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ANAYURT

Özbek, Türkmen, Uygur, Tatar, Azer bir boydur,
Karakalpak, Kırgız, Kazak ... hepsi bir soydur.

Özbekistan, Türkmenistan ... diye kurmuşlar.
Uyguristan, Kırgızistan ... diye kurmuşlar,
Anayurtum Türkistan'ı bölüp koymuşlar,

İnanmayın aldanmayın ey Türk yiğitler
Kırk asırlık tarihe sahip olan Türkler.

Türkistan, Kafkazistan ey güzel yurdumuz
Türkistan, Azerbaycan ey güzel yurdumuz

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Red. yardımcıları/assistant editors:

Adnan Soysal, Turhan Özgüner

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Türkistan ve Azerbaycan Araştırma vakfı Hollanda'da, Hollanda ve Batı Avrupa efkârına Türkistan, Azerbaycan, Kırım, Kafkas, Sibirya ve diğer Türk halklarının tarihini, kültürünü ve dillerini tanıtmak için kurulmuş, ilmi çalışmalar yapan bağımsız bir Vakıftır.

This journal is a publication of the Research Centre Turkestan and Azerbaidjan. This Centre was founded in The Netherlands in 1991 to meet the increasing information supply in Western Europe to the many Turkish people living in Turkestan, Azerbaycan, The Crimea, The Caucasus and Siberia (Including Volga Tatars and Bashkirs) and vice versa. This Centre will be an independent organization for the information about the peoples of the regio.

The leading languages in this Review are Turkish, English and Dutch. Its aim is to inform about the Cultural and political aspects of Turkestan and Azerbaidjan. Also literary and scholarly works about the peoples and the regio will be published.

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Representatives / Temsilcilikler:

TDV İSAM
Kütüphanesi Arşiv
No *TK195*

Baku:

Abbas Abdullah
İstiklal cad. 31
Bakü Azerbaycan
Tel. 8922-395252

Ankara:

İrfan Ünver Nasrattinoğlu
P.k. 471
Ulus - Ankara Türkiye
Tel. 4 - 2319237 ve 3162062

İzmir:

Feyyaz Sağlam
P.k. 382
Pasaport İzmir
Türkiye
Tel.: 51 - 297138

Taşkent:

Nasir Karamov
box 1800
700007 Taşkent
Uzbekistan
tel.: 3712- 332104

Alma Ata:

Mehmet Karabacak
Arbito 3 ev 5/50
Alma Ata Kazakistan
Tel. 3272 - 204159

Lefkoşe

Erhan Arıklı
Milliyetçi Düşünce Derneği
Lefkoşe K.K.T.C.
Tel. 520 - 87868 ve 87879

Kazan:

Halef Gardanov
Ul. İbragimova 81/12
Kazan Tatarstan

München

Timur Kocaoğlu
Hörwarthstrasse 37
80804 München
Germany/Almanya
Tel. + 49 89 364685

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by Timur Kocaoglu, Ph.D.

1. Introduction:

Similar traditions can draw the peoples of different cultures and lands closer to each other. The tulip festival is a good example for this. Today, we know that the tulip festivals are being held during spring season at the four different locations in the world. They are, the city of **Haarlem** in Holland, the city of **Holland** in the Michigan State of the U.S., the city of **Istanbul** in Turkey, and various cities and villages throughout Central Asia. The long journey of tulip seeds from the vast steppes of Central Asia to Anatolia and from there to Haarlem has brought also some similar traditions along with. Thus, today the plant of tulip festivals are the symbols of the continued cultural links between the peoples of Netherlands and Central Asia despite the long geographical distance between these two regions.

Central Asia is an ancient land, known as **Turkistan** in history. This historical entity emerged as a new political region on the world stage after the collapse of the Soviet Union at the end of 1991. The newly independent states of Central Asia have become the focus of growing international interest for both political and economic reasons. The future role of this region on the world platform will depend on the politics of change and continuity in Central Asia. In our discussions, we will include both the **Sinkiang-Uygur Autonomous Region of China** and the republic of **Azerbaijan**, because of their close historical, cultural and ethnic ties to the five Central Asian republics of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan.

Although Central Asia is a landlocked region within the Asian continent, it has played important parts in the world history from the ancient times down to the 16th century. The famous **Silk Road** stretching from China and India to the Middle East and Europe passed through Central Asia that had been a main trade centre of the world for many centuries until the discovery of the sea routes. Many different ethnic cultures and religions have intermingled in this area in the long course of history, but **Turkish** and **Islamic** are the two dominant factors that had a long lasting impact on Central Asia.

The Turks have been active in the history of Central Asia since at least the fifth century and Islam made

inroads in this area in the beginning of the eight century. Despite the Mongolian invasion of Central Asia in the 13th century and the both Czarist and Soviet Russian rule since mid-18th century in the Western part of Central Asia as well as the Manchu and Chinese hegemony since 1884 in the Eastern part of Central Asia, today this region is culturally both Turkish and Islamic.

The territory of the five Central Asian republics, combined with **Eastern Turkistan** (Sinkiang) and **Azerbaijan** is about 5,681,000 km² and its population was about 77,123,779 in 1990. As the attached graphics show, the Turkish native people comprise about 66.7% of the total population while Persian speaking Tajiks had a share of 9.6%. The 77.1 percent of the total population was Muslim. The proportions of the Turkish and Muslim people differ in the various parts of this area. There are large numbers of Russian (and Slavic) settlers in the northern half of Kazakhstan and Chinese in the northern half of Eastern Turkistan. Today's Russian (and Slavic) presence in Kazakhstan dates back to the two waves of mass-settlements: first between 1860 and 1914 and their numbers have been increased rapidly in the last 15 years. Turks constitute great majority in the republics of Azerbaijan (92%), Turkmenistan (84%), Uzbekistan (83%) and Kyrgyzstan (73%), while Tajiks comprise majority only in Tajikistan (61%). If we compare the ethnic composition of this vast region in the 12th century with that of today, we see the continuation of both

Turkish and Islamic homogeneity, while disruption of ethnic balance in the northern parts of both Western and Eastern Turkistan.

Despite the Western press reports about the so-called "**mass departure**" of Slavic inhabitants from five Central Asian republics in the 90s, the Central Asian press has recently disclosed that Slavic migration into Central Asian cities was continuing with the exception of Tajikistan and Azerbaijan. Some studies in the West indicate that about 7,000 Chinese are pouring into Eastern Turkistan daily. If this officially encouraged trend continues, the number of Chinese in Eastern Turkistan can increase from today's 6.5 million to at least **25 million** by the end of this century! Thus, the large numbers of Russians (and other Slavic peoples) in Kazakhstan and the continued Chinese influx in Eastern Turkistan are the most significant

¹ This paper was submitted at the conference organized by S.O.T.A. in Haarlem, The Netherlands, on 19 May 1993.

issues concerning the internal stability of these two parts of Central Asia.

2. Political Change and Continuity:

The end of the Soviet Empire has brought independence to Azerbaijan and the five Central Asian republics, but not immediate political changes. Only in the republics of Azerbaijan, the democratic movement around the Azerbaijani Popular Front (Azerbaycan Halq Cebhesi) has succeeded to overthrow the communist government. In the five Central Asian republics, however, the former communist governments and parliaments continue to function. In Tajikistan, the islamic and democratic alliance came to power for a very short time during the bloody civil war, but the pro-communist forces, reportedly supported by the former Soviet troops in the region, has forced the armed groups of the opposition to flee from the capital city of Dushanbe to southeastern parts of the republic and from there to Afghanistan in late October 1992. The civil war and re-consolidation of the communist government in Tajikistan has encouraged the Uzbek president Islam Kerimov to further increase its repression on the Uzbek Popular Front "**Birlik**" (Unity) and Erk Democratic Party.

If we compare the conducts and policies of the five Central Asian presidents, we can see the existence of different political motivations in the region: it ranges from the tolerant rule under the leadership of liberal president **Askar Akaev** in Kyrgyzstan and Western-oriented, but firm-handed rule under president **Nursultan Nazarbaev** in Kazakhstan, to hardline conservative rule under president **Islam Kerimov** in Uzbekistan and despotic rule reminiscent of the Medieval Age under the leadership of president **Saparmurad Niyazov** in Turkmenistan. Various democratic movements and opposition parties function freely in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan, while the leaders and members of the officially registered movements and political parties are being arrested, jailed, beaten and exiled in Uzbekistan. The Turkmen president Saparmurad Niyazov has not even allowed the single democratic organization "**Agzıbirlik**" (Unity) to be registered in the republic. Except president Askar Akaev of Kyrgyzstan, the three Central Asian presidents; Nazarbaev, Niyazov and Kerimov are the former first secretaries of the local communist parties. The former communist parties in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan were officially abolished, but they continued to exist in Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan by changing their names from "communist" to "democratic". The Kazak and Kyrgyz presidents had distanced themselves from all political parties and become neutral leaders, while the Turkmen and Uzbek presidents retained the chairmanship of their ruling parties. President **Ebulfez**

Elçibey of Azerbaijan is the only post-Soviet elected president in the region.

Moreover, no parliamentary free-elections have been held in Azerbaijan or Central Asia in the post-Soviet period. With the exception of Azerbaijan, the Soviet-period parliaments continue to function in five Central Asian republics. In Azerbaijan, the former Soviet parliament was forced to stop its activities, but was not abolished. A fifty-men National Assembly (Milli Meclis) has taken the responsibilities of the former Azerbaijani parliament. There are, however, growing demands in Central Asian republics for replacing the present parliaments dominated by the former communists with a transitory "National Assembly" and then holding parliamentary elections. When two Kazak democratic parties "**Azat**" (Liberty) and "**Zeltoqsan**" (December) staged a demonstration outside the parliament in June 1992, demanding a share in the government and abolishment of the present parliament, president Nazarbaev let the police to brake up the demonstration and detain its organizers briefly. When the various democratic groups and parties of Uzbekistan held a meeting to create a "national assembly" (Milli Meclis) in 1992, the authorities responded quickly to arrest several of the organizers and they have been in jail without trials so far. The Free Kyrgyzstan Democratic Movement (Erkin Kırgızistan Demokratıyalık Kıymılı) has been demanding the replacement of the present parliament members through free-elections, but president Akaev has not responded to their proposals.

Turkmenistan, Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan have adopted new constitutions, with the exception of Tajikistan and Azerbaijan where the old Soviet constitutions are in force. Of course the implementation of these new constitutions which contain various articles for a true democratic society remains under question.

The development of the media in the Central Asian states and Azerbaijan has varied according to the amount of political liberalization that has occurred in each country as well as to declining economic conditions. The governments in Azerbaijan and five Central Asian republics have firm control over the state-owned media and exercise censorship on press. These controls and censorship, however, sharply differ from the Soviet period and from country to country. Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan have experienced the steady growth of press freedom, while Turkmenistan has seen very little change from the Soviet era, and Uzbekistan has gone back to tight controls in 1992 after had experienced some liberalization during the last years of the Soviet period. Various opposition organizations and political parties have access to publish their own newspapers and journals in Azerbaijan, Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan

only. This right is denied in Tajikistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan. We have, purposely, left out Eastern Turkistan in our discussions on the political situation, because this area remains as a colony of China.

Thus, on the political front, Central Asia has experienced both changes and continuity. Independence from Moscow and the international recognition of their states mark the real political changes, while various former Soviet elements in political life continue to function. The real issue facing both Azerbaijan and Central Asian republics is as follows: Will they prefer to continue the past Soviet experience of *maintaining political stability without democracy* or take the hardest road that is *maintaining political stability within democracy*. Unfortunately, Central Asia is surrounded by China and Iran where authoritarian regimes exist, by Afghanistan which is in bloody internal struggle, and finally by the Russian Federation where the future of both the state and democracy is uncertain. On the other hand, Azerbaijan is forced to concentrate all of his sources to its meaningless war with Armenia. Western countries can persuade Armenia that maintaining friendly relations with both Azerbaijan and Turkey is more beneficial to Yerevan than claiming territory from Azerbaijan.

Therefore, Azerbaijan and Central Asia needs more bilateral relations and closer contacts with Turkey and other West European countries, including The Netherlands. West European countries can help Azerbaijan and Central Asian states to overcome their geo-political isolation in the centre of Asia.

3. Economic Change and Continuity:

Compared to the political independence, economic independence is much harder to achieve. Azerbaijan and the five Central Asian republics have been exploited by Moscow as the colonies of cheap raw materials, and Eastern Turkistan is continued to be exploited by Peking for that. Western studies show that Azerbaijan and Central Asia are believed to have reserves of at least **35 billion barrels of oil** and Eastern Turkistan (Sinkiang) may have even a larger amount! Hundred trillions cubic feet of natural gas is believed to lie beneath Azerbaijan and Central Asia which is also rich in coal, iron ore, copper, mercury, tin, lead, zinc, manganese, uranium and gold. Both Moscow and Peking followed the same policy that deprived Azerbaijan, Western and Eastern Turkistan to develop its own industry. Instead, Central Asia was turned into an area of cotton monoculture.

Economic independence, of course, does not mean complete isolation from other countries, but establishing healthy and equal trade relations within international community. The real issue in obtaining economic independence for Azerbaijan and five Cen-

tral Asian states is how will they rebuild their economic infrastructure in the post-Soviet period. The Soviet economy was based on absolute state-owned industrial and agricultural structures which had no room for private initiative. Even before obtaining their political independence, the communist leaders of Azerbaijan and Central Asian republics were talking about "market economy" and "privatization". In the post-Soviet period, many of the republics have issued new resolutions and have launched their privatization programs. These programs, however, do not include private land ownership which is a very controversial issue. The presidents of all republics actively oppose privatization of land on different grounds. The continued war and the Karabagh issue is a reason for Azerbaijani leadership, while Uzbek president Islam Kerimov maintains that Uzbekistan has a small land, but a very large population. The presence of large non-native population of Kazakistan and Kyrgyzistan is one of the most serious concerns of president Nazarbaev and Akaev in the privatization of land. They are afraid of internal strife if a land reform is implemented.

Former Soviet economic links between the republics and Russia continue, while the republics are eager to establish trade relations with other countries. Kazakistan is the clear leader in Central Asia in its success to take the greater share of the Western capital investments in the region thanks to its oil fields. Chevron Corporation of the US has agreed to develop the big **Tengiz** oil field in Kazakistan in a \$20 billion, 40-year deal. Speaking of the Asian nations, Japan is interested in developing partnerships of only small business ventures in Central Asia, while China has recently engaged in barter trade with several Central Asian republics. Pakistan has established significant business chains in Uzbekistan, while the southeast Asian countries are slowly entering the region in joint ventures. The West European countries so far have been reluctant to make important investments in Azerbaijan and Central Asia, with the exception of Germany and Turkey. The classic parameters of a free-market economy can apply here too: **Whoever has the greatest capital will have the greatest influence in Central Asia...**

The leaders of the Central Asian republics, indeed, have been searching for a state model for the economic development of their own republics. There are several models: First, is the **Turkish** model: *an Islamic country with a firm Western democracy and at least 12 years of market economy*. Second is the **Iranian** model: *an oil-rich Islamic country with authoritarian rule*. Third is the **Chinese** model: *economic liberalization without political freedom*. Fourth is the **Southeast Asian** model: *successful market-oriented economy with limited political liberalization*.

The Uzbek president Islam Kerimov first stated that he will follow the Chinese model, but then quickly corrected himself saying that actually he meant the Turkish model before and shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union. However after visiting the South-east Asian countries, Kerimov indicated his preference toward Malaysia and Indonesia. Lately, he had been raising the merits of the Chinese model again and finally he said in his book that Uzbekistan will have its own model of state. The recent political and economic developments in Uzbekistan, however, indicate that president Kerimov is following the Chinese model.

Only Azerbaijan a year ago and Kyrgyzstan this month (May 10, 1993) issued their own national currencies. Others have decided to stick with the Russian ruble for now. But, all five Central Asian republics are the members of the CIS (Commonwealth of the Independent States) which was created shortly after the collapse of the Soviet Union in December 1991. Only Azerbaijan is not a member, but it retains an observer status like Georgia in the CIS meetings. Turkmenistan, however, has lately started to refuse signing new military and economic commitments of the CIS. After the Ukraine, Turkmenistan has become the second country effectively rejecting the CIS to be evolved into a "political federal state".

Thus, there has been more continuity than change on the economic platform in the republics of Azerbaijan and Central Asia. This continuity, on the other hand, is largely depended on the slow phase of political change in Central Asia and the continued war in Azerbaijan.

4. Conclusion

After the discovery of the sea routes, followed by the colonization of India by the British Empire and Central Asia by the Russians and Chinese, and later the establishment of the communist regimes, this region has stayed away from the world politics for more than four centuries. Today, Azerbaijan and the five Central Asian republics have returned to world stage as new states. In their first 15 months of political independence, they have demonstrated both change and continuity in political and economic affairs. The future integration of this long ignored region into international community now depends on two factors: First of all, how will the foreign countries extend their influences on Azerbaijan and Central Asia, and secondly, how will the politics of change and continuity be evolved in these newly independent states. The eastern part of Central Asia (East Turkistan) remains as a colony of China, but the independence of its western part will have impacts on the developments in this region.

ÖZBEKİSTAN'DA LATİN ALFABESİ

Rus (Kiril) harflerine dayalı şimdiki Özbek alfabesinin yerine Türkiyede kullanılan Latin Alfabesine dayalı yani Özbek alfabesine geçilmesi hakkındaki kanun teklifi 2 Eylül 1993'te Özbekistan Parlamentosunda kabul edildi. Böylece Türk dünyasında 4. ve Türkistan'da 2. olarak Latin alfabesine doğru adım atan Türk devleti Özbekistan oldu.

Bilindiği gibi 1927-1928 yılları arasında Sovyetler Birliği'ndeki Türk boyları Latin alfabesini kullanmışlardı. İkinci Dünya savaşında Rus harflerine dayalı Kiril alfabeleri zorla kabul ettirilince, dünyada latin alfabesini kullanan tek Türk devleti, bu harfleri 1928'de kabul eden Türkiye kalmıştı. Sovyetler Birliği parçalanmadan önce, SSCB'deki Türk boyları Latin alfabesine dönüş yolunda hızlı adımlar attılar. İlk önce Azerbaycan Parlamentosu 25 Aralık 1991'de Latin alfabesine geçişi onayladı. Türkmen Parlamentosu ise 13 Nisan 1993 tarihinde Latin harflerine dayalı yeni Türkmen alfabesini onayladı.

Ancak bu yeni Türkmen alfabesindeki harfler çok keyfi hazırlanmıştı ve Türkiye'deki Latin alfabesinden çok uzaktı. Şimdi Türkmen alimleri bu alfabedeki harfleri yeniden düzenlemeye ve onu Türkiye-

'deki Latin alfabesine yaklaştırmaya çalışıyorlar. Tataristan, Kırgızistan, Kazakistan ve başka yerlerdeki Türk boyları arasında da Latin alfabesine geçme konusunda ciddi çalışmalar yapılıyor.

Özbekistan'da 2 Eylülde kabul edilen kanuna göre Yeni Özbek Latin Alfabeti 1 Eylül 1995 tarihinden itibaren Özbekistan'daki okullarda öğretilmeye başlanacak ve 2000 yılından önce Latin alfabesine geçiş tamamlanmış olacak. Bazı kimseler bu işi 1997'ye kadar bitirmek isterken, başkaları bu alanda yavaş ve temkinli hareket edilmesini öneriyorlar. Bunun yanında, okullarda eski Arap harflerine dayalı Çağatay alfabesi de öğretilecek.

Türkiye'deki 29 harfli alfabeğe ek olarak yeni Özbek alfabesinde şu harfler var:

q = (kalın k sesi)

ŋ = (sağır nun veya nazal n sesi için)

x = (boğazdan hırıltılı çıkan hı sesi için)

ə = (a ile e arasındaki geniş e sesi için)