ranking officials who later used criminal currency schemes in joint-stock commercial banks for personal enrichment, participated in currency smuggling under the guise of corrupt customs and border guards. The tenacious followers of their machinations do not cease to invent more and more bizarre forms of extracting unearned income. Coverage of their scams is declared a crime against the state.

There are no numbers of such examples...

The atmosphere of permissiveness unleashes the hands of corrupt officials on all floors of power and management. On the ground, with the tacit benevolence of the higher authorities, the feedback of the population with the central authorities is blocked. Citizens' appeals are either stupidly not sent to the addressees by post offices that are closely connected with the local administration, or they are deliberately delayed so that the deadlines for working with letters expire, or, having reached the recipient, they are sent by clerical officials of central departments belatedly down to the authorities – to local leaders, whose actions are appealed by citizens. Officials, observing the formalities, look like principled guardians of the law in the eyes of their superiors, including thanks to the implementation of European laws, which give ugly shoots in the field of Turkmen justice. Take, for example, the Law of Turkmenistan "On Administrative Procedures" of June 3, 2017. The law gave administrators comprehensive powers to consider appeals. Citizens who disagree with the conclusions of the administrative body are forced to apply to the court again through the body that issued the conclusion. People find themselves in complete disenfranchisement in front of a bureaucratic machine programmed to continuously absorb bribes.

The Law of Turkmenistan "On State registration of rights to immovable property and transactions on them" of 2014 provided a wide field for fleecing the population. More than 80 percent of appeals to legal consultations and notary offices are statements on housing issues. The re-registration of real estate into ownership according to new standards provoked unprecedented harassment of citizens throughout the country. New standards in the presence of citizens of title documents have created insurmountable obstacles in proving their rights to housing built in the period preceding independence. Houses of old buildings are not only the subject of extortion for re-registration. They have house plots, and the plots cleared of development turned into an expensive commodity for which demand is growing. To achieve maximum profit, participants in criminal schemes of squeezing housing from citizens act in a single hitch – BTI (bureau of technical inventory), state offices of legal advice, notary offices, prosecutors, courts.

There is a real hunt for land plots. Citizens are deprived of their housing rights under any pretexts backed up by legal trickery. Freed from moral and moral brakes, corrupt officials do not disdain direct reprisals. In 2016-2017, a series of murders of lonely elderly people – Russians by nationality - took place in a drug dispensary in the city of Turkmenbashi. The murders were committed by violent physical and medical means in order to seize the apartments of the unfortunate, responsible employees of the housing department of the hyakimlik, notary office, narcologists, district police officers, employees of the prosecutor's office, the real estate registration chamber of the city of Turkmenbashi were involved in the crimes. They were exposed thanks to the incredible efforts of the relatives of the victims and sentenced to various terms. Less than a year later, sadistic corrupt officials were pardoned in honor of the anniversary of Turkmenistan's independence. They were safely released from prison on the Night of Omnipotence – Gadyr Gidjesi.

Thus, the sacred symbol of Turkmen humanity, which has long been a monetized product in the hands of organized crime communities, was desecrated, with the blood of innocent people. It is noteworthy that a thanksgiving sadaka was given in honor of the murderers: a mystical-religious rite with treats and prayers. Relatives, neighbors and friends of the criminal clan came to congratulate the criminals on their release, not being afraid of public opinion. As in the popular saying: "So that you have everything and nothing for it." And people say: "Served a few months, but millions remained in hiding places."

What happened is far from a special case. The whole corrupt community of Turkmenistan is covered by the philosophy of justifying criminal acts in the name of money. The mindset of profit reflects a complete lack of repentance and admiration for corruption in all its forms, if they promise enrichment. The housing market for corrupt officials has become a truly gold mine and is not inferior in benefits to commercial fraud in trade and the gold stream of the fuel and energy complex. There are a lot of people who want to take part in it.

On June 22, 2022, a certain Atajan, the head of the Housing Department for registration, registration and distribution of housing, who had held this post since August 2011, was arrested for bribes with four accomplices in the hyakimlik of the city of Ashgabat.

All these years, the arrested man was under the patronage of Gurbanguly Berdimuhamedow's sister G. Dovletova. During the first years of her elder brother's presidency, Dovletova worked in the hyakimlik of the metropolitan district (etrap) named after Niyazov, the first president of Turkmenistan. For manipulations in competitive competitions for the tender selection of contract applicants and other frauds, she was transferred to the post of chairman of the National Red Crescent Society of Turkmenistan (NRCST). Soon, the representative office of the International Committee of the Red Crescent in Ashgabat, under the leadership of businesswoman Dovletova, turned into a bottomless trough, from which the sister of the Arcade, the support of the Turkmen nation, shamelessly fed. Using duty-free import preferences, they imported scarce goods and medicines into the country for personal resale. Medicines were sold through a network of pharmacies owned by Arkadag's nephew Sh. To Rejepov. Moreover, Dovletova imposed tribute on the corrupt leadership of the UIET, which with understanding and confidence for the eternal patronage of the ruling clan, transferred funds from the settlement accounts of ordinary entrepreneurs to the NRCST, allegedly for charitable purposes. Dovletova also did not disdain offerings of goods and products from the leadership and members of the UIET.

The heinous rebirth of the charitable organization, founded 159 years ago by the great humanist Anri Dyunan, who gave his entire fortune to the noble cause of helping people affected by wars and natural disasters, lasted for many years. In 2022, the insatiable aunt, who gave a hundred points ahead to the Sultan-Prosecutor Kurbanbibi Agadjanova, was expelled from office by her nephew and the new president of Turkmenistan, Serdar Berdimuhamedov, as an unscrupulous person who tarnished the name of the ruling family.

However, this is not the height of cynicism. Corrupt officials of all stripes and ranks did not disdain to plunder on a national scale the pathetic social rations issued to residents of Turkmenistan at reduced prices as part of the social support program for the population operating from 2020 to 2022. The distribution of rations was delayed, distribution schedules were violated. As a rule, ration kits were not completed, substandard products were often invested in them. At the same time, citizens were forced to pay for the load of rations - goods with expired storage periods. To get one complete grocery set, I had to repeatedly stand in line. For many reasons, not everyone was able to do this, but thousands of tons of food were accumulating across the country in the back rooms of stores and in the warehouses of scammers. An extensive chain of unscrupulous persons participated in the theft of rations - from packers and sellers of rations to the heads of departments and departments of trade of etraps, cities, velayats and owners of large farms, who were given the distribution of rations.

According to numerous complaints of outraged citizens, at the beginning of 2022, the Prosecutor General's Office conducted a special inspection on the compliance of officials of the Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations of Turkmenistan with their positions. As a result of the inspection, corrupt officials guilty of reselling social support products and other crimes have been brought to criminal responsibility.

Information about this was leaked to the official press. A considerable part of the population met the news with approval. However, the majority assessed the actions of the Prosecutor General's Office as a forced measure of distancing the ruling regime from its presumptuous adherents. It is hardly worth hoping that this measure will serve at least as a warning to corrupt officials who have developed a strong immunity to punishments of a palliative nature in the criminogenic environment.

CONCLUSION

The personnel nationalization of state authorities, management, economy, education, health, culture and the press forced thousands of highly educated Russian-speaking specialists out of there, forced most of them to leave Turkmenistan. Now there is not a single Russian in the sphere of the executive and legislative power of the country, the presence of other representatives of the non-titular nation in them is practically zeroed out. Even at the level of deputy heads of departments. The same picture is in the governing body of the industry, the socio-cultural complex. There is not a single Russian-speaking representative among the deputies of the Parliament of the Milli Gengesh of Turkmenistan - the National Council of Turkmenistan. The situation is unique for the countries of Central Asia.

Russian language has been gradually ousted from the education system, which has led to the destruction of preschool, secondary special and higher education in Russian, and has reduced to zero the training of teaching staff to work in classes with the Russian language of instruction. The prohibition of the use of the Russian language in state institutions since 1999 has predetermined the trend for its disappearance in international communication. Repressions against any public associations of the Russian-speaking population, according to the national-cultural principle, leveled the social activity of this category of citizens and, along with other factors, increased their migration from the country, which has not stopped until now. A small part of the Russian-speaking population remaining in Turkmenistan has ceased to play a significant role in the state. The same irreconcilable position of prohibitions is carried out by the Turkmen authorities in relation to other national minorities who are living out their disenfranchised age in the country of "Power and Happiness".

At this stage, the Turkmen nationalism imposed from above was transformed into tribal chauvinism - a lower level of interethnic rivalry. Dissatisfaction with the dominance of the Teke tribe over other tribes smoulders with sparks under the ashes of old and new grievances. A destructive process for the state can cause the flames of civil strife. It is provoked on the outskirts by corrupt officials who are dissatisfied with the total control of the center, criminal prosecution and curtailment of their appetites in plundering national wealth. They secretly incite the people against the central government, who, suffering from unemployment, arbitrariness and humiliation of the local administration, become susceptible to the agitation of the tempters.

Arkadag's transfer of power over the country to his son, Serdar Berdimuhamedow, was caused by the inability to curb the bureaucracy mired in corruption and reduce the degree of discontent among the population with the ruling regime. The removal of dignitaries who are not popular among the people, sending embezzlers and bribe takers to jail is, as noted by the people, an old song, not even in a new way. A fundamentally new paradigm of the structure of society is needed, aimed at the real rule of law and observance of the principles of democracy, the rejection of the dissected openness of the country and the provision of social elevators for all citizens regardless of their nationality, religion and property status.

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