

**Hokkaido University**

**Center of Slavic Researches**

**21st Century COE Program "Making a Discipline of Slavic Eurasian Studies:  
Meso-Areas and Globalization"**

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**“Civil War in Tajikistan and Post-  
Conflict Rehabilitation”**

**Sapporo**

**2004**

**Civil War  
in Tajikistan and  
Post-Conflict Rehabilitation**

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## **Opening Address**

**Dear Mr. Chairman!**

**Dear ladies and gentlemen!**

First of all let me express my sincere gratitude to the leadership of the Center of Slavic Researches of Hokkaido University, **personally to esteemed Professor Ivashitan** for courteous invitation to make a speech in front of your in this seminar. It is a great honor and responsibility for me to speak in front of the seminar's officials and participants of such a serious, famous and considerable Research Center, which makes worthy contribution in studying urgent issues and contemporary challenges both in theoretical and practical aspects in the international scope.

I would like to present to your attention a speech on the civil war in Tajikistan and its post-conflict rehabilitation. While selecting the subject, we have been guided by the assumption that our Japanese colleagues and friends have a certain idea on general situation in Central Asia, including Tajikistan. Therefore, it was decided to select such a topic as a base through which it would be possible to “refresh” or supplement your knowledge on some directions of today’s development of Tajikistan.

We have not put an objective to cover all issues of Tajikistan today, this is a subject of a separate scientific analysis, but to uncover some political aspects of the emergence and intensification of the Tajik Society’s crisis, its influencing factors, as well as the process of the conflict settlement and to talk about some aspects of post-war rehabilitation of the country, i.e. about contemporary development of Tajikistan.

Therefore, I would be extremely thankful to you for requests, remarks and critics, which would allow further improvement of this subject in future.

**Domo arrigato godzaimas.**

## **Chapter I. Prehistory of crisis in Tajikistan**

After the collapse of the former Soviet Union, as in any other post-soviet republics, a transition process from one social and political status to another began in Tajikistan. The practice of post-soviet period, with the exception of Baltic countries showed that in such situations struggle for power intensifies, since ruling circles do not want to part with it, as for new contenders of various orientations, they try to climb to power by all means. As a result, the society is pulled into in political confrontation, which in Tajikistan, by virtue of various reasons and peculiarities grew into military confrontation.

### **1. General information**

The Republic of Tajikistan, hereinafter referred as to the RT, is located in the southeastern part of Central Asia, in the center of huge mountain systems of the world: Kunlun, Hindu Kush, Himalayas, Pamir and Tian Shan. Therefore, of 143.1 thousand square kilometers of the country's total area, mountains comprise 93% beginning with the height of 300 to 7,495 meters.<sup>1</sup> Waters constitute 1% of the total area. Their source is 1,085 glaciers of Pamir with a total area of 8,476km.<sup>2</sup> Tajikistan's rivers provide 60% of water resources of the Central Asian region. Climate is very contrasting: the temperature in the south is +22°C in winter, in summer from +45 °C above, in the east in summer and winter it is –8 °C to – 60°C respectively.<sup>3</sup>

Tajikistan borders Uzbekistan (910km) in the northwest, Kyrgyzstan (630km) in the northeast, China (430km) in the west, Afghanistan (1,030km) in the south.<sup>4</sup> The population is more than 6.5mln, including rural – 72%.<sup>5</sup> Natural increase is 144 people for 1,000 populations. Average life expectancy is 67 years. Number of inhabitants in 1km<sup>2</sup> is 45 people. Tajiks constitute 80% of the total population, Uzbeks – 15.3%, Russians and Kyrgyzes – 1.1% each, Tatars and Turkmens –0.3% each.<sup>6</sup> Main religion in Tajikistan is Islam; it is practiced by more than 95% of the population of Tajikistan, mainly Sunni branch of the religion. Only dwellers of

Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast or Pamir, with a small exception, are the followers of Ishmaelite branch of Islam.

Tajiks according to their origin belong to Indo-European anthropologic race. Current composition of Tajikistan's population has been formed as a result of millennial history of the evolution of Tajiks, whose first state was created during the reign of Samanides in X-XI centuries, and whose 1,100-years anniversary was celebrated in 1999. As a result of foreigners' incursions (Greeks, Arabs, Mongols, Turks, Huns-Ephtalites and others) intestine wars, division of spheres of influence between superpowers, particularly in the end of XIX century as well as demarcation of Central Asia in XX century Tajiks were pushed aside from fertile valleys into foothills and mountains.<sup>7</sup>

A part of them remained in Samarkand and Bukhara, which jointed Uzbekistan, the other part joined Afghanistan, the third part wandered around the world in the search of a better life, the rest died or assimilated in other countries. According to the opinion of the President of the RT Emomali Rahmonov, "formation of the Tajik nation took place in fighting different, by its appearance, powers over multi-millennial history...", but "this was a nation, who met physical blows with fascinating influence of its culture and language: the culture of the defeated nation used to defeat victors".<sup>8</sup>

Modern Tajikistan is a sovereign, democratic, jural, secular and unitary state. President is the head of state and of executive power, Supreme Commander of the Armed Forces of the RT. Tajik Parliament – Majlisi Oli consists of two houses: Majlisi Milli (National Assembly) and Majlisi Namoyandagon (Assembly of Representatives). Lower house consists of 63 deputies, 41 (65%) of whom are elected through a single-mandate constituency, and 22 deputies (35%) – according to party wide lists. Upper house consists of 33 people, 25 of whom (75%) are elected in the deputies' sessions in the Provincial level and Direct Ruled Districts and 8 (25%) are

appointed by the President of the RT.<sup>9</sup> Government consists of Prime Minister, his deputies, ministers, chairmen of committees and heads of national establishments.

In regards to administrative and territorial division, Tajikistan consists of Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast, Khatlon and Sughd Oblasts and Direct Ruled Districts. There are a total of 62 districts, 23 cities and towns, 47 settlements and 360 Jamoat (sub-district level).<sup>10</sup> As a consequence of contrast and multiplayer geographic location, peculiarities of relief, climate and combination of high altitude, Tajikistan is conditionally divided into four large zones: Northern (main part of Sughd Oblast), Kuhistan (Zarafshan Valley of Sughd Oblast and Direct Ruled Districts in Rasht Valley), Southern Tajikistan (the area of Khatlon Oblast and Hissor Valley as well as Dushanbe city) and Pamir (the area of Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast).

Tajikistan is an agrarian country with developed elements of industrialization. Gross National Product of the RT for 2003 in fact was 4,757.8mln Somoni, which is approximately equivalent to US\$ 1.6 bln.<sup>11</sup> National currency of the RT is Somoni, exchange rate is US\$1 is equal to 2 Somoni and 91 Dirams (as of May 2004). Minimal wages are 4 Somoni. Able-bodies population is about 1.9mln. Unemployed, according to different estimates is from 430 to 800 thousand.<sup>12</sup>

## **1.2. External factors of influence**

Peculiar geopolitical location of Tajikistan is defined by diverse nature of interests of external forces towards it. Interests of super powers are mainly caused by availability of energy resources in Central Asia as a whole, large reserve of oil and gas as well as gold deposits, uranium and other occasional metals and fresh water. In this case, Tajikistan mainly, with the exception of water reserves, electric power, coal and uranium, plays the role of a transit state in which peace and stability have to be maintained for safe transportation of energy carriers and

other natural resources of Central Asia via Afghanistan, Pakistan, China, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

Interests of Russia in the RT are defined as military-political, economic and cultural both in bilateral format and in the framework of international agreements. First of all, Russia and the RT were the CIS members, members of the Collective Security Treaty Organization and Customs Union. Russia actively lobbied the interests of the RT in the international and regional organizations. Secondly, Russia protected Tajik-Afghan border as a collective protection of CIS southern borderlines from the penetration of international terrorists, radical extremists, drug and arms smuggling. Besides, Russia lobbied the interests of the RT in resolving of existing issues of the Tajik-Chinese border.

Thirdly, economic relations of the two countries during that period were tied up in the framework of common national economy complex of the USSR. Russia was Tajikistan's largest sponsor and creditor; Fourthly, the mentality and the way of life of certain part of the population of the RT, city population in particular, was closer to Russian-Soviet than any other foreign ones. In addition, after collapse of the Soviet Union about 500,000 Russian-speaking population was still dwelling in the RT, which were in need for material assistance and support from the land of their forefathers. Besides, exaggerated ideas on renaissance of Pan-Turkic and Pan-Islamic states "Great Turkestan" and "Great Khuroson" caused Russia certain concern.

Interests of Uzbekistan in the RT are defined by historical ties, many Tajiks and Uzbeks have mixed families, majority population of Sughd Oblast, western Hissor Valley and a part of Khatlon Oblast speak the two languages. Secondly, these countries are neighbors and have a lengthy border. More than 1.2 million ethnic Uzbeks are living in the RT. Besides, that time Tajik establishments actively lobbied the promotion of ethnic Uzbeks in resolving cadre issues.

Arrival of national-patriotic and Islamic forces in the RT was considered by Tashkent as a threat to Uzbekistan's integrity and security since "the talk of the town" became the issues of

the ownership of two ancient and large Uzbek cities being related to Tajiks – Samarqand and Bukhara as well as energization of Muslims, particularly in Fergana Valley. In addition, *inter alia*, Uzbekistan claimed the leading role in Central Asia.

In that period of time Afghanistan was in the height of intestine wars, but because of its geostrategic situation it continued to influence directly to the situation in the Central Asian region. Historical border between Middle East and Central Asia has namely been formed in the territory of today's Afghanistan and Tajikistan along the rivers of Amudarya and Panj. Arrival of Russian Forces in Central Asia has officially secured the sphere of influence of between Russia, the British Empire and China. The attempt of Britons to establish control over the south of Afghanistan and the attempt of Russia to establish control over the north of Afghanistan in 20's of the last century were unsuccessful. As a result Afghanistan remained as some sort of a buffer zone between the two super powers that allowed it to preserve such a status and a stable position during almost 70 years.

After commitment of the Soviet Union of its "limited troops" to Afghanistan historical equilibrium of the region has been violated, which catalyzed all possible centers of force. Besides, Afghan drug-dealers as early as 80's have formed the policy of future drug trafficking via Tajikistan.

Turkey and Iran did not lose hope to strengthen their influence in the region, and also in a certain extent Pakistan, China and India as well as the USA did so. In contrast to Iranian model of theocratic state, Turkey through propaganda of its secular image tried to win leading positions in the region. As the USA partner, Turkey also opposed the presence of Russia in the region and the renaissance of Pan-Turkic ideas.

Iran also actively established relations with the region, particularly with Tajikistan, as they are connected by historical, lingual and religious commonness. In addition, Iran strengthened its influence to the region due to its rivalry with Turkey, as an alliance of the USA

as well as resisted the presence of America in the region. Besides, Iran used to have strong stance and high prestige in the International Islamic Organizations.

Having 7 thousand kilometers of border with Central Asia China could not remain indifferent to the development of circumstances in the region. Therefore, China is expanding cooperation with the states of the region in bilateral and regional formats in order to promote security, stability and the development of the region. China also used to have territorial claims towards bordering countries, which in the range of issues of delimitation and demarcation of borders were awaiting their resolution.

India's interest to Tajikistan and to the region as a whole was caused by the issues of the regional security, influence on the Afghan internal conflict in the region's processes as well as joint measures against proliferation of narcotics and radical Islam. India has put efforts in resisting the expansion of Pakistan's influence in the region, in Tajikistan in particular. Similar approach was employed by Pakistan, which actively opposed to India's interests in Central Asia.

The USA after collapse of the Soviet Union, owing to its strong financial and economic and technical potential, commenced systematic expansion of its influence in contrast with Russia in the region. The USA have also attempted to resist political rapprochement of the region's states with those countries carrying out anti-American policy and the movements of radical Islam. Washington has also attempted to create conditions for participation of the US firms in the exploitation of natural resources of Central Asia and promotion of American goods in the local consumer markets.

Thus, on the eve of conflict, tiny Tajikistan turned out to be in a huge crossroad of interests of superpowers of the world and the region, which exacerbated internal situation in the country. On the other hand, various circles and forces actively operated in these countries, which built their relations with Tajikistan based on their private and group interests, which often did not coincide with the official policy of these countries.

### **1.3. Internal factors of the conflict exacerbation**

Since 80's development of events in Tajikistan by their political significance and content can be split into several periods: 1) till 1985, that is the end of soviet development period; 2) 1985-1990 – period of Gorbachyov's perestroika; 3) 1990 to the middle of 1992 – political confrontation; 4) middle of 1992 to June 1997 – military confrontation and the process of inter-Tajik negotiations; 5) June 1997 to 2000 – period of signing and implementation of the General Agreement on Establishment of Peace and National Reconciliation in the RT; from 2000 to present – post-war rehabilitation period.

Regional, parochial, religious and other factors predominantly were part of the series of internal causes, which were exacerbated by peculiarities of historical, geographic, demographic, socio-economic development of Tajikistan. The peculiarities of socio-economic development of the RT for the last 70 years were lop-sided; predominantly development of primary resources in the national economy that turned the country practically into a raw materials-producing agrarian appendage of industrially developed regions of the former Soviet Union. According to the assessment of “Deutsche Bank” experts Tajikistan ranked last among all other CIS countries by the level of its economic development and resource potential in the beginning of 90's.<sup>13</sup>

Indeed, in comparison with other CIS countries there were lowest indicators per capita in the RT: national revenue, living standard, availability of housing, education, health and culture facilities. At the same time, there were highest indicators of natural population growth in Tajikistan, especially in rural area. Foreign debts of Tajikistan have exceeded US\$ 700 million and internal ones are 1.5 billion Tajik Rubles.<sup>14</sup>

Gradually economic and social problems took more and more open political direction in the people's perception, discontent of masses transformed into negative attitude towards authorities and the management personnel and gradually gravitated towards social extremism and radicalism. For the first time in 70 years on 11-14 February 1990 mass meetings of the

population against authorities took place, in which by various estimates from 10 to 30 thousand people participated. For the first time slogans like “Tajikistan is for Tajiks!” and other posters of national-patriotic nature appeared.<sup>15</sup> Protest action led to bloody tragedy when a crowd of meeting participants stormed the building of the former Central Committee of the Communist Party of Tajikistan and demanded the government’s resignation. The rally participants had been broken up and shot by Internal Troops and Subdivisions of Special Forces of former Soviet Union. According to official information, 22 people had died and more than 100 had been wounded by that time.<sup>16</sup> However, February events became some sort of “prologue” or “general rehearsal” for future armed confrontations.

The following main groupings were prominent according to the level of their influence and activeness of participation in political confrontation of that period: **party-soviet and economic nomenclature elite; perestroika stratum, Islamic orientation forces, irreconcilable provincials and Tajik mafia.**

More significant political power among them undoubtedly was former party, soviet and economic nomenclature elite, which firstly perceived Gorbachov Perestroika in former Soviet Union as a next game of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union (CPSU) leadership giving it an unplanned nature. However, rapid growth of new parties and movements, seriousness of their intention in struggling for redistribution of power in the RT, forces the nomenclature to orient and to launch a counter-offensive with the use of any possible forms and means.

In its turn, perestroika stratum, as they called new political parties in those days, among which there were Democratic Party, Islamic Renaissance Party, People’s Movement “Rastokhez”, National Cultural Public Unions “La’li Badakhshon”, “Oshkoro”, “Hisori Shodmon”, “Mehri Khatlon”, “Ehyoi Mastchoh” and others, using the new chances of glasnost and perestroika they led increasing attack against old nomenclature.

Those people who were deprived of their posts during perestroika and tried to return lost positions at any rate were part of irreconcilable provincials. As a rule, they were First Secretaries of Oblast, Town and District Committees of the Communist Party, Senior Staff of law-enforcement structures and trade at the periphery, particularly in former Kurgan-Tube Oblast. Besides, huge negative impulse of politicization of the mass contributed to the decision of the Communist Party of the RT supported by the CPSU to reunification of Kurgan-Tube and Kulyab Oblast and creation of a new Oblast. As a result of a delay in resolving this issue for more than two years many high rank officials, being influential among a part of population, used them in the struggle for getting high posts in newly formed Khatlon Oblast.

More influential among forces of Islamic orientation were priests of mosques, who were part of Qoziyot (Islamic Justice Institution) of Tajikistan, Tajik Regional Department of Central Asian Spiritual Directorate of Muslims as well as the youth from among the activists of Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan, which gained a huge popularity particularly among rural population due to their call for purity of religious beliefs and refusal from excessive gluts while making devotions.

In the beginning of 90's Tajik mafia was shaped organizationally in the international organized criminal groups, which controlled many spheres of "shade" economy and trade, restaurant businesses and production cooperation systems. They actively incorporated their protégés in local authorities institutions, power structures, had very well-organized communication systems, transport, fighter groups and general funding system. In the course of military political confrontations initially confronting political forces split Tajik mafia, and later it actively used these forces for realization of common purposes of criminals.

## **Chapter II. Civil war and conflict settlement**

As a result of the presidential election in the RT in 1991 the old party-soviet and economic nomenclature returned to the power. It managed to win over to its side many

provincial irreconcilables as well as a part of Tajik mafia. Between them, on one hand, and the group of perestroika stratum including national-patriots and democrats, who got united with the forces of Islamic orientation and augmented by criminals, a new phase of confrontation leading to a deep crisis began. Foreign centers of influence also actively joined the destabilization process and tried to use each of the sides for the realization of their own interests. General background of events exacerbated by total deficit of goods, economic collapse and intensification of social tensions in the community, paralysis of the public management system.

### **2.1. Military-political confrontation and its consequences**

Beginning from March 1992 chronology of events unfolded with kaleidoscopic speed, obtaining more and more expressed regional and clannish signs to which ideological label – struggle of communist forces with demo-Islamic opposition had been attached. Meetings of many thousands and of many months begun, which turned gradually from the threat of use of force into real use of it. State of emergency was declared on 5 May 1992 by the decree of the President, which envisaged ban on the activity of political parties and meetings and curfew was imposed in Dushanbe. However, the situation had got out of hand, paralysis of power set in, the period of resolving political issues through military means began. National self-consciousness was replaced by regional self-consciousness and the focus of confrontations shifted from Dushanbe to Vakhsh valley.

From 27 June 1992 regular military confrontations began between the sides. On both sides during operations mercenaries from Russia, Uzbekistan, Baltic States, Caucasus, Afghan Mujahids, Arab instructors as well as a significant number of criminal elements released from the jails of the RT took part. The operations obtained more and more bloody and criminal nature.

As a result of the fratricidal war in Tajikistan, according to various estimates, from 40 thousand to 100 thousand people have died, hundreds of thousands have become handicapped,

lost bread-winners, about a million have become refugees and internally displaced, more than 50 thousand homes have been destroyed, economic damage estimated at US\$ 7 billion.<sup>17</sup>

On 16 November 1992 the XVI<sup>th</sup> session of the Supreme Council of the RT was held in Khujand, where presidential form of management was abolished and parliamentary form was introduced, new government of the RT headed by Emomali Rahmonov was formed. Opposition forces, for the most part, stepped back in the east of the country from where they left to Afghanistan, where they began training of fighting groups, which subsequently attacked government troops through Tajik-Afghan border. For example, on 12-13 July 1993 a fighter squad of 200 broke in to the territory of Tajikistan in the area of 12<sup>th</sup> Moskovsky Russian Border Outpost. As a result 25 Russian Border Guards, a number of servicemen of the 201<sup>st</sup> Motor Rifle Division and the personnel of National Security Committee of the RT as well as a large number of local people had been killed.<sup>18</sup>

## **2.2. Inter-Tajik negotiation process**

Tajik sides realized the malignancy of the war very soon, its reasons and consequences, as well as lack of prospects in settling the conflict by force. Key role in erecting a negotiation bridge was played by international community, first of all Russia and Iran, other donor countries and Tajikistan's neighbors, as well as the United Nations, which from the very beginning of the conflict on the request of both Tajik sides and a number of CIS countries joined the process of peaceful settlement of the conflict. First mission of UN offices took up their functions on 21 January 1993.<sup>19</sup>

The UN has also provided services to special envoys and personal representatives of the UN Secretary General for reconciling the dispute in Tajikistan, employed such dispute reconciliation mechanisms as Contact Group of Guarantee States, Consultative Meetings of the Delegations of the Tajik sides and conciliatory working groups, "shuttle diplomacy".

The role of UN personnel who gave their lives for the sake of establishing of peace and stability in Tajikistan is to be specifically noted. These are the United Nations Mission of Observers to Tajikistan (UNMOT) personnel – Yutaka Akino, your compatriot from Hokkaido and my colleague, who worked in the capacity of a political officer with UNMOT. The four others were military observers –Austrian Wolfgang Sponner, polish Ryszard Szewczuk, Uruguayan Adolfo Sharpegge as well as their Tajik interpreter Jurajon Mahramov. In the scene of their death in Nurobod district in the façade of the UNMOT building in Dushanbe and the Rasht district center memorable boards, obelisks and stones have been installed, where every year on 20 July wreath-laying ceremony takes place. Schools and colleges have been named after them. But most important, they will always remain in the heart of Tajik people.

The most important role in reconciling the military-political confrontation in Tajikistan was played by the Russian Federation. Namely on the initiative of Russia on 7 August 1993 a meeting of the heads of states of Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Russian Federation, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan as well as the representative of the President of Turkmenistan took place. The decision on collective protection of Tajik-Afghan Border as the southern border CIS was taken during this meeting, and the Tajik sides were urged to hold negotiations.

On the decision of the CIS summit on 24 September 1993 the CIS Collective Peace-keeping Forces (CIS CPKF in the RT),<sup>20</sup> which was comprised of one battalion at a time from Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan as well as Russian Border Troops in the RT and the 201<sup>st</sup> Motor Rifle of the RF in the RT, totally 25 thousand servicemen. Within 7 years of CIS CPKF presence more than 1 thousand ton of humanitarian goods have been transported to the RT, of which 2/3 was delivered to mountainous districts; guarding and accompanying have been arranged for significant number of convoys with the goods of the government and humanitarian organizations as well as convoys transporting more than 40 thousand refugees; more than 100 mine fields and barrier ties have been cleared, 141 thousand explosives have been discovered

and destroyed, medical aid has been rendered to 18 thousand wounded and patients – citizens of the RT; guarding of 40 objects have been carried out, including life supporting objects. 101 Russian servicemen and more than 20 Kazakh servicemen died during holding these operations.<sup>21</sup>

Islamic republic of Iran played an important role in the dispute reconciliation, which used its high prestige and influence has been able to convince Tajik opposition in the necessity of political negotiations and arranged active dialogue with other interested countries, first of all with Russia for positive reconciliation of the dispute. Efforts for peaceful reconciliation have also been supported by Afghanistan, Kazakhstan, Pakistan, Turkmenistan and Uzbekistan as well as Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe, presently OSCE, Economic Cooperation Organization (ECO), Islamic Conference Organization, the World Bank and other international organizations and the members of the consultative group meeting of the donor states for Tajikistan, including the USA, Japan, Germany, the EU and other countries.

The process of political negotiations between the Government of the RT and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) is a unique experience not only for both Tajik sides, but can serve as a model for reconciling similar disputes in other “hot spots” of the world. Eight rounds of inter-Tajik negotiations under the UN auspices and the participation of the representatives of interested states went on for four years:

- First round (**5-15 April in Moscow**);
- Second round (**18 – 25 June 1994 in Tehran**). Also on 12-17 September a consultative meeting of the delegations of both sides, which established a Joint Committee for Observing the Agreement on Ceasefire took place in Tehran;
- Third round (**20 October – 1 November 1994 in Islamabad**),<sup>22</sup>
- Fourth round (**22 May –1 June 1995 in Alma-Ata**);

- Fifth round (3-24 November 1995, 26 January - 18 February, 8 - 21 July 1996 in Ashkhabad);
- Sixth round (5 January –19 February 1997 in Mashhad and Tehran);
- Seventh round (26 February - 9 March 1997 in Moscow);
- Eighth round (9 April - 28 May in Tehran).

In the process of political reconciliation of inter-Tajik dispute essential role was played by the meetings of the heads of the sides: the President of the RT Emomali Rahmonov and the UTO Leader Sayeed Abdullo Nuri (17 May 1994 – Kabul; 19 July 1994 – Tehran; 10 December 1996 - Husdeh (Afghanistan); 23 December 1996 – Moscow; 16-18 April 1997 - Bishkek).

**On 27 June 1997 the President of the RT Emomali Rahmonov and the UTO Leader Sayeed Abdullo Nuri signed “General Agreement on Establishment of Peace and National Reconciliation in Tajikistan” in Moscow**, more famous as General Agreement. Integral parts of the General Agreement are: Protocol on main principles of establishment of peace and national accord in the RT dated 17 August 1995; Protocol on political issues dated 18 May 1997; Agreement of the President of the RT and the UTO Leader on the outcomes of Moscow meeting dated 23 December 1996; Protocol “On the main functions and authorities of the National Reconciliation Committee” dated 23 December 1996; Provision “On the National Reconciliation Committee” dated 21 February 1997; Additional Protocol to Protocol “On the main functions and authorities of the National Reconciliation Committee” dated 21 February 1997; Protocol on military issues dated 8 March 1997; Protocol on the refugees’ issues dated 13 January 1997; Protocol on the guarantees of the implementation of the General Agreement on Establishment of Peace and National Reconciliation in Tajikistan dated 28 May 1997.

Main mechanism of the implementation of the General Agreement was National Reconciliation Committee (NRC), which consisted of 26 members – Government of the RT and UTO represented 13 members each. The Chairman of NRC became the UTO Leader Sayeed

Abullo Nuri and Deputy Chairman Abdulmajid Dostiev, Deputy Speaker of Majlisi Oli. The NRC consisted of four sub-committees: on military, political, juridical and refugee issues, in which 3 people from both the government and the UTO were represented.

Thanks to NRC's constructive interactions with the Government of the RT and in accordance with the provision of the agreement prisoners of war have been released as per Act on Mutual Forgiveness and the Amnesty Law; reform of the governmental structures with the appointment of the UTO representatives in the executive structures' posts, including in ministries, directorates, local administrations, judicial and law-enforcement bodies has been held.

Besides, amendments have been introduced to the Constitution of the RT through holding nationwide referendum; bills on political parties, social unions, mass media, elections to the parliament of the country have been drafted; ban has been lifted on the activity of oppositional political parties and movements as well as mass media. One of the most ponderable achievements of the NRC became the process of reintegration; disarmament and disbandment of the UTO armed elements consisting of almost 7 thousand fighters as well as simultaneous reform of power structures of the Government of the RT.

Repatriation of Tajik refugees became one of the tangible and successful outcomes of the General Agreement and the NRC activity. Almost 800 thousand Tajik refugees have been repatriated to the homeland from Afghanistan, Pakistan, Iran and the CIS countries. The Government of the RT with the support of international organizations, first of all United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR) has carried out an amazing amount of work for repatriation to their permanent residences, rehabilitation and reconstruction of homes and confidence building.

### **Chapter III. Post-conflict rehabilitation**

Post-conflict Tajikistan is facing serious challenges caused by the consequences of civil war and difficulties of the transitional period connected with economic decline, high poverty rate among population and labor migration, weak social protection and decline of municipal economy.

#### **3.1. Major post-war issues of Tajikistan**

Main achievement of Tajikistan in recent years is maintenance of peace and stability in the country, continuation of the national reconciliation policy. Due to the peace process reforms are being implemented in political, economic, social and spiritual spheres. Tajikistan is paving its way towards democratization of the society and transition to the market economy.

New constitution of the RT has been adopted, standing parliament has been established and is functional, six political parties are active in the country, including Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan. Moratorium to capital punishment has been declared. Gross Domestic Product (GDP) is increasing; annual increase of GDP is 7%, national currency – Somoni is functioning stably. Open door policy is effective, foreign relations are broadening and international prestige of the republic is increasing. The proof of that is the UN declaration of 2005-2015 the decade of “Water for life” action initiated by Tajikistan.

However, Tajikistan is not able to resolve numerous issues, which it faces presently. These issues can be split into three groups: global, regional and countrywide. It is to be noted that international terrorism, radical religious extremism, separatism, illegal migration, drugs smuggling, arms smuggling, human trafficking, fight against AIDs and others are part of its global issues. On the regional level the issues of the RT are related to delimitation and demarcation of external borders, de-mining of the Uzbek-Tajik border, trans-border land and water issues.

Among internal issues of the country, first of all reduction of poverty among more than 80% of the population; lack of employment opportunities, as a result the outflow of labor force

from the country varies within the limits of 400 thousand to 1 million people a year<sup>23</sup>. The issues of food supply and power supply, overcoming of communication deadlock, demographic, environmental, information issues and others remain to be critical.

### **3.2. International community and rehabilitation of the country**

Several long-term comprehensive programs for post-conflict rehabilitation of the country, including poverty reduction, structural reforms, economic development till 2015, improvement of demographic situation and others have been elaborated by the Government of the RT and are underway, however solution of urgent issues are exacerbated by scantiness of its budget capability.

In these conditions international communities' aid is vitally essential for Tajikistan. Therefore, the Government of the RT highly appreciates the outcomes of international consultative groups meetings of donor countries for the RT supported by the UN and the world Bank with a view of sustainable post-conflict peace-building in Tajikistan in Tokyo (31 October 1996, US\$ 185mln were pledged);<sup>24</sup> in Vienna (November 1997 – US\$56.5mln);<sup>25</sup> again in Tokyo (16-18 May 2001 – US\$ 430mln);<sup>26</sup> in Dushanbe (2-3 May 2003 - US\$900mln, of which US\$ 200mln as a humanitarian aid and about 2/3 as grants),<sup>27</sup> in London (9-10 February 2004, rendering assistance to the RT and ensuring their efficient use).<sup>28</sup>

On 25 September an International Conference of the Islamic Development Bank (IDB) investor states opened in Dushanbe in which it was decided to establish an Investment Holding with a Charter Fund of US\$ 200mln in the RT. To present day IBD has provided loans to the RT totaling at US\$ 60mln and US\$ 1.6mln as grants. Pension reform assistance, privatization in the industry and public management reform programs were implemented with the IMF financial support of US\$ 108mln in the RT in 1999-2001. The European Bank for Reconstruction and Development (EBRD) and the International Financial Corporation (IFC) have provided

Tajikistan with a loan of US\$14mln for funding and development of small and medium businesses programme.

From among international organizations the United Nations (UN) and its specialized units in the RT are distinguished by their role and place. Only in 2003 due to the UN appeal 171.8 thousand tons of humanitarian aid worth US\$ 115.8mln from 39 countries was received in Tajikistan. 155.6 thousand tons of wheat flour, 7.4 thousand ton of vegetable oil, 5.4 thousand tons of wheat as well as footwear, clothes, beddings and sheets, medical equipment and medicaments have been distributed to those who suffered natural disasters. Among donor countries the USA takes highest position by the amount they contributed – 51.6%, followed by Germany – 6.2%, Kazakhstan – 5.5%, Russia 3.9%, China – 3.1% and Uzbekistan 2.9%.<sup>29</sup>

### **3.4. Japanese aid to Tajikistan**

Japan is also is one of the main Tajikistan's donors. Embassy of Japan was opened in Dushanbe on 15 January 2002. In this period Japan continued to provide support and assistance to the RT on the following directions: **through humanitarian aid in the framework of international organizations' projects and programs, including the UN; through long-term and privileged loans through international financial institutions; financial and in-kind support to Tajikistan (on the request of Tajik leadership) for alleviation of the natural disasters; grants for small-scale projects both through state and non-governmental organizations of the RT; arrangement of introductory trips for Tajik parliamentarians, government officials, representatives of political parties and journalists to Japan; study tours to the Universities of Japan for Tajik citizens.**

On the whole, in the framework of the Grants Programme for small-scale projects **the Government of Japan has implemented 48 projects worth US\$ 2.3mln<sup>30</sup>.**

Implementation of this programme allows focusing on rehabilitation of social infrastructure, particularly in rural areas: reconstruction of schools, health facilities, irrigation

canals and supply of potable water to villages. The Government of Japan has also allocated US\$ 460 thousand to the National Museum of Antiquities of the RT for maintaining the preservation conditions for unique historical exhibits, US\$58 thousand for establishing of a scientific center for observation of Sarrez Lake on Pamir. Besides, Japanese Fund of Social Development intends to allocate US\$ 575 thousand for establishing of a module center for skills training of former combatants in Rasht valley.

Thus, international community actively connected up to rendering necessary support to Tajikistan in political reconciliation of dispute, and presently in resolving the issues of post-conflict rehabilitation. Today Tajikistan needs to review its assistance strategy – from humanitarian to long-term assistance, sustainable development assistance. Through investing resources into economic development of the RT, international community would also promote regional security in the face of modern threats and challenges.

### **Conclusion**

The experience of peaceful reconciliation of military-political conflict in Tajikistan is exemplary from many points of view. First of all, the lessons of Tajik conflict dictate the necessity of balanced approach towards transition from one social system into another one, particularly while considering the issues of ensuring security and political stability. Secondly, stability and security can be reached based on the will and decisiveness of confronting sides of conflict as well as the balance of interests of all stakeholders during the search of more optimal options of the dispute resolution. Thirdly, an efficient interaction scheme of various international factors (in the example of the RT – UNMOT/UNTOP, Contact Group, Guarantor and Donor States, International Financial Institutions, CIS CPKFB in the RT) is necessary for peaceful reconciliation of originated conflict.

Among other effective methods of peaceful reconciliation of conflict, direct negotiation process between the conflicting sides under the auspices of international organizations, the role

of the leaders of the sides in establishing constructive dialogue and taking irregular decisions as well as the use of various implementation mechanisms of the reached agreements (in the RT – National Reconciliation Committee; Joint Commission for ceasefire and other hostile actions; Conciliatory Working Group; consultative meetings between the sides outside the negotiations format; shuttle diplomacy) have to be marked out.

Development of political events in Tajikistan in the present and in the perspective will depend on the new nature of socio-political relations in the country, particularly after parliamentary (2005) and presidential (2006) elections as well as the condition of maintaining of the stability of geopolitical equilibrium in the region, evolution of interest of superpowers of the world such as the USA, Russia and China as well as regional centers of power.

In the present the activity of the Republic of Tajikistan is characterized with its differentiated approach for drawing up behaviour lines in the international arena. The President of the RT Emomali Rahmonov in his message to the Parliament has outlined the internal policy of the RT through consolidation of central authority, continuation of political, economic and social reforms directed first of all towards structural changes, alleviation of poverty and ensuring internal stability in the country.

Foreign relations are defined by the «open door policy» as well as creation of a security line around the RT connected with neutralization of the threat of international terrorism, religious extremism, narcotics aggression, ensuring energy security, leading out the RT of the communication deadlock, and calling foreign investment for resolving urgent internal issues.

**Domo arrigato godzaimas!**

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