

JAPAN'S ROLE IN CONFLICT RESOLUTION AND EFFECTIVE GOVERNANCE IN TAJIKISTAN: CASE OF THE TAJIK CIVIL WAR (1992-1997)

Farrukh Usmonov
University of Tsukuba, Tokyo, Japan

ABSTRACT

Tajikistan faced Civil War in 1992-1997, which damaged the country's economy and infrastructure. Thus, from 1994 the Government and United Opposition, with support of the International society, started Inter-Tajik negotiation process, which ended with signing a Peace Treaty in 1997.

Japan, unlike other countries of the region, wasn't involved in the peace-making process in Tajikistan, however, it was supportive into the peace enhancement in country. In 1999 the Japanese government created a platform for the Inter-Tajik Peace negotiators (including officials from government and opposition of Tajikistan, UN envoys, representatives from IOs and NGOs, Japanese MoFA and other experts) and invited them to Japan to discuss the outcome of the Peace Treaty and to look forward on solving remaining issues before the Parliamentary election in the year 2000.

This meeting was considered as an additional event for members of the peace process (Government, opposition group and experts from international organizations). The current paper focuses on the topic, which was discussed in Tokyo, and defines the outcomes of this project.

Keywords: Seminars, Peace Process, Inter-Tajik's Negotiation, Commission of National Reconciliation

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INTRODUCTION

After the collapse of the Soviet Union, many new conflicts had appeared within the region. Conflicts were within Russia, in Caucasia and Central Asia.

Tajikistan suffered a lot from devastation of the Civil War, which continued from 1992 to 1997. The conflict itself was result of regional and religious problems, in which some regions were supportive to establish Islamic state, while others wanted to maintain existing government with its secular policy. Government and opposition compromised to achieve peace in the country. In addition to that, the key assistance from Iran, Russia and Central Asian states as well as international institutions like the United Nations (UN) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) were important to achieve peace in a country.

Japan did not directly participate in the peace-negotiation process, however it had its own way

to contribute on peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Such endowment have been observed through the various projects. Initiatives of the projects were well-implemented and directed into the positive development of the social stability and security. In addition, Japanese missioners and experts, who were part of the UN agencies like Peacebuilding, UNDP, UN Commissioner on Refugees, had positively accomplished their mission in Tajikistan. It is especially important to emphasize their peculiar field mission in the conflict area of the country. Japan's dispatched officers "to help such U.N. efforts to be beneficial to the strengthening of peace and stability of not only Tajikistan but also the whole area along the Silk Road." (Japan MoFA, 1998).

Japan conducted several social and economic related projects in order to assist government of Tajikistan to implement social stability and human security in a country. Japan, for the

purpose of peace enhancement in Tajikistan, has directed its projects on personnel development, targetting public officers from different institutions to participate in several conferences and seminars where they could obtain experience of post-conflict peace enhancement process. In addition, grantees obtain valuable experience from visiting different public and private institutions in Japan, which might be elicited and well operated back to their country. Within two decades of cooperation more than 1000 specialists of the various spheres had visited and improved their qualification in Japan. (MoFA archive, 2012). **JICA's projects were** usually miscellaneous and the candidates were selected only on the relevant areas accordingly.

This article is based on qualitative research, and also on debriefing several participants. Some of interviewees were participants of the Tokyo Seminar, who shared their own impression from their visit of Japan. This paper focuses on Japanese contribution on post-conflict peace enhancement in Tajikistan, mostly focusing to the topics of Tokyo Seminar, presentation and statements of participants. There are not many **materials on Japan's contribution on peace in Tajikistan**, and especially no researchers mentioned about the Tokyo project organized for Tajikistani delegation, however some data and valuable information was received through interviews as well as personal and institutional archives.

Some experts stressed, that Japanese foreign policy has been passive, nor does Japan have its own vision of security in the regions far from Japan, including Central Asia. (Macfarlane, 2003, p.166). However former Prime Minister **Hashimoto's "Eurasian Diplomacy" in 1997** opened the gates for diversifying and strengthening cooperation between Japan and the region. Just following that, Japan invited big number of experts and organized seminar and provided additional international platform for Tajikistani participants to review and overview their failure and success before forthcoming Parliamentary election in the year 2000.

This paper provides answers to the questions: why did Japan congregate members of inter-Tajik peace negotiaton group after they already signed the Peace Treaty in 1997? What did participants achieve after visiting Japan?

CONSIDERING OF THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

Peacekeeping and conflict resolution studies make use of ideas of discourse in the field of conflict in Tajikistan. In the 1960s Johan Galtung introduced the conflict model, which contains both symmetric and asymmetric conflicts. He also defines conflict as an effective process in which structure, attitudes and behavior are constantly changing and influencing one another. According to Galtung, there is direct violence (children are murdered), structural violence (children die through poverty) and cultural violence (whatever blinds us to this or seeks to justify it), and we can stop them by changing conflict behavior, by removing structural contradictions and injustice, as well as by changing attitudes. These responses related to broader strategies of peacekeeping, peacebuilding, and peacemaking. (Ramsbotham & Miall, 2011, p.11). **In Galtung's "negative peace"**, which is as a cessation of direct violence, many people still remember repression, exploitation, injustice and other harms against themselves. **As for his "positive peace", which is overcoming of structural and cultural violence**, the legitimacy and justice are the key factors.

Moreover, within the elements of the Hourglass model (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, p.14), which are conflict containment, conflict settlement and **conflict transformation**, the "conflict transformation is seen to encompass the deepest levels of cultural and structural peacebuilding, while conflict settlement corresponds to what we call elite-peacemaking that is negotiation or mediation among the main protagonists with a view to reaching a mutually acceptable agreement. And finally conflict containment includes preventive peacekeeping, war limitation and post-ceasefire peacekeeping." (Ramsbotham, Woodhouse & Miall, 2011, pp.13-14).

Galtung's work had been criticized, especially his "violence" idea. According to Yves Winter "the virtue of Galtung's concept of structural violence is that it opens up the category of violence so as to include poverty, hunger, **subordination and social exclusion**" (Winter, 2012). He pointed that this invisibility in the **violence because of violence's ceaseless repetition** rather than because it has been hidden away in a dark or subterranean place.

John Burton's peace and conflict studies developed idea of "prevention". According to him, this concept should be larger framework

within which conflict resolution is understood and practiced. (Burton, 1990). He stressed that, deeply rooted conflicts occurs because of denial of basic human needs. According to Burton, it is important to have identity, security and justice.

John Paul Lederach is another peacebuilding researcher, whose thinking on peacebuilding is based in the context of "reconciliation" (Lederach, 1997). This "methodology is founded on the idea that techniques of peacebuilding should be and thereby embedded in the localities in which they are employed, which he called them integrated framework for peacebuilding" (Fetherstone, 2002). Lederach (1997) emphasized importance of conflict management and pointed "the relational aspects of reconciliation as the central component of peacebuilding". He argues that researchers like Borton and others look at conflict through actions beyond the conflict management's methodology.

OVERVIEW OF CIVIL WAR

For the citizens of Tajikistan, the civil war and its consequences will not be easy to forget. One of the main tragedies is that the country lost 60.000 to 100.000 people in this war, mainly youth and intelligentsia, at the same time lesion its economy as well as damaged whole country's infrastructure. (ICG, 2001, p.i). The total cost of the war is estimated at seven billion US dollars. (ICG, 2011, p.i) One of the main reasons of the Tajik tragedy was the increment of the religious and regional problems. In addition, both conflicting sides, especially opposition forces were armed and supported by other states. After getting its independence, Tajikistan had not only focused to restructure and reform its political institutions, but also found ways to solve its internal conflict. "The future existence of country, including its political well-being and economy development were totally depended on conflict regulation. Only after that, people can enhance stability on socio-political order in a society" (Rahmonov, 2006).

Tajikistan, which managed to cease civil war and integrate opposition into the government structure, witnessed to the world the excellent model of solving the military conflict through negotiation and compromises, where national interests exceeded regional, clans, groups and private's. (Shoazimov, 2006).

Recently Tajikistan has reached immense success in the areas of security, and the socio-political situation has been stabilized. Now, "the experience

of peace process in Tajikistan, which was the result of military conflict, has become the object of the research for local and international researchers in order to find positive ways of the given experience to further adaption in the similar conflict in various areas of the world" (Ashurov, 2008).

Various countries and international institutions contributed to the peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Japan decided its own way to cooperate and contribute into the peace enhancement. One of the ways was to invite participants to Tokyo, and organize seminars to the members of the National Reconciliation Commission in order to make participants listen to various experts on conflict management and to compare the Tajik peace model with other regions. This seminar was more important considering next year's forthcoming parliamentary election, which both parties, ruling party and opposition, were planning to run for.

The seminar on "Democracy and Good Governance for Tajikistan", which was held from March 7-20, 1999 in Japan, was an event, dedicated to the Tajik Peace Process and invitees were members of the Government and National Reconciliation Commission (NRC), both representatives from the government and opposition. "This Seminar is intended to give the opportunity for the government side and the former opposition side to meet and discuss rehabilitation and nation building after reconciliation. It is also intended to support the democratization process as well as social and economic rehabilitation by introducing the experiences in modernization and democratization of Japan and peace process in some other countries". (Japan's MoFA, 1999) In fact, holding meetings in a country like Japan was welcomed by participants, that in order to learn more about the post-war situation of Japan, its transition from militarism to democracy, from the collapse of its economy after the Second World War toward one of the advanced economy of the World. In total there were 10 participants from the opposition and government of Tajikistan with high ranking officials – State Advisor of the President, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee, members of the Commission of the National Reconciliation representing the conflict sides.

The National Reconciliation Commission was established soon after signing the Peace Treaty in June 27, 1997, and targeted to implement the provision of the signed agreement, which was the cause of ceasing a civil war. It was planned to cease its operation after parliamentary elction in 2000, in

which most of the unclear issues had to be solved. The representatives of opposition and official government were part of the Commission and leader of opposition Mr. Abdullo Nuri was a Chairman of the CSR. In the period of the Commission's operations the country's security situation remained precarious and part of the country still remained under the violence. Despite of intricacy both parties made progress in solving the issues of repatriation of refugees, exchange of prisoners of war, disarmament of several military groups, registration of United Tajik Opposition security personnels and others. By the time of visiting Japan, both parties did a lot to decrease tension and better prepare for the forthcoming parliamentary election, which scheduled to be in February (Lower House) and March (Upper House) in the year of 2000. Of course not everything was perfect, and according to Commission's Chairman "while the commission has fulfilled its mandate, some problems remain unresolved" ("Tajikistan's National Reconciliation Commission dissolved", 2000). Visit of Tajik delegation to Japan and additional platform provided by the Japanese side helped visitors to overlook once again the existing situation in a country, and exchange their view with third parties - the international experts, including Japanese.

Strengthening of peace, institutional reform and process of establishment of democratic system in Tajikistan were topics of the thesis between Tajik delegation and Minister Masahiko Komura, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Keizo Takemi, President of JICA, deputy Mayor of the Sapporo city and other officials. The precise topics of the Meeting were importance of the moral, financial and technical assistance of Japan on reconstruction of the country. According to representative of the Secretary General of the UN Gerd D. Merrem the organizers of the seminar payed special attention to the Tokyo event because of followings:

Both sides after signing a Peace Treaty in 1997, in the next year in November successfully collaborated to destroy insurgents in the north – Khujand city lead by former pro-government military commander, who was dismissed by the official Government. Considering several reprieves preceding the period of the transitional parliamentary election which in the beginning was planned to be complete in the mid of 1998, might be finalized only by the end of the year. However, in order to achieve that both sides have to face

various obstacles. For the present moment, solving the following issues are very important: disarmament and effective procedure of intergration of the about 600 registered solders of the Tajik Opposition; further integration of the opposition into all level of the Government, especially in so called powerful ministries; full accomplishment of the Law on amnesty; to change the constitution and further economic and social rehabilitation of the reverted side. (Usmonov, 2000)

Unfortunately, some of the opposition's implacable military commanders insubstantially were raising the issue of the effective control of government by their own leaders, at the same time they were creating imminense to security in the several regions, especially in rayons of capital city Dushanbe. The government itself also faced challeneges from the military leaders, who were government oriented but independent commanders. To solve these matters, including issues related to human rights, it determined through mutual collaboration of the both sides. The paradox is that the military antagonism between the Government and UTO accompanied with lack of clear target of the future. Economic and social conditions were despirate and the country was in indispensable to the national program of renaissance to resist recession, which lasted in almost in all sectors. In order to create perspectives to the peace process it was necessary to articulate the view on situations and to promote pragmatic solutions. According to Merrem (1999), in this case, besides peace process provision and to provide humanitarian aids, the institutions belong to the United Nations together with other aids departments could positively contribute to the overmentioned sectors. He stressed that "the UN and its agencies have to be active in those sectors. Just with promising manipulation to the key issues impossible to substitute the veracity strategic program orientation, which follows by factual actions accordingly". (Usmonov, 2000).

Participants were not only focused on single subject, but were involved in some other events, which were part of the program. For them, the Japanese side organized a Seminar on "democratization of Tajikistan", with full participation of Japanese and international scholars and researchers, whose majors were Central Asia, peace and security, democratization and other related topics. This seminar took place at Tokyo

University. Along with that, another seminar on "Complexity of the strategies for the Silk Road region" took place in Sapporo city and was organized by the Center of the Slavic Research of Hokkaido University.

The importance of these events was, that all the lectures, comments, ideas and proposals were related to Tajikistan. That's why most of the materials and data, as well as participants, were either related to or used information from primary sources. For instance, lectures by Japan's MoFA representative Mr. Natsume "Cooperation of Japan and its enhancement toward democratization of Central Asia", Prof. Nakamura "Political parties and electoral system of Japan", Prof. Matsuo "Modernization of Japan and unity of the nation", Prof. Muramatsu "Development of the regions and democracy", Prof. Nakamura "Economy development and democratization", Mr. Kaboyashi NHK commentator "Democratic policy and Media", Mr. Takahashi from MOFA's Department of Newly Independent States "Japan and Central Asian states of CIS" were very useful and persuasive.

Two very different but relatively useful presentations were a) Cambodian peace process and b) solving of Japanese clan system. Both presentations proposed various solutions of the problems, which existed in Tajikistan. For participants it was important to overview on post-conflict Cambodia and issues of refugees, while in the second presentation role of central government to dissolve clan system.

CAMBODIAN PEACE PROCESS COMPARED

The presentation of Prof. Imagawa, who was a former Japanese Ambassador to Cambodia, presented paper on peace process in Cambodia, in which participants could elicit wholesome outputs, which could be used in case of Tajikistan. Cambodia faced a hard period and was involved into conflict which lasted several decades. The international society contributed to peace reaching in Cambodia, and with assistance of the UN, especially its peace operation agencies, the mission was successfully completed.

Basically, complete cease fire was accomplished soon after the agreement of the Paris Conference. The Agreement itself was signed in Paris in October 1991, which was the last and the most important meeting of the Conference on Cambodia. "There was culmination of more than a decade of negotiations in which the United Nations had been closely involved from the outset" ("Cambodia-

UNAMIC", n.d.).

Japan was one of the 19 countries which participated in the signing the Paris Peace Agreement, that offered comprehensive political settlement that aimed to stop Cambodian long lasted tragedy. Moreover, Japan hosted one of the Cambodian parties meeting in Tokyo, which was considered as period of intense diplomatic activity of Cambodian government in the first half of 1990. "The Cambodian parties met in Indonesia in February 1990 and in Tokyo in June 1990". ("Cambodia-UNAMIC", n.d.).

According to Yasushi Akashi, UN representative, UNTAC's one and half year activities on peace keeping operation in Cambodia were based on "necessities of accomplishment of the given task in the exact period of time". (Usmonov, personal archive, 2000) Despite of fail in the full disarmament of the oppugnant sides, which was result of the Red Khmer's resistance, their office managed to successfully and on given period of time, organize the election and ensure the process of adoption of new Constitution up to structuralization of it.

In the second half of 1979 in the region of the Cambodia-Thailand border, the refugee camps were occupied by almost 360,000 Cambodian refugees. Considering this, at the third commission of the Paris Conference sides came to agreement on returning the refugees back to their home and help them to participate in the process of solving the conflicts in Cambodia. However they faced very severe resistance by Red Khmers (Usmonov, personal archive, 2000).

In 1993, with strict support of UNTAC Cambodia held its successful election, which was followed by adoption of the constitution and new government came to rule. In that period UNTAC completed its mission. ("Cambodia-UNAMIC, n.p.).

Participants from Tajikistan found it interesting to know about peace regulation in Cambodia and successful mission of international organizations, like the UN to solve the conflict. They also complimented the mechanism used to bring refugees back to the homeland. Moreover, from this presentation, they highlighted the role of the UN for solving issues of disarmament, which still remained unsolved in Tajikistan at that time. (Usmonov, 2000)

Cambodia successfully achieved its peace after long lasting conflict, and has maintained peace after on. According to Prof. Usmonov (2013), members of the CNR kept in mind lectures and experiences

obtained in the process of Tokyo meetings during further internal debates within work of Commission. The Tajik side tried to cooperate with the UN and OSCE offices as long as possible in order to maintain peace and stability in the country. In addition, within a year after the Tokyo visit, they successfully accomplished disarmament of the most military bands. As a result in the year 2000 Tajikistan successfully held its parliamentary election, after which representatives of opposition parties won several seats.

JAPANESE SOLUTION OF CLAN SYSTEM

Another important task for Tajikistan was to solve existed clan problems. Tajikistan is a mountainous state, where mountains divide each region. Thus, each region, especially its citizens, have strong congenial ties and very much were concentrated on their family and relatives. In the period of civil war each district tried to defend themselves from "others". Thus, small and local military bands grouped themselves by the local inhabitants and were distrustful to people of other regions. As a result, this created regional patriotism that later was transferred to clans within a small country. For example, in the civil war, most of the opposition group were belonged to Gharm region (officially Karotegin region), and partially from Badakhshan region to resist against Kulyab region (or Khatlon region) which later on came to the power. In the period of the Soviet Union, officials from the Leninabad region (currently Sughd region) made up the country's dominant clan and occupied most of the leading positions. Leninabad region initially supported the southern Kulyab clan in the civil war against the predominantly eastern, Pamiri forces of the opposition, but has lately been signaling strong discontent over Kulyab predominance in government. ("Tajik ex-leaders in Moscow seek new role in clan competition", 1996) During civil war for the sake of security, eventually each region strengthened their clan. According to researchers, the tender spot of Tajikistan was on the intricacy of the structural relationship between regional clans.

Considering the importance of tackling the clan system, delegation of Tajikistan were interested to hear their Japanese colleagues speak on how Japan solved its existed clan system.

Clans in Japan, according to presenters were abolished in the end of XIX century. However, before that *Daimyos*, who were land-lords, owned areas and lands and control it themselves, basically ignoring central government. In Tokugawa period

the "Shogunate became the successfully weaker, relative to the lower social classes". (Bernholz & Vaubel, 2004). After defeat of the forces loyal to the Tokugawa shogunate during the Boshin War in 1868, the new Meiji government confiscated all lands formerly under direct control of the Shogunate (tenryo) and lands controlled by daimyo, which remained loyal to the Tokugawa. These lands accounted for approximately a quarter of the land area of Japan and were reorganized into prefectures with governors appointed directly by the central government. The lords of Choshu and of Satsuma, the two leading domains in the overthrow of the Tokugawa, voluntarily surrendered their domains to the Meiji Emperor. Between 25 July 1869 and 2 August 1869, fearing that their loyalty would be questioned, the daimyo of 260 other domains followed suit. Only 14 daimyo initially failed to voluntarily comply with the return of the domains (hanseki hokan), and were then ordered to do so by the Court, on threat of military action. In return for surrendering their hereditary authority, the daimyo were re-appointed as non-hereditary governors of their former domains (which were renamed as prefectures), and were allowed to keep 10% of the tax revenues. In Jul 1869, the term daimyo was abolished when the former daimyo, together with the kuge (court nobility), were formed into the new aristocracy, the kazoku (illustrious lineage) peerage. The former daimyo were granted a generous stipend and the domain's debts were absorbed by the state, thus formally ending the era of the and established of a "new central authority under which Japan was to embark upon an era of unprecedented national development" (Sakata & Hall, 1956).

Dissolution of the clans and prefectural establishment were the starting line to unification of the tax system, and education and military service system, which oriented toward the formation of the modern state. This formation was the basement of the future state of Meiji. Of course there is no solid evidence that clans always act as a monolithic rational actor. In addition, it appears that most clans are poorly linked and often struggle from internal disputes.

In Tajikistan, citizens knew that without dissolving clans it would be difficult to achieve harmony. In some areas for instance, clan loyalty is more salient than other level of identity (religion, political affiliation), and geography created strong local identities. In Tajikistan social relationship identifies with role of the following factors:

- a) Relatives;

- b) Parochial moods;
- c) Ethnical relationship;
- d) Relationship to religion and influence of religion;
- e) Money;
- f) Weapon;
- g) Party membership;

Government succeeded to solve the clan issues. One of the reason is that the country's infrastructure has been improved, more roads and bridges constructed so that people can move from one side to another, and people from village and towns can interact with those from cities, which make them global oriented rather than regional. For the sake of the peace and development of the country, pro-government groups as well as clans from opposition stepped away from boosting their clans, which eventually enhanced power of central government in whole country and has maintained peace.

PEACE PROCESS

Another seminar "General strategy for the region of the Silk Road" was organized to the members of the National Reconciliation Commission, which took place in Tokyo, in the same period. According to participants, topics and discussion at the Seminar were related to the future of international cooperation of Tajikistan.

As Tajikistan belongs to the region of Silk Road, the seminar "Development and regional cooperation of the Silk Road region toward the seeking the propitious perspectives" was directly related to it. The presenters of the Seminar belonged to almost 20 different states including Japan, Russia, Tajikistan, US, China, UK, France, Germany, Turkey, Iran, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Turkmenistan, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia and others. From Japan, there were representatives from Ministries, other governmental institutions, private companies and representatives of research societies.

Topics of discussion belonged to the current situation and actual problems of the Silk Road region, the political situation and regional conflicts, their progress of the economic reforms, the legal status of the Caspian Sea, and the prospects of cooperation in the region, multilateral and bilateral cooperation in the region, particularly cooperation with Japan.

One of the members of the NRC described the current situation in Tajikistan and draw attention of the participants on the followings:

1. Tajikistan finished re-integration of the armed groups of opposition. The re-integrated amount of armed persons were about five thousand;
2. Around 30 road-blocks were discharged;
3. Accomplishment of the process of changes and additions to the current constitution;
4. Attestation of the state army and armed group of opposition almost completed;
5. Appearance with guns in the public places prohibited;
6. Amnesty to the civil war insurgents was declared;
7. Announcement for the referendum to change and addition to the constitution, which scheduled to be in summer of the coming year;
8. The pavement for the organizing the parliamentary election was created.

Another session was related to the "structure and historical roots of the Tajik problems", in which Japanese scholar Dr. Tamohiko Uyama, European researcher Stephan Dyuduanyon, Russian expert A. Niazi presented their political research and highlighted main points of the existed problems in Tajikistan. Dr. Uyama described his view on the existing situation in Tajikistan stating that "with misconception of Tajikistan tradition we can't blame them on assassination of the Prof. Akino". (Usmonov, personal communication, 2014) In his presentation, Dr. Uyama provided insights on the situation in Central Asia in the XIX-XX centuries. He mentioned that after being the Autonomous Socialist Republic of Tajikistan and later the Socialist Republic of Tajikistan, the main and bigger portion of the territories had remained in Uzbekistan. Northern regions had relations with Ferghana and south-west with Surkhandarya.

Talking about internal conflict in Tajikistan, Japanese experts stated that, the communist party, with its leader Rahmon Nabiev, won the election in 1991. Such defeat of the opposition pushed them to unite with Islamic party and local Democrats. As a result, conflict had expanded with followings consequences:

1. Clash between Kulyab and Gharm region, including intervention of the criminal groups;
2. Russia and Uzbekistan supported communists, and with their support Sangak Safarov, a man with criminal past, took over control of Dushanbe city;
3. Split within People's Front after they got to power.

In May 1993 the Government officially banned activities of the Islamic Party and most of their leaders left the country. Thus, Tajikistan was involved in local conflict, where almost each region was under rebellion. The central government had less authority to control the entire country. However, the Government of Tajikistan, the United Tajik Opposition with buttress of the international society had established peace in their country.

The first step toward peace achievement started earlier in 1994, when both parties agreed to sit on the table and negotiate. The process started in 1994 and lasted almost four years to achieve long awaited peace.

In the process, even some insignificant agreement required great efforts, but very often it was unrealized because of disagreements inside the belligerents. Several times the negotiations were on the verge of breakdown and continued due to foreign pressure. The situation in neighbouring Afghanistan influenced the negotiation process very much. (Sharafieva, 2013).

The Tajik negotiation process began in 1994 and was completed in 1997. The first meeting started in Moscow in April 19, 1994 and ended up with signing "peace treaty" in the same city in June 27, 1997. Besides this, there were many other cities, which hosted negotiation – Tehran (12-17 September 1994), Islamabad (20 October – November 1, 1994), Moscow (19-26 April 1995), Kabul (17-19 May 1995), Almaty (21 May – June 1, 1995), Tehran (July 19, 1995), Kabul (17 August 1995), Ashgabat (1995-1996), Tehran (5-19 January 1997) and Meshed (21-22 February 1997), Moscow (29 February – March 8 1997), Tehran (8-17 April 1997), Bishkek (16-18 May 1997), and Moscow (June 1997).

Several internal and external military groups were planning to disrupt the peace process in Tajikistan. Even some of the government and UTO's supportive groups were militants who opposed peace in Tajikistan. Other parties were unhappy as well, thus representatives of Sughd and Gissar regions were none or very limited to the Government. Despite of appointing a Sughd representative as a Primer Minister, their representatives were few in the central government, while holding about 30% of country's population. These and others became a reason to several events in the North – the May 1996 anti-government demonstration in Khujand and Ura-Tyube cities and the April 30, 1997 assassination attempt to President Rakhmon in city of Khujand. (Martin,

1997). The government accused former Prime Minister Abdulojonov of the impingement. Thus, participants of the Tokyo Conference stated that "strong government may be the case of strong confrontation", (Usmonov, 2000); that's why, according to them, it is necessary to democratize and reform the Government.

PROPOSED PROSPECTIVE TO MAINTAIN PEACE

At the seminar, representatives from Tajikistan shared information related to the peace keeping process in the country. According to Qiyomiddin Ghozi (1998), one of the leaders of Tajik opposition, existing problems and remaining unsolved issues, must be completed very soon, otherwise it might harm and discriminate opposition. However, Ghozi stressed that both parties look forward to finding ways to resolve the complications before forthcoming parliamentary election, which was scheduled in the early year of 2000.

Professor Usmonov, who participated in almost all rounds of the inter-Tajik negotiation, stated to respect signed military protocol and spank the implementation of the gun-retrieve, which was the problem of the post-conflict period. Thus, he stressed that, parties had to understand that even if single citizen has a weapon then the danger of being killed will still remain, which is why sides have to put effort to collect all the weapons. That is not an easy process and it may take several months, he warned, however parties do not have any choice but to implement it as soon as possible and complete it by given period of time. In addition to that, he emphasized that, if each side tries to hide weapons it may cause the mistrust and may add problems to solve issue, which again may harm our society. That is why, military protocol, which obliged leaders of opposition to dissolve their various military groups, were crucial for post-conflict period in Tajikistan.

The presenter proposed several options, that parties may consider to establish complete peace in a country, such as to dispose weapons to the power divisions, whereby militant may be reintegrated; leaders of the UTO have to make complete weapon capturing; to transfer all weapons to the Government; compulsory disarmament; to consider possibilities of purchasing weapons from the citizens.

According to the government representatives, International Organizations together with states of guarantors, were insisting on establishing

reintegration of the opposition's armed group into military structure and consultation for the necessities of the bill preparation on the changes and additions to the Constitution and laws on "political parties, and elections". In order to prepare parties into abovementioned process, international organizations initiated several round table meetings with participation of the specialists and experts from abroad.

In addition to consultative and advisory assistance, IOs and donor-states materially supported the peace process in Tajikistan. Thus, in May 27, 1998 the US State Department announced that donor-states agreed to financially contribute into the Tajikistan peace process. "Consultative group of the World Bank's donor-states promised to support peace process". (Usmonov, personal communication, 2014)

However, "in November 1997 at the Vienna Conference donor states agreed to grant \$56 million, and year after in Paris Conference they promised additional \$70 million. But none of the state resolved to be a donor, and until now Tajikistan hasn't received any financial support" stated Paolo Lembo, the UN expert (Usmonov, personal archive, 2000).

Meeting and conferences in Japan were part of the peace process in Tajikistan, where most of the speakers shared their views on peace perspective in country. Thus, according to Japanese expert Imagawa, "it's good that Tajiks initiated such conferences. It's positive to see their willingness to cooperate with international society, so that to strengthen and guarantee their assistance, and what is important to respect history, culture and tradition of Tajikistan". (Usmonov, personal archive, 2000).

According to Paolo Lembo (1998), without peace it is impossible to reconstruct and recover any country. There is necessity to correctly understand history of Tajikistan, so that regionalism can't be a reason of the war. Some regions in Tajikistan were not involved in an internal conflict and it is important to associate them into reintegration process. Lembo pointed that, International society behaves as they have low interest, even donor-state conferences related to assistance were not always successful. Donor-states promised a \$63 million grant which partially implemented. The UN called for medical assistance because Tajikistan did not receive any general assistance as other Central Asian states did. According to him, Tajikistan is a model of peace and stability.

According to other experts the UN refugee office

was criticized by refugees, "unfortunately, the UN refugee office had limited resources and reconstruction of the shambles may need the profuse contribution" (Usmonov, personal communication, 2014). However, according to him, there is a progress on life improvement and country's reconstruction, which started from scratch.

CONCLUSION

Peace negotiation between parties in Tajikistan, the role and contribution of the President of country, government and opposition of Tajikistan, international society, including Japan is considered as vital to save the country's dispart and to establish peace on the entire territory. Parties resolutions were to stop and prevent further development of conflict, to process negotiation and achieve peace. Fortunately, both sides put national priority higher than regional and personal, and as a result they signed Peace Treaty in 1997.

Seminars and other related meetings from March 7-20, 1999 were held in Tokyo and considered as timing for the members of NRC. It was a year before the general election, which was the first election after the civil war, whereby both sides – government and opposition was planning to run.

The Peace Treaty was signed in 1997, and despite daily disputes within the NRC, both sides needed additional external arenas to review the whole process, and to listen to and get ideas from different international bodies, including experts and political figures. The meeting in Tokyo gathered together experts, who already were part of the Tajik negotiation process and those who do research and learn success of Tajik peace negotiation.

Japan was the ideal place to have such a meeting, because it was not involved and supported none of the conflicting sides. However, several Japanese envoys and researchers were contributing to the peace in Tajikistan, which was alluded by the Tajikistani side in the process of conference.

Seminars and projects like the one of JICA, were positively evaluated by the participants. Topics were relevant and subjects of discussion were related to the existing problems in Tajikistan. Participants were comparing the policies of various countries and possibility of adaptation of such policies in Tajikistan. Experts from international organizations and Japanese government proposed the existing ways to strengthen peace and security, including recovery of country through political and social assistance and cooperation. For Tajikistani participants, the conference provided the opportunity to look at their own problems through

different perspective: they wanted to know what others think and what they could propose on situation around their country.

In addition, this visit enacted new paradigms of the relationship between Japan and Tajikistan, which agreed to cooperate on inter-parliamentary, economy, social, population development and other aspects. This visit was a positive step toward mutual trust between sides, which as a result the Japanese government decided to shift diplomats of its Mission from Tashkent based Embassy to Dushanbe city, capital of Tajikistan.

Furthermore, participants were pleased to find similarities in the samples of other countries like Cambodia, which had decades of history of conflict and post-conflict Japan. Tajikistan experienced 4-years of conflict and put effort into ceasing it in order to save the country from dispart.

The clan system, which was one of the main problems in the conflict process in Tajikistan, was carefully discussed by participants, whereby experts shared Japanese ways to solve the issue. Japan had suffered from clans in the period of Daimyos. This system was avoided after centralization of the government.

In the end of the seminars, participants declared that they believe conflict between sides will be over, so that they can build a peaceful and democratic country, based on principles of democratic society. In the next year after the Project, both parties successfully ran for election and the government adopted several economic recovery programs, which call for cooperation to explore rich natural resources and industrial potential of the country.

As a result of the conference, in the year of 2000, Tajikistan held its first parliamentary election for both Chambers of Majlis (Parliament), where representative from ruling and opposition parties have won parliamentary seats. Currently members of four political parties have seats in the parliament and neither side restored the conflict matter.

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ABOUT THE AUTHOR

Farrukh Usmonov email:
farrukhusmonov@yahoo.co.uk

Mr. **Farrukh Usmonov**, is PhD candidate affiliated to University of Tsukuba's Graduate School of Humanities and Social Science. His research interest is Japan-Central Asia relationship, specialized to Japan-Tajikistan cooperation. Mr. Usmonov received his MA in area studies from University of Tsukuba, focusing on relationship between Iran and Shanghai Cooperation Organization. He receives his BA in International relations at Eastern Mediterranean University.