

Date Printed: 11/06/2008

---

JTS Box Number: IFES\_12

Tab Number: 6

Document Title: Political Parties in Tajikistan (Facts,  
Figures and Analysis): Final Draft

Document Date: 2002

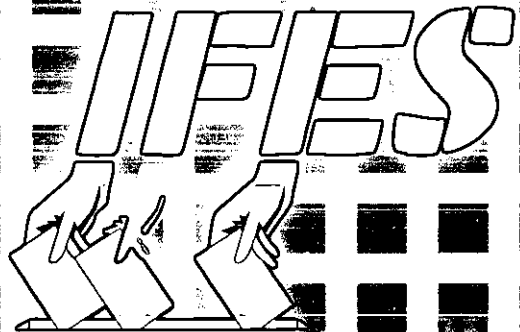
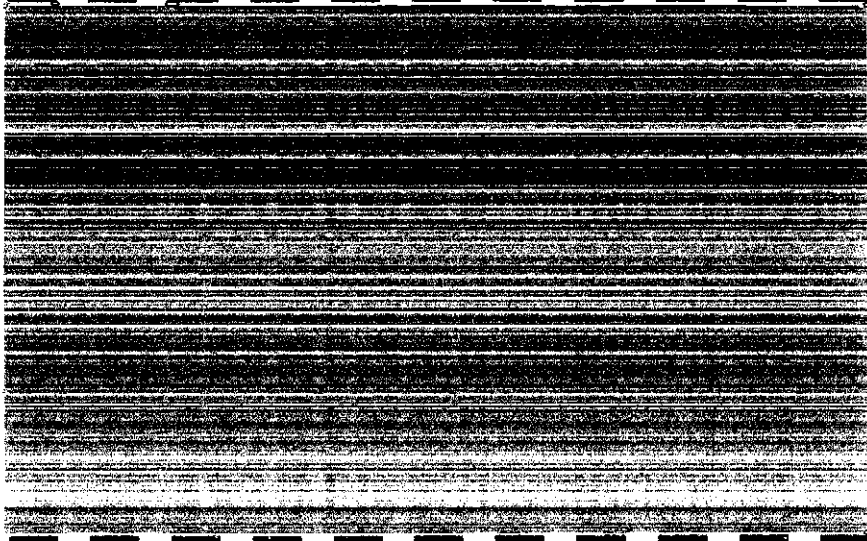
Document Country: Tajikistan

IFES ID: R01887

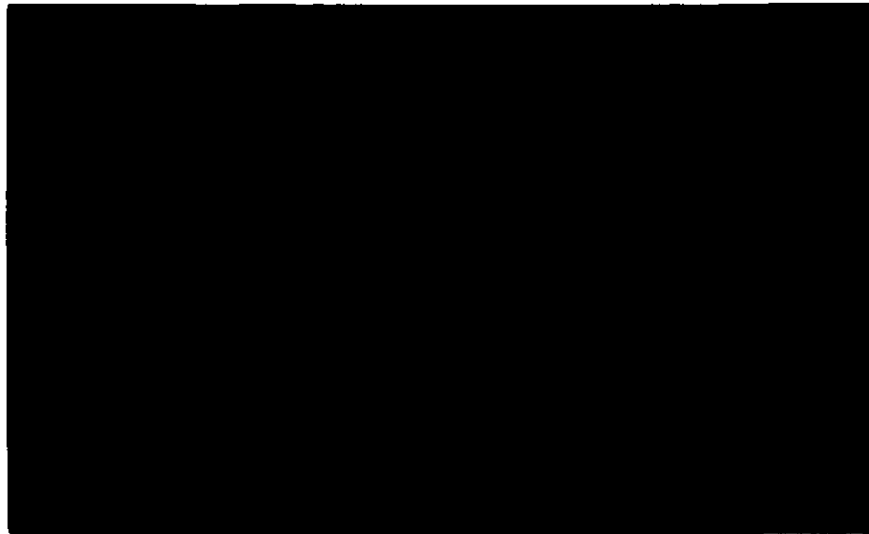


\* 2 7 6 F 7 8 B D - 8 1 7 A - 4 0 1 3 - B B 9 B - 1 5 2 3 2 3 E A 2 1 6 0 \*

ELECTIONS • RULE OF LAW • GOVERNANCE • CIVIL SOCIETY



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK



# **IFES MISSION STATEMENT**

The purpose of IFES is to provide technical assistance in the promotion of democracy worldwide and to serve as a clearinghouse for information about democratic development and elections. IFES is dedicated to the success of democracy throughout the world, believing that it is the preferred form of government. At the same time, IFES firmly believes that each nation requesting assistance must take into consideration its unique social, cultural, and environmental influences. The Foundation recognizes that democracy is a dynamic process with no single blueprint. IFES is nonpartisan, multinational, and interdisciplinary in its approach.

# **POLITICAL PARTIES IN TAJIKISTAN**

**Facts, Figures, and Analysis**

***FINAL DRAFT***

**Dr. Saodat Olimova  
Anthony Bowyer**

**November 2002**

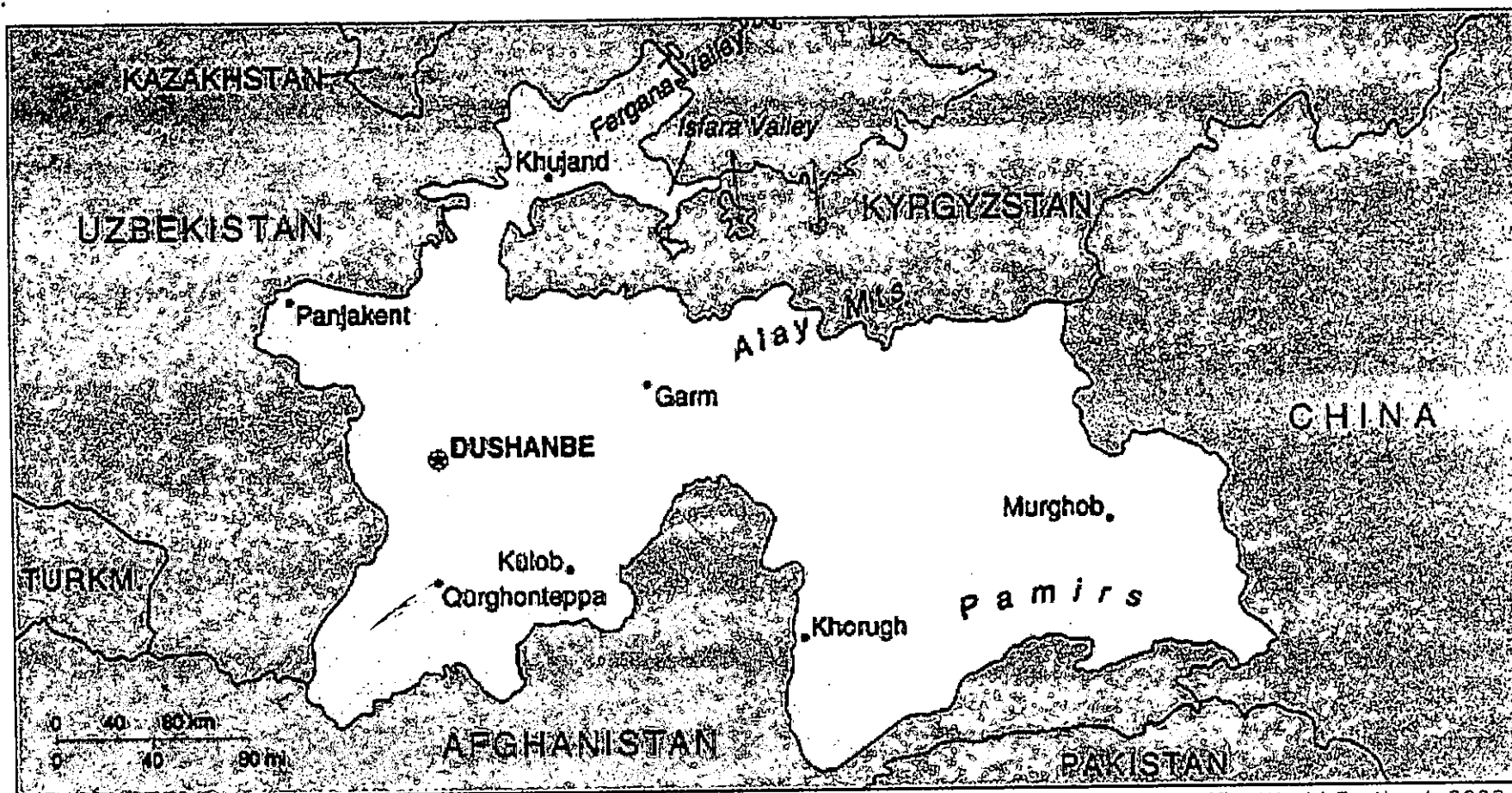
Prepared by the International Foundation for Election Systems, in cooperation with the Analytical Research Center SHARQ, under a grant provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

**DRAFT**



**MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK**





The World Factbook 2002

**MAP OF THE REPUBLIC OF TAJIKISTAN**



MAKING DEMOCRACY WORK

## International Foundation for Election Systems Фонди Байналмилалии Системаи Интихоботӣ

25 Behzod St., First Floor. 734013 Dushanbe, Tajikistan  
Кӯчаи Беҳзод 25, Ошёнаи Аввал, ш. Душанбе, Тоҷикистон  
Tel/Тел: (992 372) 21 80 52, 21 70 98 Fax/Факс: (992 372) 21 25 80  
ifes@ifes.tajikiston.com

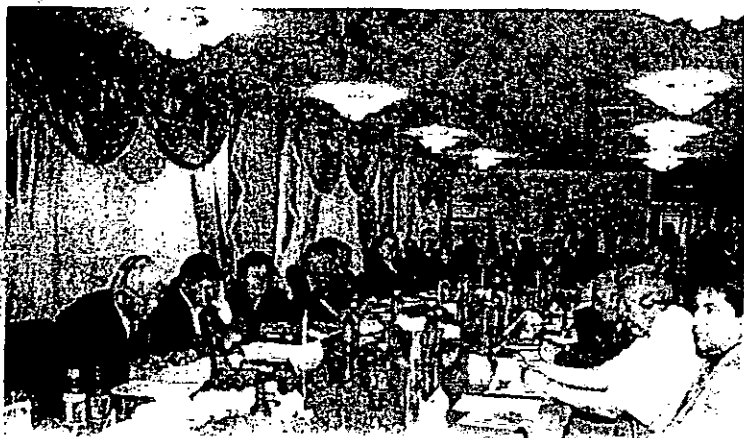
### Political Party Development Activity 2001 – 2002

IFES began USAID-funded programming in Tajikistan in 1994, conducting projects of technical election assistance, political party development, civic education, civil society-building, parliamentary outreach, and public opinion surveying in support of the national reconciliation and peace building process. In 1998, IFES opened a full-time office in Dushanbe, and is currently engaged in political party development, election law reform, school-based civic education activities, and the development of a civic education textbook and curriculum. In support of the first, Post-Civil War parliamentary elections held in February 2000, IFES conducted a number of election assistance projects. Since the 2000 elections, IFES has concentrated its efforts on civic education for young persons as well as ongoing political party development projects. The following is an overview of political party development projects conducted since the February 2000 parliamentary elections:

**March 2001.** IFES, in cooperation with OSCE and the First Press Club of Dushanbe, conducted a roundtable, "Political Parties in the Post-Election Environment" with leaders and activists of regional political parties, of Regional Majlis Deputies, and local Hukumat representatives from the city of Khojand in the Sighed oblast. Additionally, leaders of local NGOs and local, national and foreign news media were present as observers for the roundtable. The roundtable was particularly notable for the fact that it was the first time all political parties had come together for open discussion of priority issues in Soghd region in the presence of the public.



**April 2001.** IFES conducted a roundtable on the "Promotion of Women and Youth Activism" for Tajik political parties and public movements. The focus of the roundtable was on the need to promote the women and youth participation in the political process and civil society in Tajikistan, as well as the role of women and youth in an emerging democracy, strategies on incorporation of youth activities in party platforms and outreach methods. From the very substantive discussions at the roundtable, a series of recommendations aimed at improving the social and political status of women and youth via party activities was drawn up into a protocol, which was signed by all political parties and movements in Tajikistan.



**July 2001.** IFES Tajikistan, in partnership with OSCE and the National Association of Political Scientists in Tajikistan, conducted a Political Party Development Conference on "Leadership Skills/Capacity Building" and "Long Term Planning" in Dushanbe. Representatives from all 5 registered political parties as well the leaders and representatives of the national public movements

participated in the conference. IFES brought political party representatives from Soghd oblast, Khatlon oblast and Dushanbe, providing a broad geographic base encompassing approximately 80 percent of the nation's population. Russian Political Consultant Yuri Isaev was guest speaker, focused on image-making and political communications, as well as techniques used in pre-election campaigns.

**November 2001.** The IFES Tajikistan Seminar to provide Website Training for political parties and movements was conducted on November 13 & 14, 2001. Representatives of all political parties and movements except for La'li Badakhshon participated in the work of seminar-conference. Trainers and providers from T@NTIS, GIPI, CADA, Tajik Telecom, Babilon-T and the Ministry of Communication covered theoretical and practical issues for the participants. Participants were introduced to Internet and e-mail service as a modern means of communication and mass media. Topics included: The Internet Situation in Tajikistan, Creation of Web-Pages and Web Sites, Internet Legislation in Tajikistan, Activities of Tajik Internet Providers, CIS Political Party Web Sites, How to Use Search Engines, Regional and world-wide Internet Domains, Tajik Font and the Problems it Presents in Internet Communications, Anti-Virus Programs and Computer Security Information. The provision of low cost or free access for political parties, movements, and NGOs was reviewed during the sessions. At the conclusion of the Website training participants finalized a protocol on possible ways of access to Internet with the support of local and International organizations.

**December 2001.** The International Foundation for Election Systems, with the support of USAID and AED/Global Training, recently sponsored a Study Tour for Tajik Women Political Leaders to Germany and the Czech Republic. The purpose of this tour was to assist Tajik women political activists in strengthening their role in the political parties and in parliament; to learn how their counterparts in other countries identify and address key issues affecting women; and, to provide an inside glimpse of the legislative and political structures of long-standing democracies and newly-emerging democracies. It was hoped that the participants would gain a greater understanding of how to apply the experiences of women in other countries to the issue they face in Tajikistan.



The Study Tour took place between 8 December and 15 December 2001. The trip began with a day of preparatory sessions at the George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies in Garmisch-Partenkirchen, the sponsoring organization for the German portion of the trip. The time at the Marshall Center was spent in facilitation exercises to determine priority issues and questions to pursue as they met their German and Czech counterparts. Additionally, the group visited political representatives and elected officials in Munich, the capital of the German State of Bavaria including the top women leader of the Bavarian Parliament (Landtag). The group included representatives from all registered political parties and movements. Among the group were 3 deputies from the Majlisi Namoyandagon (National Parliament), including Deputy Chairman Gulafzo Savriddinova.

**January 2002.** IFES Tajikistan, in conjunction with ABA/CEELI and Counterpart Consortium, hosted the USAID Legislative Index Round Table. Participants included Members of Parliament, representatives of local NGOs and the mass media. Legislative index issues included: access of People/Mass Media to Legislative Procedures; access to Sessions of Committees and Parliament; access to minutes and decisions of Committees and Parliament, including the individual voting records of MPs; the utilization of CIS and other countries' experience in the legislative process; the level of collaboration between legislators and NGOs, the news media, political parties, parliamentary factions, and state departments and ministries. At the conclusion of the Round Table the participants completed evaluation forms, rating the parliament on its performance in the topics discussed.



Participants in the February 2002 Encouraging Volunteerism and Motivating Activists seminar seek detailed information on how to increase their volunteer base.

**February 2002.** The Second IFES Political Party Development Seminar, "Encouraging Volunteerism and Motivating Activists", was held in Dushanbe. Representatives of all political parties and movements in Tajikistan except the Democratic Party participated. The seminar was divided into four sessions, and included a discussion on international experiences in this area by the IFES Project Manager. The topics included a discussion on what constitutes a volunteer, how to find them, what to do when found, as well how to motivate activists and attracting new members. After each session, there was open discussion.

**April 2002.** IFES set up a briefing for Ambassador William Taylor, Coordinator for the U.S. Assistance to the New Independent States of the Former Soviet Union with Tajik political party leaders. At the meeting,

political parties shared information on the general political situation and the political directions Tajikistan is taking. They also described the views of their parties towards certain issues, including the Anti-Terrorism Coalition and the necessity to reform the election and political party laws.

**April 2002.** Representatives from all political parties and 2 movements participated in the seminar on "Media Relations and Public Outreach". Presenters from independent and state media organization shared a broad range of issues on how to work with mass media. The specific information presented included how to prepare for print and broadcast interviews, how to hold a press conference, how to prepare a press release, how to stay on message and the best ways for political parties to deliver message.

**April – July 2002.** The first IFES-sponsored parliamentary outreach TV show was aired on 9 April, with participation of parliamentary factions/party representatives on national TV. Muhammadato Sultonov, the Majlisi Oli Press Secretary, provided IFES a copy of the show. The shows continued until July, broadcast from different cities and incorporating Man on the Street questions to ensure relevance to the average citizen.



Ambassador Taylor meets with Tajik political party leaders.

**May 2002.** Issues of strengthening social partnership between local authorities and political parties as well as active participation of women and youth in political life of society were in the center of discussions at a roundtable meeting, which was held on May 3 in Khojand. The roundtable was conducted by the National Association of Political Scientists of Tajikistan, in conjunction with the International Foundation for Election Systems (IFES) and the OSCE-Khojand Field Office. Khojand is one of those few regions of Tajikistan, where all five officially registered political parties are represented; therefore it is necessary to strengthen coordination of there as well as work with local authorities.



**June 2002.** Three representatives from each political party participated in the IFES Political Party Development seminar on Communications Strategies and Image Making, plus a representative of the Oblast Hukumat. All participants were broken into symbolic parties in order to break down the barriers that normally exist among political adversaries. Each group prepared a party message, selected a spokesperson, who then presented the message to the other participants in a mock interview session with a cameraman and reporter were present for mock interview from Asia-TR television and radio company. After each presentation, each "party spokesperson" was then interviewed on camera and the resulting video critiqued by both the participants and IFES. Additionally, several local media reporters, as well as BBC and Radio Liberty, attended the seminar providing the participants with an additional opportunity to practice their skills, this time on behalf of their real parties.



Participants in the Khojand Communications Strategies seminar map out their plan during a breakout session.

**October 2002.** IFES conducted a two-day Elections Symposium in Dushanbe for stakeholders in the election process. Of particular interest to political party representatives was a discussion of revising the current electoral legislation. The Symposium saw the active participation of members of the Rakhmonov government, the Central Commission on Elections and Referenda (CCER), deputies in the Majlisi Oli, members of both registered and unregistered political parties, representatives of local NGOs, and experts from IFES and other international partners. The event concluded with a request to IFES by the CCER to conduct further regional symposia on elections issues, which are gaining momentum with the next parliamentary elections scheduled to take place in February 2005.

**November 2002.** A series of regional Political Party Development seminars, to help local party organizations better utilize their resources and develop their ability to convey their party's message to the voters, are taking place across Tajikistan. The seminars are being held in Garm, Khorog, Kurghon-Teppa, Dusti, Shaartuz, Tursun-Zade, Isfara, Khojand, and Ura Tyube.

IFES will continue working with all parties on a regional basis to develop sound organizational structures, improved communications and outreach strategies, and professional leadership and representation.

# Table of Contents

<i>Foreword</i> .....	1
<b>Chapter 1. Political Parties of the Republic of Tajikistan: An Overview</b> .....	2
<i>Political Orientations, Values and Expectations of Electorate</i> .....	2
<i>Peculiarities of the Political System of Tajikistan</i> .....	3
<i>Political Parties</i> .....	6
<i>Parties and Elections</i> .....	8
<i>Authority and Parties</i> .....	10
<i>Dynamic of Party Ratings in 2001</i> .....	11
<i>Institutional Design and Political Opposition</i> .....	11
<i>Main Problems Impeding Development of Political Parties</i> .....	13
<i>Acute Shortage of Political Parties Financing</i> .....	15
<i>Disinterest of Regional Elites in Political Parties</i> .....	15
<b>Chapter 2. Snapshot of Political Parties of Tajikistan</b> .....	16
<i>People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDPT)</i> .....	16
<i>Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT)</i> .....	20
<i>Communist Party of Tajikistan (CPT)</i> .....	24
<i>Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT)</i> .....	27
<i>Socialist Party of Tajikistan (SPT)</i> .....	34
<i>Party of Justice (Adolatkoh)</i> .....	37
<b>Chapter 3. Tajikistan Public Movements</b> .....	40
<i>Movement of National Unity and Revival of Tajikistan (MNURT)</i> .....	40
<i>Congress of National Unity of Tajikistan (CNUT)</i> .....	41
<i>National Movement of Tajikistan (Junbish)</i> .....	42
<i>Public Organization La'li Badakhshan</i> .....	43
<b>Appendices</b>	
<i>Appendix A. Other Parties</i>	
<i>Appendix B. Results of 2000 Parliamentary Elections by Districts</i>	
<i>Appendix C. Regional Demographic Overview</i>	

## Foreword

The purpose of the present study is to familiarize a diverse audience in Tajikistan as well as readers abroad with the current political situation in the Republic of Tajikistan by providing a general description of the existing political parties and movements.

The work is divided into two parts: Part One provides background information on the development and functioning of pluralism in Tajikistan, and briefly describes the peculiarities of the political system that has been emerging up-to-date. Part Two is comprised of detailed information on the existing political parties and civil movements.

The data was provided either directly by the parties and movements or obtained from public sources such as the print media. The data for *Annex B: Results of 2000 Parliamentary Elections* is taken from the final elections observation report published by the OSCE/ODIHR in 2000. The work also relies on public opinion surveys conducted by the Dushanbe-based Analytical Research Center **SHARQ**.

The data in *Chapter 2 Snapshot of Political Parties of the Republic of Tajikistan* is presented in a standardized format, and with similar sub-sections used for each political party and movement:

- Brief background
- Status
- Internal structure and leadership
- Regional influence and social base
- Representation in government
- Membership of prominent people
- Alliances and contacts
- Leaders
- Participation in elections
- Work in parliament
- Platforms
- Contact information

In addition, where necessary, specific sub-sections are included for certain parties.

This report was developed through the joint efforts of the International Foundation for Election Systems and SHARQ, with funding provided by the United States Agency for International Development (USAID).

## **Chapter 1**

### **Political Parties of the Republic of Tajikistan: An Overview**

The main events that took place in Tajikistan in the first few years after independence was attained were characterized by the two diverse processes: the crises in the old political system and its consequent collapse, and the development of a new political system.

The political development of sovereign Tajikistan was strongly influenced by Soviet political traditions and the stereotypes of political conduct that formed during the Soviet Union. The bipolarization of political forces at the end of the 1980s and the beginning of the 1990s in the USSR did not stimulate the formation of democratic alternatives in political behavior, and in fact limited political choices to the rigid dichotomy of "democracy – anti-democracy," both for the electorate and the political elites, which eventually led to the breakout of civil war in Tajikistan. The complexity of the situation in Tajikistan was that the elites were just as divided and diverse as the Tajik demographic composition itself, consisting of various ethno-cultural sub-ethnic and ethno-regional groups. Immediately after independence was attained, regional elites of diverse ideological and foreign policy orientations began scrambling for power in the new sovereign state. In 1992-1993 the conflict exploded into a civil war led by two main conflicting camps – the National Front and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) (a coalition of opposition parties).

During the conflict a significant shift of elites took place, as the previously governing elite of Soviet times from Soghd (formerly Leninabad) Oblast in northern Tajikistan was removed from power. The Kulyab regional elite ascended to power, and played the main role during the war in pushing out other regional elites to the periphery of power.

After a drawn-out conflict, the opposing sides slowly came to realize the necessity of conflict resolution through political means. Negotiations ended with the ratification of the General Accords on Peace and National Consent in Tajikistan, signed by the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rakhmonov and the UTO leader Said Abdullo Nuri in Moscow on June 27, 1997. The Committee on National Reconciliation (CNR) was established to facilitate the implementation of the Peace Accords.

With the end of armed conflict, the transformation of the political system and economy of the country resumed. The formation of a new ethno-social structure of Tajikistan, made up of dynamically balanced ethno-regional, ethnic, confessional and professional groups, continued. This peculiarity of Tajik demographic composition became the basis for the development of pluralism in the country; the recognition of the diversity of interests by the community at large necessitated the acceptance of a multi-party system, which would cater to different interests of regional, ethnic and confessional groups.

#### **Political Orientations, Values and Expectations of the Electorate**

The most significant political process in post-Soviet Tajikistan can be considered to be the institutionalization and legitimatization of a new political order. A gradual change in governance mechanisms took place, *from* governance in the name of the state by the Communist Party of the Soviet Union through directly appointed leaders *to* governance by elected representatives. This

process, however, has been characterized by chaos and inconsistency, as confirmed by various public opinion polls.

According to a public opinion poll conducted in Dushanbe by the Analytical Research Center *SHARQ* in 1999, the political orientations, values and expectations of the electorate in Tajikistan have been marked by extreme contradictions. The population widely supports the idea of democracy. According to the poll, 42.8% of those surveyed said that they would like to live in a "democratic" society. About 35.6% would like to live in a "communist" society.<sup>1</sup> 42.8% believe that the solution to the current problems lies in the "reinstatement of order," even if it means curtailing human rights when necessary. 58% of respondents stand for strengthening government control, and 49.7% believe that the solution lies in the development of a market economy. Every fourth person maintains that central power should be strengthened; 22% suggest promoting national culture, and an additional 21.8% expressed the desire to return to communist ideology. 18.8% think that the solution to problems lies in a holistic, democratic overhaul of the entire country, and only 6.4% see it in the establishment of Islamic order in the country.<sup>2</sup> The final set of data points out that the previously assumed great potential of Islam in politics of Tajikistan was largely inflated. That is surprising, especially in light of Islam and traditional Muslim customs and practices actually forming the base of the socio-cultural way of life of the overwhelming majority of the population of Tajikistan.

Poll respondents link their hopes of overcoming the crisis by ranking those who can lead them out of it: the president (70.5%); domestic entrepreneurs and other members of business elites (bankers, CEOs and others) (62%); government (52.5%); assistance from abroad (33.4%); Parliament (the *Majlisi Oli*) (31.1%); regional administrations (25.1%); the law enforcement sector (24.2%); political parties (16.3%); UTO (9.4%); and the clergy (6.6%).<sup>3</sup>

### Peculiarities of the Political System of Tajikistan

As outlined in the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan adopted in November 1994, Tajikistan is a multi-party, parliamentary democracy with a separation of legislative, executive and judicial powers. The president is the head of the state and the executive branch. An amendment to constitution passed on September 26, 1999 by popular referendum extended the term of the presidency to seven years, and created a two-chamber Parliament, the *Majlisi Oli*, which consists of the National Assembly or the "Upper House" (*Majlisi Milli*) and the Assembly of Representatives or the "Lower House" (*Majlisi Namoyandagon*).

When analyzing the political system currently in place in Tajikistan, one can draw parallels with other countries of Central Asia. The political regime in the Republic of Tajikistan is reasonably democratic from the point of view of its formal procedures, but there has been only a slow evolution towards representative democracy. Democratic procedures and norms protect to a greater degree the leadership over citizenry, with leaders largely accountable horizontally to any state or public institution. On the other hand, a certain standard of civic liberty is maintained in the country, which rules out *authoritarianism* as a classification of its political system. Nonetheless, under the current system there is a tendency to accumulate authority in the hands of a selected few, in the form of hyper-personification of power. It is also seen to reduce the roles and significance of representative institutions and other political organizations (even including the ones that are loyal to the authorities)

<sup>1</sup> Olimova, S., Olimov, M., *Tajikistan on the Threshold of Change*, Strategic and Political Research Center, Moscow, 1999, p. 41. In Russian language.

<sup>2</sup> Ibid. p. 41.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid. p. 42.

by promoting non-institutionalized political mechanisms, as well as ignoring the interests of the electorate by maintaining conditions of continual crisis. Moreover, any part of the political sphere that is not occupied by a functioning "democratic" establishment is being used by the existing one, which is characterized by forces susceptible to clan influence and corruption.

It is beneficial to look at the composition and the main characteristics of existing political entities, their development tendencies, and their future prospects. It should be mentioned that the following political shortcomings still exist in the country: hypertrophy of the authority of the executive branch; accelerating growth of bureaucracy; weak role of the parliament in the decision-making process; insubstantial judicial supervision; extreme fragmentation of the political, business, bureaucratic and military elites along the ethno-regional lines; overlapping of state and private interests; and corruption in all sectors and on all levels of government. It can be said, that the country is being run by oligarchs who are caught up in a constant internal struggle and division of interests among themselves. Certain features of Tajik society contribute to the formation of such a regime in the country, namely: the absence of democratic traditions; a deep segregation of society along ethno-regional, ethnic, cultural, and professional lines; lack of a solid informational infrastructure; weak rule of law and poor knowledge of the legal codes among the general public; extreme weakness of formal public institutions; and the lack of influence of traditional public institutions (i.e. community, family).

The most prominent and important phenomena, which can be found in social and political life of Tajikistan, can be characterized as follows:

- A. *Prevalence of regionalism in politics, including strong regional characteristics of the ruling elite, which attempts to control the country by exerting pressure on the army and the defense ministries and other departments.*

The existing political forces in the country are based not on political identities but on regionalism. It has become apparent that in the last few years regional political elites have acquired a modicum of political independence, and often times act as the main power-brokers, especially in the absence of a firmly established civil society. These regional elites have the potential to become a strong foundation of the power structure should the central elite obtain a nationwide character. However, until such consolidation of power takes place, the regional elites will continue to follow their autonomous policies, pursuing their interests, and forming their own political positions, views and methods of operation.

The concentration of power in the hands of a few at the top, who are responsible for the allocation of all administrative resources, provides a strong temptation to other leaders of the ruling elite or other regional elites to attempt to usurp power or redistribute it in order to suit their own needs. This problem exists due to the weak role of the central government; alienation of the majority of the population of Tajikistan from the government and the rule of law; political elites having too much power; shortcomings in the state and social order; and the continued existence of illegal armed groups that could be used as a means of exerting political pressure.

Those members of regional elites who are not satisfied with the existing division of power, and at the same time possess sufficient financial, political and law enforcement resources, may be tempted to tip the power balance to their benefit. Some of them have tried to change the situation through the creation of political parties. For example, the new Party *Taraqqiyot* headed by Sulton Quvvatov and A'zam Afzali had such intentions at the time of its inception. Some others do not consider parties as

a serious enough tool of the political struggle, and much rather prefer traditional methods in the power-balancing act – political favoritism, bargaining, and forceful methods.

*B. Autonomous existence of a large number of social groups in society, which are either badly connected to the state or not connected to it at all.*

According to a public opinion survey conducted by IFES, slightly over 50% of respondents said that their lives are not influenced by any power structures.<sup>4</sup> A significant percentage of these people live in large, rural patriarchal families, which consist of one or more labor migrants (about one million Tajik men are in seasonal labor migration in Russia, Kazakhstan and other CIS countries). The rest of the family, mainly older people, women and children, lead a rural life, subsisting on a semi-agricultural economy. Traditions are maintained in a form of *avlod* – the patronymic family nucleus – a micro-social constellation of its own in which the real mechanisms of regulation and arrangement of social life exist.

The existence of a significant portion of the population, which practically exists outside of any form of state control (with the exception of having to sporadically deal with the state bureaucracies), hampers the development of rule of law in the country, and strengthens the traditions of the ancient community-democracy. This has an effect on the political system currently being shaped in Tajikistan. On one hand, it limits the possibilities of the transformation of the regime towards an authoritarian super-presidency, and on the other hand, it stabilizes and conserves archaic forms of government, hindering democratization of society and the development of a modern state.

*C. The absence of institutional (depersonalized) sources of legitimacy of power.*

The ruling elite, which strives to distance its political agenda from any ideology, and to rid itself of the responsibility to any other group in the electorate (except their own ethno-regional group), is forced to artificially form sources of legitimacy by employing either one of two means described below:

- 1) Confirming the legitimacy of power by the will of the people through referenda or by creating additional bureaucratic structures, which might include representative members who are not elected but rather nominated into their posts (i.e. Public Council of President Rakhmanov's cabinet; Presidium for the Development of Peace and Consent) with the subsequent transformation of power-carriers to its source;
- 2) Creating political organizations from the top, which as a consequence are closely integrated within the government structures – a kind of “party in power,” or soliciting already existing political organizations into government. Among several such legitimizations of power performed in Tajikistan in ten years of sovereignty, a more successful one was the reconstruction of the People's Party of Tajikistan (PPT), later renamed the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDPT), which currently plays the role of the governing party and is dominant in all aspects of the political landscape. Another form of “legitimization” is the creation of a “pocket opposition,” which in reality is only an extension of central power. The transformation of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT) may serve as an example; currently this same scenario is being applied to the Socialist Party of Tajikistan (SPT).

<sup>4</sup> Wagner, S., *Public Opinion in Tajikistan 1996*, Publication in the Voices of the Electorate Series, IFES; Washington, 1997, p. 42.

## Political Parties

After the collapse of the single-party system of the USSR, society made a hasty, awkward shift towards political pluralism. This shift provided the opportunity to choose among various prospects of a future political regime. In 1990 the *Law On Public Associations* of citizens was passed, which provided a legal base for different movements (prototypes of parties) to take root in Tajikistan. In the early stages of their development, the pragmatic leadership of the republic tried to take control over these formations. However, as the early political movements metamorphosed into political parties, and especially when the DPT and Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) assumed their struggle as counter-elite political organizations, the leadership of the country changed its point of view entirely.

The registration of party organizations in Tajikistan began after the 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of People's Deputies of the USSR (March 1990), which annulled Article 6 of the Constitution of the Soviet Union enforcing the single-party system. In August 1990 the Democratic Party of Tajikistan was formed. An attempt to start a Tajik chapter of the All-Union Islamic Renaissance Party was made in October 1990. The key event was the coup in Moscow in August 1991. This event accelerated the independence process for the former Soviet republics, and equally as important, it highly affected the position of power of the CPSU. In September 1991, Tajikistan declared its independence.

The September 1991 popular protests forced the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan to amend the Law of the Republic of Tajikistan *On Freedom of Consciousness*, which permitted the legalization of Islamic movements and the reformation of the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan.

It is necessary to note that the formation of parties and movements in the initial stages of development was characterized by their linkage to popular political preferences. Thus, for instance, members of the movement *Rastokhez* (the Day of Judgment) were united on the grounds of a common value system, social status (scholars and academicians in humanities) and secular orientation. Also there were a substantial number of ethnic Russians and Russian speakers in the DPT along with Tajiks. Nonetheless the real ideological base of both *Rastokhez* and the DPT was *secular nationalism*. The nationalistic orientation of all opposition parties and movements, with the exception of the IRPT, was instigated by the political search for identity by the Russian-speaking intelligentsia of the country, as well as by tactical calculations: their national positions offered the dual benefit of distinguishing them from the old "international" elites, as well as serving as a mobilizing and consolidating factor. Nationalism also legitimated claims for power by this group.

Gradually, the share of certain Tajik ethno-regional groups increased in numbers among these fledgling political movements; and as a result distinctly regional interests began to emerge within them under the shield of an "all-national" agenda. During the period of the collapse of the USSR and the sudden sovereignty of Tajikistan, the opportunity to correlate actual power of the regional elites to their real weight and influence presented itself. Regional elites turned to parties as a means of political mobilization and political struggle. The regional partitioning of Tajik ethnos became the main driving force that promoted the formation of relatively strong parties and the powerful opposition movement. Its driving force was fueled by the desire of regional elites to redistribute authority and resources during the collapse of Soviet power, and to share in the redistribution of state ownership. The alliance between democrats and Islamists, known as the military-political association *United Tajik Opposition* (UTO), was established on the grounds of regional solidarity and anti-communism.



In the sphere still controlled by the government, the transformation of the political and economic system was taking place, albeit slowly, and new parties were springing up. Thus the Party of Political and Economic Renewal of Tajikistan (September 1993), Party of National Unity (November 1994), Civic and Patriotic Party *Ittikhod* (Unity) (November 1994), People's Party of Tajikistan (December 1994), Political Party *Adolatkoh* (Righteousness) (March 1996), and the Socialist Party of Tajikistan (June 1996) appeared on the political stage. In 1998 the Party of Justice and Development (March 1998) and Agrarian Party of Tajikistan (July 1998) held their establishing congresses.

Practically all of these newly emerging parties bore the stamp of ethno-regionalism, and tried to protect the interests of the regional elites, who wished to participate in the post-war division of power. Gradually the new opposition began to take shape, branded in the country as the "third force". Its base consisted of "yesterday's" allies – those among the winners of the regional elites, who were dissatisfied by the distribution of authority. Thus, for instance, the interests of a large business from the northern part of Tajikistan were represented by the Party of Political and Economic Renewal of Tajikistan (its leader being one of the financial magnates, Validzhon Babaev) and the Party of National Unity (whose leader was former prime minister Abdumalik Abdullajanov). The interests of the Qurghonteppa region were represented by the National Party (the leader before the party restructured in 1997 being deputy speaker of the Majlisi Oli, Abdumadzhid Dostiev) and other examples. On the whole, almost all newly-created parties were based on strong personalities institutionalized as parties.

After the *Law on Political Parties* was adopted in November 1998, 11 parties were registered or re-registered at the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan. Following the legalization of opposition parties in Tajikistan, political efforts concentrated, firstly, around the conditions of integration for opposition parties into the political life of the country and, secondly, on relations between the government and the parties.

As a result of outright hostilities, pressure or behind-the-scenes political tenders, the most active new opposition parties were squeezed out of the political spectrum. In April of 1999 the Party of Political and Economic Renewal of Tajikistan was suspended; the National Movement *Junbish* was denied registration as a political party; and the Civil and Patriotic Party *Ittikhod* (Unity) was banned. In September 1999 the Agrarian Party was outlawed due to its violation of the temporary ban imposed on it in April 1999. At the same time the registration of the Party of Justice and Development was annulled. In November 1999 the registration of the Democratic Party (Teheran Platform) was annulled because its name bore similarities to that of another party. One year earlier, in 1998, after the riots in Khojand (Soghd oblast) the Party of National Unity was banned by the decision of the Supreme Court of Tajikistan.

The government of the Republic of Tajikistan aspired not to allow the emergence of a new regional opposition, and to hold the activity of political parties under its control. Moreover, the post of Presidential Liaison dealing with public associations and cross-national relations was established as part of the Cabinet of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan.

On March 9, 1996 leaders of seven political parties, together with heads of other public associations, signed the Accords on Public Consent in Tajikistan. On the basis of these Accords the Public Council of the Republic of Tajikistan was created.

## Parties and Elections

The Peace Accords of 1997 and the subsequent peace-building process allowed opposition parties into the legal political arena of the country. The first post-conflict presidential and parliamentary elections (in 1999 and 2000, respectively) were significant to the development and strengthening of political parties and their standing in the political and social life of Tajikistan.

In August 1999, the ban on the parties that made up the United Tajik Opposition was lifted after the coalition made an official public promise to dissolve its armed forces and to disarm as per the Peace Accords. The Islamic Renaissance Party and the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (Almaty Platform) registered and began their legal activities. The establishment of a 30 per cent share of seats for the members of the UTO coalition on all levels of government bodies as specified by the Peace Accords of 1997 was another significant outcome.

Moreover, the parties that were left out in the post-conflict distribution of power began uniting with each other: Congress of National Unity, Communist Party of Tajikistan, Socialist Party of Tajikistan and DPT (Teheran Platform), and formed the Political Consultative Council. Some parties, which found themselves at a disadvantage due to hardships with publishing of their party newspapers, had to rely on other parties' newspapers to publish their party articles. For example, the leaders of Congress of National Unity of Tajikistan used to publish their party materials in the newspaper *Junbish*. During the presidential pre-election campaign the Political Consultative Council was reformed into a Majlis of Public Political Forces of the RT (MOPS). The Majlis included the IRPT and DPT. However, at a time when the presidential elections campaign strategy and tactics of the MOPS coalition were developed, the CPT, the second strongest and most influential party in Tajikistan, decided to leave MOPS, and in doing so showed loyalty to the ruling elite. Despite this departure, other parties remained in the coalition as original stakeholders, and coordinated their actions for the presidential elections of 1999. After the parliamentary elections of February 2000, the parties that were in MOPS decided to form another coalition, the Coalition of Building Democracy. Though all public-political associations of Tajikistan except the PDPT and the movement *Vakhdat* joined the Coalition, it has still not been registered by the Minister of Justice (on various pretences).

The parliamentary elections of February 2000 played an extremely important role in the political life of Tajikistan. They marked a significant step in the strengthening of the peace-building process and affirming the Peace Accords. The participation of the former war adversaries in the process of elections confirmed their determination to fight for power only through political means. It became the first multi-party election during which the citizens of Tajikistan had a tangible opportunity to choose from a wide spectrum of candidates.

The following six parties participated in the parliamentary elections of 2000:

- People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDPT)
- Communist Party of Tajikistan (CPT)
- Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT)
- Democratic Party of Tajikistan (Almaty Platform) (DPT-Almaty)
- Socialist Party of Tajikistan (SPT)
- Party of Justice of Tajikistan (*Adolatkoh*). This party and some other small parties of uncertain status (no registration and no official ban), such as *Junbish* and the Party of Justice and Development formed the so-called "new opposition".

Parties and movements that were suspended during the elections still managed to participate in them by registering their candidates through other parties or in single mandate districts. The participation of six parties and independent candidates was a sign of political pluralism in the elections. Officially, 2,683,010 people voted in the elections, with an official voter turnout of 93.6%. Three parties overcame the 5 percent barrier – the PDPT, CPT and IRPT. However, according to the evaluation of the Joint Mission formed by the OSCE, ODIHR, IFES and the UN, the legislative and normative bases of the elections were inadequate, with a rash of violations reported.

The PDPT received the most votes – 64.9% (enough to win 15 seats in the parliament); the CPT came in second, receiving 20.39% (five seats in the parliament); and the IRPT received 7.31% of votes (two seats in the parliament). As a result of the single-mandate elections, the PDPT won 21 seats out of 39, the CPT won in eight single-mandate districts, and independent deputies won in ten election districts. Overall, the PDPT won the overwhelming majority of the seats in parliament – 36 deputies, with the CPT winning 13 seats, and the IRPT – 2 seats.

All parties except the PDPT found themselves in a state of a shock after the elections: the CPT found itself in a marginal position, having lost a significant part of its supporters. Opposition parties, which had been organized in military-political blocks, proved incapable in their political and legal activity. In addition, they were faced with a strong presidential regime, which had consolidated power by that point in Tajikistan, in which a winner in the presidential elections would be able to take advantage of all political spheres of the country.

In the framework of the General Accords on Peace and National Consent in Tajikistan, constitutional law reformation aiming at democratization of the country was expected to be initiated. It did not happen; in fact, the ruling regime became even more unyielding, curtailing more and more civil freedoms. The parliamentary elections showed that the ruling elite was quite able of maintaining its political dominance without any use of party structures, relying strictly on their administrative resources and total control over the mass media.

Thus, a review of the situation shows that although during the war people were extremely divided based on their political preferences, in the war's aftermath parties turned out to be weak; party platforms were not clearly defined; social bases were not wide enough; and the internal structures were insufficiently developed. The weakness of parties as institutions is a result of an inadequately developed "political" society, including a lack of political culture, experience and traditions of open political struggle.

The ease with which any party or political movement can enter the political process in an environment of low political sophistication, lacking finances for election campaigns, and without comprehensive programs of positive development of the country, allowed for the emergence of a number of weak parties. In addition to the aforementioned obstacles there are other features, such as low membership, amorphous organizational structures and the lack of attention to the work of rank-and-file members of the party. Hardly any political party of Tajikistan has a clearly defined social base, and develops its platform with certain economic, social and political requirements of this base in mind. The search for new ideologies is still taking place.

The parties of Tajikistan are impossible to classify into the traditional categories of right wing, left wing or centric. As a result, despite the emergence of a certain number of parties in Tajikistan, they actually remain largely outside of the political process. Elections have been viewed internally as being conducted largely democratically, and even the activities of deputies of parliament do not

enable them to advance their party programs. In this state of affairs the voters have been deprived of a high-quality political market, where they would have an opportunity to influence the future direction of the country. The purpose for the existence of parties is thus not clear, which resigns them to a fate of ongoing battles of endless political maneuvering, constant shifting of party platforms, coalitions and splits, and unpredictable blockings. This undermines the trust and interest of people in the parties, which in turn explains large discrepancies in public opinion regarding this subject. Thus for instance, the survey that was conducted by the Analytical Research Center *SHARQ* in Dushanbe in January 1999 on the ideal number of parties showed that supporters of one-party and multi-party systems had made up the two biggest groups and almost equal in numbers: 42.2% of the population of Dushanbe maintains that ideally only one party should exist in the country; 38.1% think a multi-party system is more preferable. 9% would prefer not to have any parties at all, and 10.3% have no opinion on this matter.<sup>5</sup>

The experience of the last decade shows that the parties play a significant role in Tajik society only when the balance between the elite groups is in disequilibrium, and they then begin openly conflicting with each other. The elites consider parties a convenient tool of political mobilization of their supporters in an open conflict. Thus the question arises: how do people become supporters of one party or another in Tajikistan? When examining the characteristics of people compelling them to support a particular party (i.e. which social, gender, ethnic or other group supports which party) it turns out that one of the most important parameters is ethnicity, both regional affiliation and socio-economic status. Education and gender are important to a lesser degree.

### Authority and Parties

After the civil war the consolidation of a new political elite took place in Tajikistan, which took root in the forming economic system. Gradually a new ethno-regional social structure began to develop, in the framework of which the ruling elite tried to establish control over the regional elites and over the society as a whole by different means. One such tactic was creation of a "party in power", i.e. a party established directly by the ruling political elite, and which plays a role as the main promoter of its interests in the sphere of public politics.

Political parties are viewed by the ruling authority as a medium for consolidating mass support for the president and the authorities; as a channel of political mobilization of the people; and as a tool of administration management. It is very similar to the old communist system, with the single difference being the role reversal of the main actors. If in the USSR the state was adjusted to the party, the party was thus the heart of the state system; in the case of the system currently being formed in Tajikistan state power should become the heart of a party. From this point of view there only needs to be one party, which should be amorphous in nature, not having any precisely defined platforms, not representing interests of any particular social layer, and representing the nation as a whole; in short, so that the authority does not have any specific obligations to any group of society. This is the strategy that the PDPT is currently pursuing. This situation has obvious shortcomings: political fluidity of parties, and a vague and frail management of the party structure, which essentially represents at its core a set of client groups that make up the political elite of Tajikistan.

The People's Party became People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (June 1997) after a reorganization; it is the presidential party, and the only one of the nationwide significance. The main task of the PDPT, is to find ways to increase its organizational and mobilization capacity. Attempts

<sup>5</sup> Olimova, S., Olimov, M., *Tajikistan on the Threshold of Change*, Strategic and Political Research Center, Moscow, 1999, p. 35. In Russian language.

to achieve that have been made from the beginning as yet, to no avail. In addition, the search for a dominant ideology by the ruling elite is a rather difficult and intertwined process; so far the *ethno-nationalism*, or the so-called "national idea" has a prevailing position. The main obstacles, however, preventing ethno-nationalism from being the central ideology are the following: 24% of the population of Tajikistan are Uzbeks; Islam is a basis of identity of an overwhelming part of the citizens of Tajikistan; and the phenomenon of regionalism, which exists in Tajikistan

The ruling authority is thus faced with the following task: suppressing those political organizations that express interests of ethnic and regional groups by any means. This is exactly what has been done with the respect to *Adolatkoh*, the Democratic Party, and what is currently being done to the Socialist Party.

With the respect to the issue of Islam, any authority that purposely advocates the suppression of Islam in Tajikistan will find the going difficult. This political axiom forces the authorities to maintain rather flexible and delicate relations with IRPT (Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan).

### Dynamic of Party Ratings in 2001

According to a national survey conducted in February-March 2001 by the Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, one year after the parliamentary elections, the ratings of the parties changed in the following way: the PDPT has the greatest number of supporters – 34.7% (in 1999 – 11%<sup>6</sup>); with the CPT following closely – 31.4% (in 1999 – 28%). The Democratic Party lost a large part of its electorate. In the survey it had support of 3.4% of voters (in 1999 it was almost 12%). The electorate of the IRPT is stable – 4.7% supported it in February 2001 (in 1999 – 5%). The number of supporters of the now unregistered party *Adolatkoh* is also stable – in 2001 it got 1.4%, and in 1999 1.4%. The number of SPT supporters fell by more than two times – 0.8% of respondents in 2001 (2.4% in 1999).<sup>7</sup>

It should be noted that support for a multi-party system increased significantly since the last poll was conducted; this means that the parliamentary elections had a positive influence on the role and popularity of parties in society.

### Institutional Design and Political Opposition

In light of strengthening authoritarian tendencies, the most urgent and structural symptom of the political opposition has become the attempt to expand the sphere of freedom in the regime, and to foster democracy. However "illiberal democracy" slows the formation of the democratic opposition, polarizing political forces. The refusal of the ruling regime to compromise, taken together with the deteriorating legal awareness and rule of law in society (characteristic especially of post-Soviet Central Asia) undermines a parliamentary form of political activity. On the other hand, this tendency leads to a stalemate in the form of a full-blown confrontation, and undermines the opposition. Moreover, even if political organizations and other entities exist formally, on a lawful basis, and are recognized in society but have little influence in the decision-making process, as a rule, they begin to degrade internally. They also lose prestige in society, and as a consequence, gravitate towards the opposition. As an example, the Constitutional Court of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Union of

<sup>6</sup> Olimova, S., Olimov, M., *Tajikistan on the Threshold of Change*, Strategic and Political Research Center, Moscow, 1999, p. 37-38. In Russian language.

<sup>7</sup> *Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001*, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

Industrialists and Businessmen of Tajikistan, and the Board of Directors of Soghd Oblast and some others can be singled out. From among the political movements, the Congress of National Unity of Tajikistan could serve as an example. A group of intellectuals who rallied around the newspaper *Junbish* has similar features that led to the formation of the New Opposition (Consultative Council of Parties and Movements of Tajikistan) in summer of 1999.

The above-mentioned entities were confined to the conditions of having a reduced influence on society and authority, which was caused by internal reasons (weakness of the social base, an under- or poorly-developed organizational structure, insufficient mobilization of resources, unsuccessful choice of party strategy, and the absence of consolidation, etc.). From a different perspective the authoritarian tendencies of the regime and the weakness of public institutions played a significant role as well. As a result, the democratic opposition found itself on the outside, attributable to one or more of the following reasons:

- A. *Interlocking of the democratic and anti-democratic oppositions* (i.e. a coalition between a part of the Democratic Party, DPT-Afzali, with a radical wing of the Islamic Party of Renaissance of Tajikistan in October, 1999; or an entry of the Party of Economic Renewal into the UTO in 1998);
- B. *The opposition becoming a hostage of the authority having to support it* (i.e. the Socialist Party of Tajikistan, the Community of Uzbeks of Tajikistan; the list could be much longer);
- C. *The opposition losing its political weight in society, and the ability to influence the bodies of authority and society* (i.e. the Agrarian Party, the Scientific Industrial Union and others);
- D. *Authorities liquidating the opposition structures or institutes due to one of the two reasons: in the case of the disloyal opposition - for example, liquidation of the Party of National Unity (Leader: Abdumalik Abdullajanov) after the protests in northern Tajikistan; the operations of the opposition entities stretched out of boundaries defined for them by the ruling grouping, but not by the regime* (i.e. the liquidation of the Party *Ittikhod*, whose political platform expressed the interests of one of the segments of Kulyab regional elite and whose activity threatened the split in the ruling elite).

It can be stated from the short history of political parties in Tajikistan that regionalism stimulates the development of authoritarian tendencies while engendering the territorial integrity of the country.

A referendum held on September 26, 1999 to amend the Constitution was passed by popular vote. This increased the power of the executive, in particular presidential powers. Since this time the activities of political parties have become further complicated.

Nonetheless, it can be assumed that the Islamic opposition movement, together with the Communist Party and regional parties, will continue to represent the real political opposition to the main authority.

The most important issue in the development of pluralism remains the problem of the functioning of the opposition, and in this regard the existence of political Islam, in particular the IRPT. Currently the prospects for the political life of Islam are not quite clear to the government, to the IRPT itself, nor to the wide circle of Islamic politicians. The evidence of that lies in the disputes around the idea of the very existence of an Islamic party.

There are at least two points of view on the question of the place and role of the political Islam in the political process of Tajikistan. The first one was formulated by Akbar Turajonzoda, first Deputy Prime Minister. He maintains that Islam should be "built into the tapestry of the political system of modern Tajikistan," ensuring the unity of the society and the state so that the country can progress in an "evolutionary manner" to the future of the Islamic statehood. The IRPT leadership promotes a second point of view, according to which it is necessary to "conduct the political struggle through parties and parliamentary activities." Despite the dissimilarity in these opinions on the role of Islam in politics, one may say with confidence that one of the important achievements of the reconciliation process in Tajikistan was the peaceful incorporation of Islam into the political process.

The ground is fertile for the development of radical Islamic opposition movements in Tajikistan. The main reasons are due to deterioration in the socio-economic situation, disappointment in both communist and democratic ideas, omni-present corruption, and the absence of strong, secular movements with ensuing an ideological vacuum. In these conditions the political activity of the IRPT can capitalize on the discontent of the masses, and direct it towards the realm of the political struggle. However, the position of the IRPT is characterized by a peculiar complexity. In the course of the elections, the IRPT encountered difficulties of legal political work, due to the absence of mid- and lower levels of party organization. The leaders of the IRPT realized the deficit of intellectual potential of political Islam in Tajikistan in the incompetence of the IRPT's offsprings (created through the 30 percent quota for representation in the new government), which gave the authorities an opportunity to replace them. Also seen was the failure of the pre-election campaigns in both the presidential and parliamentary elections; and the extreme weakness of the analytical capacity of the IRPT. In the post-election period, and especially in the last few months of 2001 and throughout 2002 (which have been characterized by strengthening and firming of the regime), the main task at hand facing the IRPT's administration has been the reorganization and improvement of organizational activities of the party, and recruitment of intellectuals into its ranks. In any case, the IRPT is currently becoming one of the main players in the democratization process in the political life in Tajikistan.

### **Main Problems Impeding the Development of Political Parties**

The main problems of political party development in Tajikistan can be summarized as follows:<sup>8</sup>

- A. *Imperfection of the normative and legal base regulating political activity in the Republic of Tajikistan;*
- B. *State management methods, which include authoritarian methods of suppression and use of force; The existence of such a gap between the legislative and law enforcement practices are due to the destruction of law and order and law consciousness, weakness of power (especially judicial power), the absence of civil society, the existence of parallel legal systems, and the deterioration of freedom of speech over the last few years. Conflicting parties still prefer to resolve their problems by traditional methods of negotiations and through mediators rather than resolving their disputes in a court of law.*
- C. *The absence of freedom of speech, poor development of the mass media, weakness of the independent mass media and private publishing houses, and the presence of censorship. The Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan guarantees basic human rights such as the freedom*

<sup>8</sup> Nine party leaders were independently interviewed about their opinion on political party development. Those opinions were considered in the overall compilation of this section.

of speech (Chapter 2, Article 30). However, the right to accessible information is not clearly guaranteed, which presents an opportunity to limit the freedom of speech in the RT.

The *Law On Print Media* from 1990 and its four amendments (1992, 1996, 1997, 1999), the *Law On Television and Radio Broadcasting* and the *Law On Authorship Rights* (which has an effect on mass media as well) form a sufficient legislative base for the functioning of mass media. However, despite the relevant legislature in place, the laws are lagging behind the real situation. Many new spheres of mass media, for instance the Internet, fall out of the scope of its jurisdiction. Next, the four amendments to the 1990 law on print media, especially the one from 1999, significantly deteriorated the status of mass media outlets, and the situation with freedom of speech as a whole. The main problem of mass media in Tajikistan is legitimization of the limited access to information.

There are 19 electronic and 425 print media outlets registered in the Republic of Tajikistan. However, of this number only about 14 broadcasting channels and 58 newspapers are functioning; seven of the newspapers belong to political parties. Although independent mass media exists in the RT, and is either privately-owned or party-based, almost all media outlets are subject to control and pressure by certain state structures. Parties or political and business leaders regard it as possible to interfere with the work of mass media. The cause of the poor development of the mass media is due to control by the power structures over the internal information market.

The Ministry of Culture and Information and the Committee on Television and Radio Broadcasting issue licenses of operation to print media outlets and other media agencies, which are issued by permission only. As these two entities control the information market, they are able to censor out the "untrustworthy" private independent media outlets, and thus implement the state policy on mass media. Electronic broadcasting is facing particularly difficult circumstances. The print media also experiences pressure from the state due to the fact that all of the publishing houses are controlled by the state. For example, during the pre-election campaign of January-February 2000, the Tajik national television channel TVT provided extremely poor coverage of the election campaign. It did not provide the electorate with sufficient information on the candidates and their platforms. The pluralism of opinions was meagerly represented in the print media as well. The owners and editors of newspapers did not dare criticize the ruling groups for fear of having their newspapers shut down or access to publishing houses denied.

As far as the party-based newspapers are concerned, they are also plagued with problems: deficiency in financial resources, limitation in access to information, and problems of distribution, among others. Another obstacle to the normal functioning of the mass media including the party press is the security of journalists. Criminal acts have been committed against mass media and their representatives, such as withdrawal of circulation, banning publications, threats, blackmail, insults, assaults and beatings of journalists, as well as unjustified detentions of journalists or their relatives. In October 2002 nine journalists were conscripted into the army by the local authorities in Soght Oblast after providing a television report, ironically, on forced conscription of youths.

Officers of the military police of Khujand, Tajikistan forced their way into offices of two television stations (SM-1 and TRK-Asia) and arrested nine journalists, taking them to a military base. Six of the journalists were subsequently released but the three remaining were forcefully conscribed to military. The arrests happened after a news story was broadcast on SM-1 television that contained allegations that the army was forcefully drafting youths (press-ganging), including a young man with a medical deferment. The story included interviews with citizens who expressed anger at the army's allegedly non-stop, illegal, and aggressive recruitment methods. The new story and related live talk shows



were produced during a TV talk show production work shop in Khujand that interview Tajikistan held in late October.

One of the most serious difficulties hindering the work of the political parties on lower levels can be considered the catastrophic condition of local mass media outlets. This leads to the information isolation of entire regions.

It should be noted that Tajik society is rather tolerant of the limitations on freedom of speech in the country. To improve the situation with freedom of speech, however, immense political cooperation with the authorities and the various social groups is needed, as well as aggressive lobbying to revise the mass media laws that would guarantee freedom of speech on the legislative level in the RT.

### **Acute Shortage of Political Party Financing**

Financing is one of the most complex problems hampering the development of parties in Tajikistan. Even such large and powerful parties as the PDPT and CPT experience problems with financing. The problem consists of two parts: the absence of developed norms for party financing and the general lack of financial resources in the country.

The issue of party financing became one of the main problems during the period of the parliamentary elections in early 2000. In accordance with the Law On Elections (Article 9), political parties and candidates had no right to use private funds in the pre-election campaign. The law allowed for the use of resources from the Elections Fund established by the Central Commission on Elections and Referenda (CCER). Two months before the elections, each party was allocated \$113US, and each candidate - \$23US. Parties and candidates expressed their disagreement with the limitations and insufficiency of financial means for the pre-election campaign. After a series of heated debates, the CCER permitted the use of private funds for political campaigns - in the amount of \$2,272US for parties, and not to exceed \$284US for a single candidate. This decision violated the election law, and did not resolve the situation in allowing a fully-fledged election campaign, as the decision was adopted three weeks before the day of the elections.

### **Disinterest of Regional Elites in Political Parties**

Until regional elites make a conscious decision to have an open political struggle, they will not pay much attention to the parties. Before the consolidation of power in Tajikistan took place, there were some leading local parties, but in the process of formation of the ruling elite on its present form, the power removed all local parties from the political arena. Gradually it will continue to restrict the role of individual leaders who are connected with regional elites and able to form active political structures.

## Chapter 2

### Snapshot of the Political Parties of Tajikistan

#### People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDPT)

##### Brief Background



On December 10, 1994 the 1<sup>st</sup> Founding Congress of the People's Party of Tajikistan (PPT) took place. The PPT was an influential party formed from the Qurghonteppa regional elite, who in turn was part of the ruling group. The existence of the PPT threatened the unity of the ruling elite, which was being headed by a powerful charismatic leader – Abdumadzid Dostiev. A private skirmish between the top leaders in power led to the

defeat of the Qurghonteppa regional elite, the victory of President Rakhmonov, and a relative consolidation of power and interests among the ruling group. The next step was an attempt to consolidate all of the government-oriented regional elites before the ratification of the General Peace Accord on June 27, 1997. With this aim in mind, on June 25, 1997, on the eve of signing the National Peace Accord, the 2<sup>nd</sup> congress of People's Party of Tajikistan was held. The new political situation in the country was discussed, and changes in strategy and party tactics connected with the conclusion of the Peace Accords were considered. The People's Party of Tajikistan was renamed the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan (PDPT). Authoritative structures of all levels (oblast, district and local) received instructions for their chiefs, chairmen and heads to become members of the PDPT. On March 10, 1998 President Rakhmonov himself formally became a member of the PDPT. On April 18, 1998 the 4<sup>th</sup> Party Congress took place where Rakhmonov was elected Chairman and Dostiev was elected First Deputy Chairman. The party launched the monthly magazine "People's Platform" in three languages (Tajik, Uzbek and Russian) in September 1996. The PDPT considers itself a centrist, parliamentary political party with the stated objective of "uniting all citizens of Tajikistan, regardless of language, ethnic affinity, social status, of political beliefs...For the establishment of the rule of law and a sovereign, democratic, and secular state." The PDPT asserts that "diversity in cultures, languages, and religions in an invaluable treasure of the people of Tajikistan."

In his party congress speech Chairman Rakhmonov stated the following:

*History proves that politicians who want to carry out comprehensive nation-wide reforms in the country ought to find colleagues and associates before implementing their strategic plans. After all, the establishment of political and social bases depends on the probable success in the realization of the chosen strategy and tactics. A question may arise: what influence will the party membership of the president of the republic have in the further activity of the party? It is difficult to answer this question unambiguously. However, one thing is obvious - I shall put all of my efforts in order to raise the political role of the party in society, but at the same time I shall not permit the emergence of egoism and hypocrisy in the ranks of the party. The reputation of the party depends on the reputation of each of its members.*

The People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan was registered by the Ministry of Justice on December 15, 1994, under license № 199.

### **Status**

Republican

### **Internal Structure & Leadership**

Primary PDPT branches function in all oblasts, cities and districts of Tajikistan. Currently there are more than 75,000 members in the party. The supreme body of PDPT is the congress, which is convened no less than once every five years. The Central Executive Committee is elected to oversee the implementation of ongoing party activities between the congresses.

### **Regional Influence & Social Base**

According to the national public opinion poll conducted by *SHARQ*, 34.8% of the adult population would have voted for PDPT in February 2001 if an election were held at that time. As a result, the PDPT is currently the most popular party in the Republic of Tajikistan.<sup>9</sup>

Men prevail among the support base of the PDPT. A Correlation between age and popularity for the party is also evident: the younger the constituency, the more popular the PDPT is. Thus, in the age group of 15-17 the support for the PDPT is 49%, while it is only 15.4% among the 60+ age group. The PDPT is regionally strong in Khatlon (48.4%) and Soghd oblasts (40.8%). The support for PDPT is significantly less in the ARS (18.3%) and in Dushanbe (17.5%). The popularity of PDPT is relatively insignificant in GBAO (4.3%). Equal numbers of the PDPT supporters are found among Tajiks, Uzbeks and Russians.<sup>10</sup>

### **Representation in Government**

The party chairman and the members of the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan are represented heavily in all executive and legislative branches of the government.

### **Membership of Prominent People**

Among the prominent members of the PDPT are Emomali Rakhmonov (President of the Republic of Tajikistan), Kasyimov (Governor of Soghd oblast), Niyozmamadov (Governor of GBAO), Ubaidulloev (Mayor of Dushanbe) and others.

### **Alliances & Contacts**

The People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan is a member of the Movement on National Unity and Renaissance of Tajikistan, and one of the founders of the Public Council of the Republic of Tajikistan, which was established based on the National Peace Accords. Members of the PDPT participated actively in the work of the Committee on National Reconciliation, which existed from July 7, 1997 to March 26, 2000.

### **Leaders**

<sup>9</sup> Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

<sup>10</sup> *Ibid.*

EMOMALI SHARIPOVICH RAKHMONOV – Chairman of the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan, President of the Republic of Tajikistan.

President Rakhmonov was born in Dangara district, Khatlon oblast (former Kulyab oblast) on October 5, 1952. An ethnic Tajik, he graduated from Tajik State National University.

After finishing secondary school in his home village in 1969, and having completed trade school No. 40 in Kalininabad (presently Sarband), President Rakhmonov began working as an electrician in the Qurghonteppa Oil Factory. From 1971 to 1974 Rakhmonov served in the Pacific Ocean Fleet of the Soviet Navy. After his military service he returned to the factory. He entered the economics faculty of Tajik State National University in 1977, and graduated in 1982 with an economics degree. From 1976 to 1987 he was a managing secretary and a chairman of the professional committee of the Lenin Communal Farm (*kolkhoz*) in Dangar district. From 1987 to 1992 he served as a Director of the Lenin Communal Farm (which was renamed and reformed into a Shared Farm (*sovkhov*)).

In 1990, Rakhmonov was elected a people's deputy of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajik Soviet Socialist Republic at the XII Assembly. In autumn of 1992 he was elected chairman of the Executive Committee of the People's Deputies Council of Kulyab oblast. On November 19, 1992 Rakhmonov was elected chairman of the Supreme Council during the XVI session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan, which was held in Khojand.

In the presidential elections held on November 6, 1994, Rakhmonov became president of the Republic of Tajikistan, serving a five-year term. On November 6, 1999 Rakhmonov was re-elected to a second term. Prior to the 1999 presidential election, on September 26, 1999 a constitutional referendum was held in which the term of office of the president was extended to seven instead of five years, as was done in Kazakhstan.

In the 1994 presidential election only one candidate ran against Rakhmonov – Abdumalik Abdullajanov, a member of a powerful Khojand (Leninabad) family who had served as Tajik Prime Minister from late 1992 until his dismissal by Rakhmonov in late 1993. Despite the strong prospects for a meaningful election, enhanced by the fact that there were two viable candidates, each with strong following and good political backing, many in the international community cast doubts on the fairness of the outcome.<sup>11</sup> Abdullajanov lost to Rakhmonov by 25 percent.<sup>12</sup>

The 1999 presidential election was, in effect, limited to one candidate -- the incumbent President Emomali Rakhmonov. Two of three opposition presidential candidates, Saifiddin Turaev from the Party of Justice and Sulton Quvvatov from the Democratic Party (Teheran Platform), were denied registration by the Supreme Court, despite their claims that authorities obstructed them from collecting sufficient signatures for registration. A third candidate, Davlat Usmon from the Islamic Renaissance Party, was granted last-minute registration by the Supreme Court and had precious little time in which to mount an effective campaign.<sup>13</sup> Rakhmonov's overwhelming victory did not come as a surprise to most observers.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>11</sup> *Compendium of Reports on Technical Election Assistance to Tajikistan*, IFES, Washington, March 1995, pp. 19-20.

<sup>12</sup> 90% of the eligible voting population participated in the 1994 election; 835,861 or 35% voted for Abdullajanov and 1,434,437 or 60% for Rakhmonov.

<sup>13</sup> *Tajikistan's Presidential Elections (Press Backgrounder)*, Human Rights Watch, New York, October 1999.

<sup>14</sup> The Central Commission for Elections and Referendum published the final results of the 1999 elections on November 9. Out of the total number of 2,866,578 voters, 2,835,590 took part in the election (98.91%). 2,749,908 of them (96.7%) supported the candidacy of Rakhmonov. The candidacy of IRPT's candidate Usmon was supported by 59,857 people (2.11%). 18,744 ballots (0.66%) were deemed invalid.

Having left the CPSU, Rakhmonov headed the PDPT beginning in 1998. He is also chair of the Movement of National Unity and Renaissance of Tajikistan (MNURT).

Rakhmonov is married and has nine children.

**ABDUMAJID SALOMOVICH DOSTIEV** – first Deputy Chairman of the PDPT; Deputy Chairman of the Majlisi Namoyandagon of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Dostiev was born on May 10, 1946 in the village of Urtabuz, Bokhtar district of Khatlon (former Kurgan Tyube) oblast. His is an ethnic Tajik, and holds a degree from the Tajik Agricultural Institute.

Abdumajid Dostiev began working as a collective farmer on the Lenin Collective Farm of the Kommunisticheskiy district (renamed Bokhtar) after completing duty in the Soviet Army Forces in December, 1968. From May 1969 he attended preparatory classes and later entered the Agricultural Institute. From June 1974 he worked as agronomist-entomologist and later brigadier of cotton growing production at the Lenin Collective Farm. From April to September 1977 he was chief agronomist of the Agricultural Department of the Kurgan Tyube's executive committee. From September 1977 he started working as an instructor in the Organizational Department of the Kurgan Tyube city party committee, and in 1980 he was appointed Deputy Chairman of the Lenin Collective Farm. Since July 1980 Mr. Dostiev has been involved in political work.

In 1987, Dostiev was appointed Chairman of the People Control Committee (quality control) of Kommunisticheskiy district. In December 1988 he was appointed Chairman of the Executive Committee of the Council of People's Deputies of Kommunisticheskiy district. Dostiev was elected first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan during the XXVI session of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan (November 1992). Dostiev has been a people's deputy of the Majlisi Oli since 1995, and in the first session of parliament he was elected First Deputy Chairman of the Majlisi Oli. In addition, he was also deputy chairman of the Committee on National Reconciliation from July 1997 to February 2000.

Dostiev established the People's Party of Tajikistan in 1995, which was later renamed the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan. He was subsequently elected First Deputy Chairman of the PDPT. Since February 2000 he has held the post of Deputy Chairman of the Majlisi Namoyandagon of the Republic of Tajikistan.

He is married, and has five children.

### **Participation in Elections**

On September 23, 1999 the 5<sup>th</sup> extraordinary congress of the PDPT nominated Emomali Rakhmonov to the post of the President of Republic of Tajikistan. In November 1999 Rakhmonov won an absolute majority of votes in the presidential elections and was elected for a seven-year term.

At the same congress, 21 candidates were nominated to the party list for elections to Majlisi Namoyandagon. In the first post-conflict, multi-party parliamentary elections, held on February 27, 2000, 38 representatives of the PDPT were elected as deputies of the Majlisi Namoyandagon; among them 15 deputies were elected through party list mandates.

The PDPT received the most votes in Dushanbe (71.48%), Khatlon oblast (71.46%) and GBAO (71.58%); and the least votes in the cities of Hisor (28%), Asht (25%) and Isfara (26.7%).

### Work in Parliament

There are 38 deputies in the Majlisi Namoyandagon representing the PDPT. From among them, S. Khairulloev was elected chairman of the Majlisi Namoyandagon, Abdumajid Dostiev was elected Deputy Chairman, with A. Dzhabborov, M. Ilolov, I. Usmanov elected as chairs of various committees. In addition, M. Ubaidulloev is chairman of the Majlisi Milli (upper house). D. Radzhabovich heads the faction of the PDPT in parliament.

### Main Problems

- Extreme weakness of the PDPT's organizational structure
- Acute financial shortage
- Lack of solid party ideological appeal

Overall, the PDPT represents an extremely diversified and loose formation, and the membership in it only means the declaration of loyalty to the ruling elite.

Contact information: 21-63-21; 24-34-79

## Democratic Party of Tajikistan (DPT)

### Brief Background



The Democratic Party of Tajikistan can be considered a product of the communist liberalization of Gorbachev's perestroika period. The DPT was established on August 10, 1990 as a centrist party with Shodmon Yusuf as its chairman, and was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan on June 21, 1991, under license № 006. In this period its membership stood at 3500, drawn from all regions of the republic. In 1992 the DPT published a number of newspapers: *Adolat* in Dushanbe, *Oriyon* in Khujand, *Oinai Sikandar* in Gharm, and *Bomdod* in Qurghonteppa; they were all banned in 1993. During the 1991 presidential elections, the DPT together with the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT), Rastokhez, and La'li Badakhshon endorsed the candidacy of Davlatnazar Khudonazarov. The DPT protested against irregularities that it claimed led to Khudonazarov's electoral defeat. Between March and May 1992 the DPT and its allies held a 52-day rally in Shahidon Square against the government of the President Rahmon Nabiev. The DPT was embroiled in the ensuing Tajik civil war, which shook the country. In June 1993 the DPT and the IRPT formed the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) to coordinate their political and armed struggle against the government of Emomali Rakhmonov. On June 21, 1993 the Supreme Court of the Republic of Tajikistan officially outlawed the DPT.

From the very beginning, the DPT represented an extreme diversity of interests within the party. It consisted of a few liberal democrats, nationalists, representatives of counter-elite groupings of an ethno-regional character, and representatives of other ethnic groups (mostly ethnic Russians). The only factor, which united its members was their place among the intelligentsia. The heterogeneity of the DPT had caused a considerable inner-party struggle already in the initial stages of its formation.

In 1992 the faction of A. Ochilov split from the DPT. There were also serious disagreements with V. Terletski, chief of the main ethnic Russian segment of the party in the city of Chkalovsk. However, the mass emigration of Russians ultimately eliminated the problem of the ethnic Russian part of the DPT. The DPT's leaders became those people who shared the interests of the DPT's financial donors, i.e. the representatives of the Karategin Valley ethno-regional elite. Later the alliance of the DPT and IRPT was formed on the bases of regionalism and anti-communism, the so-called "Demo-Islamic block".

During the Civil War, internal disagreements were suppressed at the onset of hostilities. However, by the beginning of the peace negotiation process these problems re-surfaced. Representatives of the government took advantage of this situation; at the same time as the negotiations were taking place, attempts were made to include the opposition parties and movements into the developing political system. In the summer of 1995 the DPT split into two factions. Yusuf's position was challenged in December 1994 at a party congress in Almaty (Kazakhstan). The congress renewed its loyalty to the UTO and removed Yusuf as party chairman. Jumabai Niyozov was elected chairman of the newly formed party, which called itself the Democratic Party of Tajikistan Almaty Platform (DPTA). The DPT Almaty Platform and the IRPT constituted the core of UTO. Soon after this split, Shodmon Yusuf and his supporters, some of whom were based in Tehran at the time, drafted new party rules and formed Democratic Party of Tajikistan Tehran Platform (DPTT). After the conclusion of the Peace Accords in June 1997, the DPT continued with its activities with leaders of the Tehran branch expressing a desire to reunite with Niyazov. The Tehran Platform demonstrated a willingness to work with the government and was legally registered in Tajikistan in July 1995.

On August 12, 1999 the Supreme Court of the Republic of Tajikistan reversed the interdiction on the DPT. The Ministry of Justice registered the DPT once again. However, after the legalization of the party, internal squabbles again broke out, this time with renewed force. They became especially poignant during the presidential and parliamentary elections. On September 25, 1999 the 5<sup>th</sup> congress of the DPT (Almaty Platform) was held, and Makhmadruzi Iskandarov replaced Niyazov as Party Chairman. Iskandarov strongly supported President Rakhmonov, and at present remains one of his most loyal followers. On September 27, 1999 the Extraordinary Congress of the DPT (Teheran Platform) was held, and Sulton Quvvatov was nominated as the presidential candidate after Zafar Ikromov declined to run for the presidency. After the elections a large part of the members of the so-called Teheran Platform (with the exception of A'zam Afzali and a small group of his supporters) joined the DPT under the leadership of Iskandarov. After this the Democratic Party lost its image and influence as that of an "opposition" party; and party life stagnated.

In December 1999, shortly before the parliamentary elections, the Supreme Court of Tajikistan once again banned the activity of the DPT Tehran Platform (A'zam Afzali had replaced Shodmon Yusuf) on the grounds of violation of the law on political parties. On January 4, 2000 the 6<sup>th</sup> Extraordinary Congress of the main DPT nominated 19 members to the Majlisi Namoyandagon (Lower House) of Paliament of the Republic of Tajikistan. They, however, failed win seats due to their inability to surmount the five percent party list barrier.

The next split in the DPT was brought about by the leaders of DPT's Dushanbe committee, Tabarali Ziyoev, S. Komil and other followers. They were dissatisfied by the ideological crash and the conciliatory position of the DPT, and were left with nothing to do after the post-war distribution of party authority. As a result, Hodzhimakhmad Umarov (Ph. D. in Economics) was elected Chairman of DPT's Dushanbe committee at the next Party Conference.

#### **Status**

## Republican

### Internal Structure & Leadership

The supreme body of the DPT is its Congress, which is convened no less than once every five years. The executive and administrative body is the Presidium of the Central Committee.

### Regional Influence & Social Base

The DPT has strong regional bases in the eastern and central Areas of Republican Subordination and the City of Dushanbe. In the 2000 parliamentary elections, the DPT received 18.5% of the votes in the Garm region. The party was only half as popular in the Somoni constituency, which includes the Tajikabad, Tavildara and Darband districts, and only received 9% of the votes there. In Kofarnikhon and Leninski districts, the DPT received 6% of the votes. The most active DPT branches function in Dushanbe, Istaravshan, Isfara, Kulyab, Garm, Tadzhibabad, Faizabad, Darband, Vanj, Tursunzad, Vakhsh, Bokhtar, Bobodzhan and Gafur. In addition, party branches are rather strong in Soghd oblast, especially in Khujand city, where there are many members of the national intelligentsia. The party is not popular in Khatlon oblast, however; in the last parliamentary elections the DPT received less than one percent in most of Khatlon's districts. According to a national survey conducted in February 2001, this situation remains the same.<sup>15</sup>

As concerns ethnic membership of the party, Tajiks predominate the DPT. Uzbeks have significantly fewer supporters in the DPT, while Russians have very few representatives in the party. In addition, party's constituents are mostly men 18 to 39 years old. In rural areas, the supporters of the DPT are members of the rural intelligentsia, including doctors, teachers and agricultural experts.

### Membership of Prominent People

The most influential members of DPT are regarded to be Party Chairman Makhmadruzi Iskandarov (Director General of *TajikCommunService*), Abdunabi Sattorzoda (Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs), Oynikhol Bobonazarova (Head of Administration of the Tajik Chapter of Open Society Institute), Kh Kholiqnazarov (International Affairs Adviser to the President), and Sh. Nadzhmiddinov (Deputy Minister of Communications).

### Alliances & Contacts

- Participation in the UTO and the Political Consultative Council.
- On February 2, 2001 the DPT joined the National Peace Accord of Tajikistan.

### Leaders

**MAKHMADRUZI ISKANDAROV** – Chairman of the DPT, Director General of *TajikCommunService*.

Mr. Iskandarov was born on May 3, 1954 in Mullo Temuti village of Tajikabad district. An ethnic Tajik, he graduated from Tajik State National University.

<sup>15</sup> Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.



In 1969, after the completion of the 8<sup>th</sup> grade in his native district, he entered Dushanbe Technical College (specializing in construction). Having graduated college in 1973, he started working as an expert in Garm's Department for Construction and Repair. From 1974 to 1976 he served in the Soviet Army in the German Democratic Republic. From 1976 to 1990 he advanced professionally in the Department for Construction and Repair at the Ministry of Health of the republic, having worked initially as a laborer, then as an expert and, later, as the Head of the Department. From 1992 until the end of 1998 he was a United Tajik Opposition field commander in the Tajikabad district. In 1987 he entered the National State University, and obtained his diploma in the spring of 1999 by studying in the evenings and on weekends.

In accordance with the 30 percent quota for members of the UTO, Iskandarov was appointed the Head of the State Committee of Emergency and Civil Defense. In February 1999 he was awarded the title of General Major. On July 6, 1999 he was appointed by governmental decree Director General of the state company *TajikCommunService*. During the 5<sup>th</sup> congress of the DPT (Almaty Platform) that took place in September 1999, Makhmadruzi Iskandarov was elected Chairman of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan.

Iskandarov is married and has three children.

**DR. ABDUNABI SATTORZODA** – Deputy Chairman of DPT, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs.

Dr. Sattorzoda was born on February 27, 1941 in the Varzikanda village of Penjacent district. He is an ethnic Tajik.

Dr. Sattorzoda began studying at Tajik State National University in 1958, after completing trade school, in the faculty of History and Tajik Philology. Having graduated with honors, he started graduate studies at the same university, and went on to doctorate studies at the Institute for Asian and African Studies under the auspices of Moscow State University (Lomonosov University), from which he received a Ph. D. in philology. Upon his return to Dushanbe Dr. Sattorzoda continued his research and teaching in the faculty of Tajik Classical Literature at Tajik State National University. From 1984 to 1986 he taught at Kabul University in Afghanistan. Later he served as chair of the Tajik Classical Literature faculty of the State University until he emigrated from Tajikistan in 1993. Since 1980 Dr. Sattorzoda has been a member of the Tajik Union of Writers. He also has been a member of the sub-commission of the National Reconciliation Committee on political issues since July 1997, as well as Deputy Chairman of the DPT (Almaty Platform). In 1999 Dr. Sattorzoda was appointed Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan by presidential decree.

Dr. Sattorzoda is married, and has two children.

### Participation in Elections

In the February 2000 parliamentary elections, the DPT received 3.54% of the votes on the party list voting. Overall, 3.4% of the adult population would have voted for the DPT if elections were held in February 2001, according to a national public opinion poll conducted by *SHARQ*.<sup>16</sup> Since the elections in 2000, DPT's popularity has dropped significantly in the Areas of Republican Subordination (ARS). If in the parliamentary elections the DPT received 6.86% of the vote in this region, a year later DPT would have received only 4.1% of the votes in the ARS. At the same time, according to the results of the survey, popularity of the DPT increased in Dushanbe and Gorno

<sup>16</sup> *Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001*, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

Badakhshan oblast (GBAO). 5% of voters supported the DPT in 2000, while in February 2001 8.5% of the Dushanbe electorate and 8.6% in GBAO would have voted for the DPT, according to the survey.<sup>17</sup>

**Contact Information: 21-75- 87; 21-30-49**

## **Communist Party of Tajikistan (CPT)**

### **Brief Background**

On December 6, 1924 the Central Asian Central Committee (of Bolsheviks) established the Organizational Bureau of the Central Committee of the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Uzbekistan in the Tajik ASSR. Its task was to form a republican party organization and its administration until the convocation of Tajik regional party conference. On November 25, 1929 by decision of the Central Committee of the All-Union Communist Party (Bolsheviks), the Tajik regional party organization of Uzbekistan was reestablished as the Communist Party (of Bolsheviks) of Tajikistan. From June 6 to 15, 1930 the 1<sup>st</sup> Constituent Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan was held in Dushanbe, registering its formation and electing its managing bodies. Following the collapse of the CPSU in August 1991, Qahor Makhomov, the president of Tajikistan and the first secretary of the CPT, left the party and issued a decree on "departicipation" of state administration, i.e. the termination of activities of political parties and social movements within state institutions. This action undermined the position of the CPT as the dominant political party in Tajikistan. On September 4, 1991 the central committee declared the party's independence from the CPSU.



The 22<sup>nd</sup> congress of the CPT (September 21, 1991) renamed the party the Socialist Party of Tajikistan. On October 2, 1991, the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan suspended the party's activities. Following the victory in the election of Emomali Rakhmonov as head of state in December 1992 by the Supreme Soviet, a special parliamentary commission overturned the earlier ban on the CPT. The party held the second half of its 22<sup>nd</sup> congress in January 1992 and restored its old name. The CPT was registered with the Ministry of Justice on March 17, 1992. Shodi Shabdonov was elected first secretary of the CPT in September 1991 and chairman of the CPT in June 1996.

The 23<sup>rd</sup> congress of the CPT was held in June 1996, to which representatives of the Russian Communist parties and nine foreign Communist and workers' parties were invited. The congress adopted a new party program and rules. The party declared the "restoration of the socialist way of development" as its goal, which it promised to pursue through "parliamentary and non-parliamentary methods." In the field of economics the CPT aimed "to strengthen the leading position of the state, collective and other forms of societal property." The CPT intends to "use the values of Islam and other religions confessions to educate an ethnically healthy society."

During the first half of 2001, the annual and elective conferences and assemblies were held among the lower-level party organizations and branches. These events took place within the framework of preparations for the next (XXVII) congress of CPT, which was held in Dushanbe in August 2001. This Congress was closed to the mass media.

<sup>17</sup> Ibid.

The main tasks of the CPT congress were, among others:

- Publishing the Central Committee's report on the work done in the last five years;
- Publishing the report of the Central Audit Commission;
- Determining party strategy for the coming period;
- Reviewing the present situation, and determining the course of action for an active participation in the modern political process;
- Election of party management.

## Status

### Republican

### Internal Structure & Leadership

The supreme organ of the Communist Party of Tajikistan is the Congress. The Congress is convened no less than once every five years. The Central Committee of the Communist Party of the Republic of Tajikistan is the active supreme body of the party, administering party affairs between the congresses. The Presidium of the Central Committee is elected to provide solutions to political and organizational issues between plenums of the Central Committee. Currently, there are two oblast committees – Gorno Badakshan and Soghd; three regional committees -- Kulyab, Qurghonteppa and Garm; and four district and 63 town committees of the Communist Party of Tajikistan. There are also some 3,500 grass-root CPT organizations functioning in Tajikistan. In February 2000 the Communist Party's membership was estimated at about 70,000.

### Regional Influence & Social Base

According to a national public opinion poll conducted by the Analytical Research Center *SHARQ* in February 2001, the CPT ranks second in popularity in Tajikistan based on its number of supporters.<sup>18</sup> If elections have been held in February 2001, 31.4% of the adult population of the RT would have voted for the CPT. The electorate of the Communist Party is characterized as follows: female voters prevail, which is also evident the correlation of the age and support for the party. Seniors are the strongest supporters of the CPT. The lowest number of CPT supporters is found among the youngest age group surveyed (15-17) – 13.5%; with the majority of supporters in the age group of 60 years old and older – 45.5%.<sup>19</sup>

Breaking down the results by the regions, GBAO appears to be the biggest supporter of the CPT (45.7% of respondents would have voted for the CPT). The CPT is significantly less popular in Dushanbe (34.5%), Khatlon oblast (32.2 %) and the ARS (31.2%). The fewest number of CPT supporters (half of that in GBAO) live in Soghd oblast (27.8%). Regarding ethnicity, the CPT is most popular among Russians, Uzbeks and others minority ethnic groups. Its popularity is lower among Tajiks in comparison with the ethnic minorities.<sup>20</sup>

### Representation in Government

<sup>18</sup> *Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001*, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

<sup>19</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>20</sup> *Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001*, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

The chairman and members of the CPT managing organs are present in the Cabinet of the President, the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan, the Majlisi Oli and other local authorities.

### **Membership of Prominent People**

The most influential members of the CPT are Akil Akilov (Prime Minister of the Republic of Tajikistan), Safar Safarov (Head of Cabinet of the President of Tajikistan), Rafiqa Musoyeva (Minister of Labor and Social Security), Amirsho Miraliev (Chairman of Khatlon oblast), and Bibikhon Azizova (Chairman of Kanibadam).

### **Alliances & Contacts**

On March 9, 1996 the CPT was one of the first public associations that signed the National Peace Accord of Tajikistan and became a participant in the Public Council of the Republic of Tajikistan. On March 11, 1999 the CPT signed the extension of the National Peace Accord for three years. Some members of the CPT were in the Committee on National Reconciliation (July 7, 1997 – March 26, 2000). The Communist Party of Tajikistan is involved in the Union of Communist Parties, the successor of the CPSU.

### **Leaders**

**SHODI DAVLATOVICH SHABDOLOV** – Chairman of the Communist Party of Tajikistan.

Shabdolov was born in Khorogh, GBAO on October 17, 1943. An ethnic Tajik, he graduated from Tajik Polytechnical Institute. Shabdolov has worked in the CPT's GBAO party committee since 1974, and in the Central Committee of the CPT. From 1981 to 1984 he worked as a party adviser of the Central Committee of the CPSU at the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan. He has been Chairman of the CPT since February 1992. He was an elected people's deputy of the Supreme Council of the Tajik SSR (1985-1990), and deputy of Majlisi Oli of the Republic of Tajikistan (1995-1999). Since February 2000, Shabdolov has been a deputy of the Majlisi Namoyandagon (Lower House) of the Republic of Tajikistan. He was elected via party list from a single-mandate district. He is also a member of the Energy, Industry, Construction and Communication Committees.

### **Participation in Elections**

On September 24, 1999 the XXIV Extraordinary Congress of the Communist Party of Tajikistan supported the candidacy of Emomali Rakhmonov for the post of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan. In December 1999, the XXV extraordinary congress of the CPT nominated 20 candidates to run in the elections to the Majlisi Namoyandagon in single mandate constituencies.

In the parliamentary elections of February 27, 2000 the CPT won 20:39% of votes via the party list. The CPT received the highest number of votes in Asht (56.4%), Vose (50%), Kanibadam (46.6%), Hisor (42.7%), Yavan (41.8%), and Shahriostan (40%), though received the least amount of votes in Garm (1.9%), Moskovskiy (2.2%) and Kumsangir (6%).

### **Work in Parliament**

There are 13 members of the CPT serving in the Majlisi Oli. Jzamoliddin Mansurov was elected Deputy Chairman of the Majlisi Namoyandagon, and Sh. U. Akhmedov became Chairman of the Committee of the Majlisi Namoyandagon.

On November 20, 2000, in accordance with Article 53 of the Constitution of the Republic of Tajikistan *On Majlisi Oli of the Republic of Tajikistan*, a faction of the Communist Party of Tajikistan was established in the parliament for the first time. The Chairman of the CPT, Shabdolov, heads this faction. However, this faction is frequently criticized for its loyalty to the authorities.

### **Platforms**

Internal party struggles did not bypass the Communist Party. The Soghd Oblast regional party branch assumed a special position vis-à-vis central party authority, which can be seen primarily in reactionary terms. The overall presence of ardent opposition to Dushanbe in Soghd oblast forces the regional CPT branch to be critical of the central administration of the CPT, due to its willingness to compromise with authorities in Dushanbe. Beknazarov, head of the Soghd oblast CPT branch, occupies a radical position and aspires to mold the CPT into an opposition party, though one still within the boundaries of the "loyal opposition". He is supported by the *Hisor* branch of the CPT, which also refuses to unconditionally support the government. Personal relations of antagonism between Shabdolov and Beknazarov have been affecting the CPT's unity and have contributed to the long-term, special status of the Soghd oblast CPT branch.

There have been disagreements in the CPT between representatives of different age and social groups. The CPT tries to attract youth to its activities, but its extremely cautious and pro-government policies are not well received among the young. Furthermore, young members of the CPT assume more radical positions in the party. There are also disagreements regarding the professional and property status of party members. In the period of the formation of the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan, for example, the CPT lost almost all of its business-elite, who were members of the CPT until 1996.

Currently there are many small- and medium-sized businesses represented in the CPT, which are subject to strong pressure by the government. It is they who demand stronger measures against "criminal privatization" and to reconsider the overall results of mass privatization. These demands do not fall on very receptive ears within the party, however, as several members are themselves of which part of the business elite of the country.

**Contact Information: 23-29-53; 21-96-06**

## **Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT)**

### **Brief Background**



The Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan (IRPT) party grew out of an underground youth organization which was started in 1978. It is chaired by Said Abdulloh Nuri, who lived in exile in Teheran for five years during the civil war. In its beginnings, the organization was engaged in studying and spreading the views of Sheikh Hasan Banno, brothers Said Kutb and Muhammad Kutb, Said Havvo and Abul'alo Mavdudi.

In June of 1990 the Congress of the Soviet Union Moslems took place in Astrakhan, Russia in which delegates from Tajikistan also participated. The Islamic All-union Renaissance Party was constituted during the Congress. However, already during the Congress it became evident that the Islamic movement of the USSR was split and divided into many groupings pursuing not only general Islamic goals but also some nationalistic aims. This was the cause of the creation of various national Islamic parties. One of them was the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan.

In 1991 the Supreme Court of Tajikistan gave its permission for the IRPT to register as a political entity, and also legalized the Islamic Movement of Tajikistan. The 1<sup>st</sup> Congress of the IRPT took place on October 26, 1991. The party was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan on December 4, 1991 under license № 036. At the moment of registration, the IRPT had about 20,000 members. When interviewed after the congress, the IRPT's leaders M. Himmatzoda and D. Usmon emphasized that the IRPT's objective during this particular stage of development of Tajikistan in the sphere of politics was building constitutional and democratic statehood in the country with a government that would enjoy the trust of the nation, and would consist of representatives from various political forces based on the multi-party system currently being formed in the country. As a result during that stage of the IRPT's development, the party was striving to legally participate in the political processes of the country as a parliamentary party acknowledging the necessity of a long-term educational campaign to revive Islam in the country.

It is necessary to note that the IRPT was the only Islamic party among all legalized Islamic parties in Central Asia which participated in parliamentary and presidential elections. The IRPT is the only example of a genuine political interaction between Islamists and the ruling secular elite. However, contrary to some expectations, the impending conflict did not erupt in the realm of parliament. Confronting groupings of political interests in southern Tajikistan soon manifested themselves militarily transgressing into an armed conflict which eventually broke out in full-fledged civil war in August 1992.

Members of the IRPT later expressed their opinions in a series of interviews, on why the IRPT turned to an armed conflict. These can be summed up as follows:

- Resentment of rank-and-file IRPT members towards the communist regime;
- Regional disagreements, escalating to outright violence;
- Attempts by regional elites to redistribute power and state property using the façade of the political parties, including the IRPT;
- Distribution of 1,700 firearms by former President Nabiev to his supporters, which served as an invitation to an open, armed conflict among all participants of the political process in Autumn 1991;
- Communists proclaiming the slogan "Death to Islam" during a public meeting in Ozodi Square, which equals the proclamation of oneself as "kafir" (non-believer); and jihad is obligatory against kafirs;
- Provocative behavior of Russia;
- Aloofness of law enforcement and special services of Tajikistan, and their consequent transition to the side of the communists.

The signing ceremony of the General Peace and National Consent Accords on June 27, 1997 in Moscow by the government of Tajikistan and the United Tajik Opposition (UTO) marked the end of a five-year armed conflict in Tajikistan and signaled the beginning of the post-war reconstruction and reintegration process.

After the 3<sup>rd</sup> phase of implementation of the military protocol, the Committee on National Reconciliation (CNR) declared that opposition parties were no longer considered military-political associations. On August 12, 1999 the Supreme Court of Tajikistan lifted the interdiction on the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan, Democratic Party of Tajikistan, *La'li Badakhshan* and *Rastokhez* and allowed them to apply for re-registration.

The 2<sup>nd</sup> congress of the Islamic Renaissance Party of Tajikistan took place on September 18, 1999 where party Chair Himmatzoda's speech was delivered and amendments and additions to party by-laws and election procedures of the central body were examined. The congress elected Said Abdullo Nuri party Chairman and Saidumar Khusayni Secretary General. Round Two of the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress was held on September 27, 1999 where the candidacy of Davlat Usmon to the post of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan was nominated. Due to the fact that the IRPT did not receive registration even after the ban on the party had been lifted and the party congress convened, however this decision of the congress contradicted the existing laws of the republic. This was the reason why, on September 29, 1999, the 3<sup>rd</sup> extraordinary congress of IRPT was held, (after the party's re-registration was finally legalized and the delegates supported the candidacy of Davlat Usmon to the post of the President).

On December 31, 1999, during the 4<sup>th</sup> extraordinary congress of the IRPT, 15 members were nominated to the party list as candidates for parliamentary elections.

#### **Present Status of the IRPT**

After the 2000 parliamentary elections the IRPT was in a state of disbelief: neither the party's leaders nor its members of the IRPT expected to win only two seats. In the year following the election, the basic mood of the rank-and-file members of IRPT was that of mistrust towards the peace process and disappointment with the party's leaders, who were considered by the rank-and-file as either having been co-opted or otherwise oblivious to the ramifications of the new cooperation. As a result, there has been a transition of some IRPT members to Hizb-ut-Takhrir.

Nonetheless, the IRPT remains one of the strongest parties in Tajikistan. The leaders of the IRPT think that the party gained valuable experience and made certain achievements in the last decade. Furthermore, the representatives of the party believe that the IRPT gained considerable successes during the course of the peace-building process, mostly in the following areas:

- A. Hostilities ceased, and refugees were able to return to their homes. All of the participants acknowledged that political goals should be attained by civilized, democratic means rather than through armed conflict.
- B. The IRPT was granted an opportunity to pursue its objectives in a legal manner, and continues to gain experience in capacity-building and party development. It won two seats in the first post-conflict parliamentary elections in February 2000, and established itself as a party of a democratically-elected governing coalition.
- C. The IRPT has aimed to get away from regionalism, and primary party organizations are established functioning practically in every oblast and district of Tajikistan.
- D. The IRPT learned how to identify its social base: a party program on overcoming the prolonged economic crisis has been developed; the directions of the social-economic improvement of the republic's economy have been demarcated; and the role of women and youth is being strengthened.

- E. The IRPT's example can be considered as a rare instance of the peaceful coexistence of a political Islamic movement in the political life of a post-conflict, secular state.

### Main Problems

Currently, the IRPT share responsibility for the present situation in the country, having lost the "privilege" of being an outside opposition party. The IRPT works exceptionally dynamically; the party's newspaper *Nadzhot* (salvation) enjoys wide circulation. There are several main directions of the party's activity; including education of party activists, organizational work of lower-level party organizations, work with youth; and work with women.

There is one major problem plaguing the IRPT, in that several of its members have violated Article 4 of the Constitution on political parties, which forbids the formation of primary party organizations and organizations of a military-political nature in mosques, madrassas, as well as reading of *azan* (prayer) through loud-speakers and giving religious education to underage children. However, the government is often times willing to compromise, not focusing on the issue of political assemblies in mosques, and understanding that any such discussions addressing vitally important religious questions inevitably touch on political issues.

Nonetheless, it should be noted that the IRPT is also presently experiencing the following additional problems:

- A. A general weakening of the party after its legalization, especially since the 2000 elections: there is an apparent fragmentation of the Islamic movement primarily along regional divisions, as well as diminishing morale and discipline of the reintegrated former Islamic military units. Currently, those fighters who are most loyal to Islamic ideas are concentrated around more radical and militant Islamic local leaders, who have greatly weakened the party. At the same time, the ongoing operation against Al Qaeda has forced extremist elements into hiding, or into alliance with the Sughd Oblast-based Hizb-ut-Tahrir movement. The demise of the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan, tied to the defeat of the Taliban and the rumored elimination of Juma Namangani, further eroded the power base of IRPT hardliners.
- B. Weakness of the IRPT's organizational structure, and insufficient organizational strength in the party caused by the absence of mid-level party functionaries. The IRPT claims to represent a large number of ordinary members of the population, primarily peasants, who lost all of their property in the war. It is also champions poor, semiliterate people with traditional values who achieved nothing from the war but hardship. At the top level of the party there are a few top leaders – educated politicians who obtained experience and negotiation skills during the war. As a result, there is a wide vacuum between ordinary party members and the administration, which currently is filled only by the highly esteemed reputation and charisma of Said Abdullo Nuri. However, to a certain degree, the IRPT is being supported by the international Islamic movement, which considers the IRPT to be the first successful example of incorporation of Islam into the fabric of a state political system. The IRPT integration "model" is being reviewed as a possible framework for similar integration of Islamic political movements in other countries as well. Another problem for the IRPT, however, stems from its relations with the authorities. Even though dialogue with the authorities had ended after the elections, and a delicate balance was restored thereafter (though the IRPT only gained two seats in the elections), the authorities slowly but systematically have worked to curtail the party's activities and freedoms. Despite these efforts to limit the IRPT, the party has tried to



avoid confrontation; this is the reason why it does not involve clergymen and Sufi pirs within its ranks. Much of the IRPT's weakness is explained by internal ideological disagreements and by the fact that a common position on the place of religion and political Islam in society has not been developed.

### **Internal Structure & Leadership**

The supreme body of the IRPT is its congress, which is called no less than every four years. The executive cabinet of the IRPT is managed by a General Secretary. The Party has its branches in three oblasts and two districts (Kulyab, Qurghonteppa). Primary organizations exist in all cities and in the majority of districts of the republic. At present, the IRPT has 15,157 members.

### **A Snapshot of Regional Influence and Social Base**

According to the results of the SHARQ survey in February 2001, one year after the parliamentary elections, only 4.7% of respondents indicated they would vote for the IRPT in a future election. Men support the IRPT by a two-to-one margin over women, though there are women in prominent leadership positions within the party. IRPT supporters can be grouped according to age; of all supporters, the party is most popular among the 18-24 age group as well as those 60+ years of age, which reveals that the IRPT's appeal seems to be cross-generational. The party appears to be strongest in the Areas of Republican Subordination and the city of Dushanbe, with a lesser degree of support in Gorno-Badakhshan and Khatlon Oblast. The IRPT, while having its share of supporters, did not seem to exert universal or even broad appeal, as 39.4% of those interviewed reported that they would never vote for the IRPT in an election. Nearly three-fourths (72%) of respondents further indicated that they were against the party because of its "religious features."

Members of the IRPT took an active part in the work of the Committee on National Reconciliation (July 7, 1997 to March 26, 2000). Party representatives Muhammadsharif Himmatzoda and Nasriddin Saidov were active in the CNR, and became the two elected deputies to the Majlisi Oli from the party by virtue of the it's showing in the party list portion of the February, 2000 elections.<sup>21</sup>

### **Alliances & Contacts**

Until 1999 the IRPT was a member of the United Tajik Opposition and, later, the Consultative Council of Parties. During the 2000 parliamentary elections, the IRPT united into a coalition with the Democratic Party of Tajikistan in some election districts. The IRPT maintains good contacts with the international Islamic movement.

### **Leaders**

**SAID ABDULLO NURI (ABDULLO SAIDOV) – IRPT Chairman.**

Said Abdullo Nuri, an ethnic Tajik, was born on March 15, 1947 in Oshtiyon village of Tavildara (former Sangvor) district. Nuri does not possess a higher education or university degree. Nuri completed secondary school in 1964. While still at school, he received religious education from his father. He met Kori Muhammadzhon Rustamov in Dushanbe, better known as Mavlavi Hindustoni. In 1974 Mavlavi's followers and students founded an underground radical Islamic youth organization in Tajikistan – *Nakhzati Islom* (Renaissance of Islam). Nuri received his first official warning from the special services in 1983, at which point *Nakhzati Islom* membership was already significant in

<sup>21</sup> Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.

numbers. In 1986, working as an engineer in the Inter-district Bureau of Technical Inventory, he was among 40 other members of the organization to be arrested on a fabricated charge of drug possession. In 1987, he was sentenced to one-and-a half year's imprisonment and transferred to a prison in Siberia. Having served his sentence in 11 correctional labor colonies, Nuri, upon his release in 1988, became chief editor of republican newspaper *Minbari Islom* (Islam Tribune). During the civil war, Nuri emigrated to Talukan in Afghanistan and Teheran, Iran, where he lived until 1997. Upon his return, he headed the United Tajik Opposition. From July 1997 to February 2000 he was Chairman of the Committee on National Reconciliation. On September 18, 1999, during the 2<sup>nd</sup> Congress of the IRPT, Said Abdullo Nuri was elected party Chairman.

Nuri is married, and has eight children.

**MUKHAMMADSHARIF HIMMATZODA** – Deputy Chairman of the IRPT, Deputy of the Majlisi Namoyandagon.

Mukhammadsharif Himmatzoda was born on July 6, 1951 in the village of Miyonadu village in the Tavildara district (former Sangvor). An ethnic Tajik, he received a degree from the Peshovar University in Pakistan.

From 1975 to 1979 he worked as a security guard at the Department of Interior in the city of Kofarnikhon. From 1979 to 1983 he worked as a mechanic at the silk factory, and from 1983-1984 as a controller at truck company no. 2937 in Kofarnikhon. From 1984 to 1988 he was a mechanical operator at the Dushambe water pumping station for the Ministry of Water Resources.

Himmatzoda received a religious education from respected Islamic scholars of Tajikistan and Uzbekistan. He holds a higher degree in Islamic education from the Peshovar University in Pakistan (1993-1997). Himmatzoda taught in a madrass from 1974 to 1990. From 1990 to 1999 he headed the IRPT.

Himmatzoda was an active participant of all rounds of the Inter-Tajik negotiations. He has been a member of the Sub-commission on Political Issues since July 1997, and from October 1998 until February 2000 Mr. Himmatzoda was chair of the Legal Sub-commission of the Committee on National Reconciliation. He has been a deputy of the Majlisi Namoyandagon since February 2000, elected via a party list. He is also a member of the Parliamentary Committee on International Affairs, Public Associations and Information.

Himmatzoda speaks Russian, Uzbek, Arabic and English. He is married, and has six children.

**DAVLAT USMON** – Deputy Chairman of the IRPT.

Davlat Usmon was born on May 20, 1957 in the village of Boshkala in, Kabodiyon district. An ethnic Tajik, Usmon graduated from Tajik State University.

Usmon was a worker on a collective farm (*sovkhoz*) in Yovon district. He later worked as an electrician, and then as a warehouse manager on the Dushanbe Cotton Trading Base. He also worked for two years as deputy director of builders in the Sericulture Department. In 1990, during the Founding Congress of the Islamic All-union Renaissance Party, he became one of the party's leaders. He had worked in the party's central committee for approximately one year, participating in the development of the constitution of Tajikistan, and simultaneously serving as first deputy chairman of the Tajik branch of the underground Party of Islamic Renaissance.

After the collapse of the USSR in 1991, the Tajik branch of the Party of Islamic Renaissance declared its independence, and Davlat Usmon became the Party's first deputy head. In May 1992, on the suggestion of the new IRPT, Davlat Usmon became involved in the government on national reconciliation, where he occupied one of the key posts – deputy prime minister of the country supervising the law enforcement structures. In January 1993 he immigrated first to Afghanistan and then to Pakistan. Usmon returned to Tajikistan on December 17, 1996, taking over as chairman of the military-political commission on implementation of the Khosdehk Protocol of the Tajik Peace Accords. At the same time, he also served as head of the UTO's headquarters. He was appointed by presidential decree to the post of Minister of Economic Affairs and External Economic Links of Tajikistan on February 12, 1998. He worked in this capacity for two years. During the presidential election of November 1999, he was nominated as a candidate for the presidency of the Republic of Tajikistan by the IRPT. Having lost the election to incumbent Imomali Rakhmonov, he also left his ministerial post and is presently continuing his education at the Public Policy Academy in Russia.

Usmon is married, and has five children.

### Participation in Elections

In the parliamentary elections of 2000, the IRPT won 7.31% of votes in the party list, all-republican constituencies. The IRPT received the largest number of its votes in the following districts: Faizabad (27.5%), Kafarnihon (25.2%), Isfara (26.6%), Mastchoh (18.7%), Vakhsh (21.5%), Kumsangir (20.3%) and Yovon (15%). The least number of its votes came from Kulyab, Kanibadam, Khujand, Ayni, Penjakent, Uroteppa districts and GBAO.

### Work in Parliament

The IRPT managed to overcome barely the 5% hurdle in the parliamentary elections, and now has two seats in the Majlisi Namoyandagon. Representatives of the IRPT in parliament are Mukhammadsharif Himmatzoda and Nasriddin Saidov.

### Present Tasks of the IRPT

The IRTP promotes the following platform initiatives as part of its current mandate:

#### *Reform of Political Sphere*

- Creation of a genuine and civilized democratic society with rule of law
- Achievement of a real political, economic and cultural independence
- Achievement of national unity
- Comprehensive development of *glasnost*, freedom of speech and freedom of ideas
- Respect for the rights of individuals

#### *Development of the Economy*

- Strengthening economic reforms, and further development of a market economy
- Support for property rights in urban and agricultural economies
- Strengthening and setting on the right course the process of privatization; not allowing plundering of state property
- Development of external economic relations, in particular with neighbors in the region
- Attracting foreign investment for development of different branches of urban and rural economies

- Prioritizing and developing industries in the country: agriculture, the textile industry, processing of agricultural products and the energy sector

#### *Social Sphere*

- Provision of social fairness, social security, increase of pension payments
- Insurance of sufficient minimum wage
- Increase of medical supplies
- Protection of women, children and human rights

#### *Science and Culture*

- Comprehensive reform of education: improvement of education facilities, raising prestige of workers in education, and raising their salaries
- Particular attention paid to the development of national culture

#### *Youth Policies*

- Measures for a comprehensive increase of youth spirituality, and the provision of proper conditions for education and work

#### *Security*

- Combating criminality, terrorism, drug abuse, drug smuggling, and illegal sales and consumption of drugs

The IRTP has not overtly espoused the operation of an Islamic government in Tajikistan in its official dealings, and has instead chosen to work within the system as a more moderate force for political and societal change. It has been suggested that the IRPT has been diluted as a result of the Peace Accords and 2000 elections with some members having been assimilated or co-opted into working for the Federal Administration or as "special advisors." The future of the IRPT may well lie in its potential to recruit and train the growing population of young persons in Tajikistan, who could form a significant resource for the party's continued development relevance as a viable opposition, lest those young persons be attracted by more radical Islamic opposition such as Hizb-ut-Tahrir.

**Contact Information: 31-39-89**

### **Socialist Party of Tajikistan (SPT)**

#### **Brief Background**



The Socialist Party of Tajikistan held its inaugural congress in Khujand on June 15, 1996 under the leadership of Safarali Kenjaev. The SPT was registered on August 6, 1996 and operates in almost all regions of the republic, with its biggest branch in Soghd Oblast (8600) members. The party's total membership in the year 2000 stood at 24,000 and has been reported as high as 32 000 in 2001. Between 1996 and 1999 the SPT published the newspaper *Ittihod* in three languages (Tajik, Russian and Uzbek). The Soghd Oblast provincial branch of the SPT led the party in

joining the Agreement on National Accord, signed in March 1996, and played a key role in the Societal Council Kenjaev's assassination in 1999 seriously undermined the party. Kenjaev's son Sherali became acting chairman in 1999. The party advanced a list of 19 candidates in the

parliamentary elections of February 2000. The SPT received 32,223 votes (1.24% of all votes) and was consequently unable to place deputies in the Majlisi Oli

## **Status**

Republican

## **Internal Structure & the Leadership**

The supreme body of the SPT is its congress, which is called no less than every five years. The executive and administrative body of the party is the central executive committee, which consists of 56 members. The presidium of the Central Executive Committee includes 11 people.

In 1999 the SPT joined the General Peace Accords of Tajikistan.

Women members on all levels make up 5% of party membership.

## **Regional Influence & Social Base**

Based on the SHARQ survey, 0.8% of adults (over 15 years old) living in the Republic of Tajikistan support the SPT. The number of women supporting the SPT is higher than men. In terms of regional support, sympathizers are most numerous in Soghd Oblast, with members in Dushanbe and the Areas of Republican Subordination following next. There are few, if any, supporters in GBAO and a relatively small number in Khatlon Oblast. The Socialist Party attracts supporters from across ethnic lines and age categories.<sup>22</sup>

Party branches exist in Khujand, Zafarabad and Matchin districts of Soghd oblast; in Dushanbe; and in Gazimalik, Shaartuz, and in Cabodian districts of Khatlon oblast, comprising a total of 26 district organizations.

One of the strongest regional branches of the SPT is in Soghd oblast regional branch under the leadership of Mokhinisso Horisova. The strongest primary organizations are those in Penjakent district (3,000 members), Lenin district of the Areas of Republic Subordination (960), Dushanbe (820), and Ayni (922) and Zafarabad (600) districts of Soghd oblast. In Kulyab and Qurghonteppa districts the SPT's support is the weakest.

The social and regional base of the SPT is in the native region of Safarali Kenjaev, which includes the four poorest districts of Upper Zerafshan, especially Penjakent district, which includes many ethnic Uzbeks. In general terms, the SPT is the party of the low-income class. The home base of the party is in impoverished region, and the most well known group of supporters in the region is the artistic intelligentsia. That is why there are many members in the party representing the arts and the rural intelligentsia. The other group, which considers the SPT as "their" party, is ethnic Uzbeks, among them the intelligentsia, members of small- and middle-enterprises, and farmers. Hence, the social make-up of SPT stipulates the main problem of the party; a shortage of financial resources.

## **Membership of Prominent People**

<sup>22</sup> Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001, Analytical Research Center SHARQ, Dushanbe, 2002.

Kurbon Vosiev (State Advisor to the President; Head of the Public Relations, Information and Culture office) is among the leaders of the party.

## **Leaders**

1. Sherali Kenjaev – Acting Chairman
2. MIRKHUSEN NARZIEV – Deputy Chairman of SPT.

Mr. Narziev was born in Darg village, Ayni district of Soghd oblast on January 28, 1954. An ethnic Tajik, he holds University degree from the Tajik State University.

Mr. Narziev finished secondary school in 1972 and began working as a physics and math teacher in Kuli Havoi village school, situated in Leninskiy district. In 1973 he entered the physics faculty at Tajik State University. After graduating from the university, he was assigned to work as a senior laboratory employee at the Institute of Astro-Physics at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan. In 1980 he was promoted to junior scientist; and in 1996 he received a senior scientist post.

Mr. Narziev joined the Socialist Party of Tajikistan in the beginning of 1997. From June 1997 to July 2000 he acted as head of the Organizational Department of the SPT. In this capacity, he made a big contribution to establishing party branches in the Areas of Republican Subordination, Dushanbe and Khatlon oblast. During the 4<sup>th</sup> extraordinary congress of the SPT he was elected the Party's Deputy Chairman.

## **Participation in Elections**

After the tragic death of SPT leader Safarali Kenjaev his son Sherali Kenjaev became Acting Chair of the party. However, having lost its founder, the SPT started experiencing major difficulties, beginning with an internal tug of power within the party. The most acute confrontations arose during the party congress of 1999 over the party's presidential candidate nominee. The SPT supported the candidacy of President Rakhmonov, though a significant part of the SPT's party administration, regional party activists, and almost all of the rank-and-file members refused to recognize the decision. They wanted instead to nominate Saifiddin Turaev as candidate for President, rather than endorsing Rakhmonov. The result was a fracturing of the SPT's leadership and shake up of the party hierarchy, which served to distract the party's efforts at a critical juncture and subsequently hurt them in the February parliamentary elections.

In January 2000, during the 3<sup>rd</sup> extraordinary party congress, 18 representatives were nominated to the party list of deputies for elections to the Majlisi Namoyandagon. In the course of the parliamentary elections 80 members of the SPT were nominated, though only 32 of them were registered. None of them were elected to Majlisi Oli in single mandate elections, and the majority of its support. The SPT could not overcome the 5% barrier. As a result, the SPT has no representatives in parliament.

More than 400 members of the SPT were nominated as deputies to local majlises; only three of them were elected. Members of the SPT believe that this failure is a result of external pressure on the candidates to remove their candidacies, as well as fraud in the election process.

On July 23, 2000 the 4<sup>th</sup> Congress of the SPT took place at which the party platform was adopted and the new Central Executive Committee was elected. Rajabali Rajabov, Principal of School No. 89 in Dushanbe, was elected party chair.

Kurbon Vosiev was appointed State Advisor on Political Parties, Public Movements and International Affairs after the elections. Since this appointment his SPT membership has been frozen.

After the elections the SPT has become somewhat less active, though it still maintains a solid social base.

### **Prospects**

At present the SPT is drawing increased interest from local elites in Soght oblast, due to the fact that the SPT is essentially the only party representing the interests of many districts in that region. Furthermore, it has the potential to develop into a regional party expressing the interests of Northern Tajikistan and the ethnic Uzbek minority, which comprises some 40% of Soght oblast's population. However, the lack of a strong dynamic leader makes this goal difficult to achieve. In that respect, the negotiations between the the SPT local branch and positively-inclined local leaders including Sulton Quvvatov and A'zam Afzali had been taking place for nearly two years.

The issue of the Soghd oblast party branch lies at the core of the present split in the SPT. During the April 12 and April 20, 2001 plenums of urban party branches, adjusting party tactics to make them more contemporary was a central theme. The opposition-minded representatives of the Soghd branch prefer to ally themselves with Kulyabi opposition leaders. However, in Dushanbe this proposition has been the cause of some trepidation. It is a widespread belief there that if the authorities will become aggravated with the party's decision, it might be banned. Kurbon Vosiev took upon himself the role of a representative of the authorities, whose task it is to keep the situation with SPT "under control". The administration of the party made a decision to reach a compromise with Vosiev during the extended city plenum of the SPT that took place on April 29, 2001. At the meeting, the plenum approved district committee chairs, deputies and members of the presidium.

The future prospects of SPT are uncertain at present. Even considering the party's small but clearly-defined electorate, social base and fairly good organizational structure. The ruling authority is trying to create a "pocket opposition" out of the SPT, to repeat the scenario used to "tame" the Democratic Party of Tajikistan. This can be achieved if the party recognizes the pro-administration Kurbon Vosiev as its leader, which large part of the rank-and-file party members especially those in the Soghd oblast are against. On the other hand the SPT does not have a recognizable leader, and subsequently lacks financial support. If SPT allies itself with the newly-founded party *Taraqqiyot* (see Appendix A), and will attempt to represent the interests of the underrepresented region (Soghd oblast) as well as of disadvantaged ethnic groups (Russian and Uzbek), the authorities may be even more inclined to ban its activities. In this scenario, the only legal channel of broad representation of "northern interests" will be lost. If, however, the SPT continues to pursue a highly cautious strategy hoping to survive, it will lose supporters, who will become disillusioned with the party's ability to support their regional interests.

**Contact information: 23-18-15; 27-39-59**

**Party of Justice (Adolatkoh)**

## Brief Background

The *Adolatkoh* Party of Justice, whose registration was suspended in February 2001, was established during the Founding Congress that took place in Kanibadam (Soghd oblast) on November 15, 1995. The party was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan on March 6, 1996 under license № 257.

## Status

Republican

## Internal Structure & Leadership

The branches of the Party of Justice are still functioning in Kanibadam, Isfara, Kulyab, Kolkhozobod, Khujand, Varzob and Istaravshan. The number of party members as of February 2000 was at 10,000 people. The supreme body of the Party is the congress, which is called no less than once every two years. The executive and administrative body is the supreme political council.

## Regional Influence and Social Base

The Party of Justice's registration was suspended in February 2001 due to certain "administrative violations," one year after the parliamentary elections in which it failed to win a single seat in the Majlisi Oli. The *SHARQ* survey found that, of those interviewed, only 1.4% would vote for the Party of Justice in an election<sup>23</sup>. The party has a slightly more popular standing among women than men, and of persons aged 18-29, though it does not enjoy broad support among the population (which can be said of most parties in the republic). The party's main support base is in the Areas of Republican Subordination, with significantly less (though measurable) support in Dushanbe and Soghd Oblast. The Party of Justice is not legally allowed to pursue its organizational goals until it is successful at re-registration, which remains an uphill struggle. Until it is legally allowed to operate and recruit new members, the Party of Justice will remain on the fringe of Tajikistan's political spectrum. As such, the party is the only in Tajikistan to retain the distinction of having participated in the February 2000 parliamentary elections as a legal entity, only to have its registration revoked one year later (and thereby leaving only five parties as legally registered).

## Leader

ABDURAKHMON KARIMOV –Chairman of the *Adolatkoh* Party.

Abdurakhmon Karimov was born on November 15, 1942 in Kanibadam region of Leninabad (presently Soghd) oblast. An ethnic Tajik, he holds a degree from the Leninabad Pedagogical Institute.

In 1963, he entered the history faculty of the Leninabad Pedagogical Institute, graduating with honors in 1967. In 1971, Karimov received a post at Tajik State University as a history professor. Later he returned to Kanibadam and continued his teaching career in his native region.

<sup>23</sup> Public Opinion in Tajikistan: March 2001, Analytical Research Center *SHARQ*, Dushanbe, 2002.



In November 1995 he organized the Founding Congress of the *Adolatkho* Party of Justice. *Adolatkho* was registered by the Ministry of Justice in March 1996. The newly established party remained largely a regional party, and did not transcend to the national level. Mr. Karimov himself has not developed as a recognized leader due to a lack of visibility. The party's platform is regarded as rather basic, and to this point has failed to draw mass appeal. Its stated objective is to "unite peoples and nations of the republic and to create conditions for a democratic state" The party has been seen as appealing to young intellectuals seeking to promote human rights, but lacking a broader agenda.

### Functions and Activities

On September 20, 1999 during the 3<sup>rd</sup> Party Congress, the *Adolatkho* Party of Justice nominated Saifiddin Turaev as a candidate for the President of the Republic of Tajikistan.

The party's membership consists primarily of teachers, office workers, and builders<sup>24</sup>. The Party is headquartered in Konibodom, had operated several small branches in Dushanbe, Kulyab, Isfara, Khojand, and other towns. The party joined the Consultative Council in May 1999, and registered 22 candidates for the February 2000 elections. They received 34 890 votes (1.35% of the total votes) well below the 5% threshold requirement for gaining representation in Parliament.

On January 6, 2000, at the Party's 4<sup>th</sup> Extraordinary Congress, the *Adolatkho* Party of Justice formally nominated 15 members to the party list for elections to the Majlisi Namoyandagon.

In the parliamentary elections of February 2000, the party won its votes from the following districts: Uroteppa (14%), Ghanchi (3.9%) and Kulyab (2.1%); generally, however it received little support in most of the oblasts and districts of the republic. As a result it did not surmount the 5% threshold.

In January 2001, by decision of the Supreme Court of Tajikistan, the activities of the *Adolatkho* Party of Justice were suspended for six months. The Court did allow a small party regional affiliate in Soghd Oblast to continue operations as a conciliatory gesture, but that branch was later forced to cease operations after it pursued its activities too ardently for the comfort of the authorities.

The *Adolatkho* Party of Justice is a member of the Public Political Council of the Republic of Tajikistan.

**Contact Information: (3467) 2-58-38 (Kanibadam)**

<sup>24</sup> Abdullaev, Khamoudin and Akhbarzadeh, Shahram. Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan. The Scarecrow Press, Inc., London, 2002, p. 5

## Chapter 3

### Tajikistan Public Movements

#### Movement of National Unity and Renaissance of Tajikistan (MNURT)

##### Brief Background

The Movement of National Unity and Renaissance of Tajikistan was formed by a Founding Assembly that took place in Dushanbe on July 18, 1997. The movement was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan on August 27, 1997, under license № 355.

##### Status

Republican

##### Internal Structure & Leadership

The supreme body of MNURT is the general assembly, which is called no less than once every four years. The executive and coordinating body of the MNURT is a council, which consists of some elected and some delegated by quota representatives from all of its member organizations. The council of MNURT in turn elects the members of the executive committee of the MNURT, which is headed by the chairman and deputy chairman.

There are more than 150 smaller organizations participating within MNURT.

##### Representation in Government

Members of MNURT are represented in all branches of government.

##### Membership of Prominent People

Among the prominent members of MNURT are Emomali Rakhmonov (President of the Republic of Tajikistan); S. Radzhabov (Minister of Education); K. Kasymov (Governor of Soghd oblast); Sulton Mirzoshoev (Director of the State Complex *Kokhi Vakhdat* of the executive cabinet); A. Uzokova (Deputy Minister of Labor and Social Security).

##### Leaders

The chairman of the MNURT is the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rakhmonov.

The chairman of the executive committee of the MNURT is Mumin Kanoat.

##### Publications

MNURT has been publishing the weekly newspaper *Vakhdat* since September 9, 1999; its editor is the national Tajik poet Gulnazar Keldi. The movement also publishes books in a series named

*Vakhdat Library.* Also, as part of the MNURT initiative scientific and practical conferences, roundtables and seminars are conducted on various relevant issues of political and social life of the republic.

MNURT is a member of the Public Council of the Republic of Tajikistan.

## **Congress of National Unity of Tajikistan (CNUT)**

### **Brief Background**

The Congress of National Unity was founded in April 24, 1995. It was registered by the Ministry of Justice of the Republic of Tajikistan on August 4, 1995.

### **Status**

Republican

### **Internal Structure & Leadership**

The supreme body of the CNUT is the congress, which is called no less than once every four years. The counsel of the CNUT is a governing, representative and coordinating organ functioning between congresses. An executive committee is responsible for the day-to-day decisions and operations.

### **Membership of Prominent People**

Among the influential members of CNUT is Saifiddin Turaev, President of the International Scientific-Industrial Trading Corporation *Istaravshan*; he is also deputy chair of CNUT.

### **Alliances & Contacts**

CNUT signed the General Peace Accords of Tajikistan in March 1996. However, CNUT did not participate in the extension of the Accords in March 1999. The Congress of National Unity of Tajikistan (CNUT) is headed by Saifiddin Turaev. The CNUT was formed on April 24, 1995 (registered on August 4, 1995) at the initiative of the Scientific-Industrial Union, the Istaravshan International Scientific-Manufacturing Corporation, the Communist Party of Tajikistan, the Russian Community of Tajikistan, the Yaqut Industrial Enterprise, Tajikistan's National Association of Political Scientists, and the Society of Uzbeks of Tajikistan. The CNUT attracted several other associations in the following years, but in 1998 it lost the support of the Communist Party, the National Association of Political Scientists, the Korean Community and the Trade Union Federation. The CNUT publishes the newspapers *Haft Ganj* and *Sorbon*, and its stated objective is the "unity of different segments and forces of Tajikistan in order to resolve the societal crisis." The CNUT nominated Saifiddin Turaev in the November 1999 presidential elections but failed to collect the required 145,000 signatures (5% of the total number of voters) for his registration.

### **Leaders**

**SAIFIDDIN TURAEV** – Chairman of the CNUT; President of International Scientific-Industrial Trading Corporation *Istaravshan*.

Mr. Turaev was born on January 28, 1945 in Uroteppa district of Soghd oblast. An ethnic Tajik, he holds a university degree from the Moscow Textile Institute.

Mr. Turaev was a worker in the construction management department #28 of Uroteppa in 1961. In 1964-1967 he served in the Soviet Army Forces. In 1973 he graduated from the Moscow Textile Institute. In 1973-1986 he worked in a textile factory first as an expert of manufacturing section first, then as head engineer and later as director. From 1986 to 1989 Mr. Turaev served as Minister of Public Services of Tajik SSR. From 1989 to 1991 he studied at the Academy of State Economy at the Cabinet of Ministers of the USSR in Moscow. In 1991-1992 he served as first deputy chairman of the Supreme Council of the Republic of Tajikistan. Mr. Turaev has served as president of the International Scientific-Industrial Trading Corporation *Istaravshan*, simultaneously serving as deputy chair of the CNUT. He was a member of the Majlisi Oli from 1995-1999.

He is married, and has six children.

Contact information: 37-43-59

## **National Movement of Tajikistan (Junbish)**

### **Brief Background**

The Party of National Movement of Tajikistan *Junbish* (PNMT) was formed in November 1996 as the National Movement of Tajikistan. The party held its inaugural congress on February 27, 1999 and adopted its new title. The party was no longer registered with the Ministry of Justice one year later, however. The PNMT continues to publish the weekly "Junbish" newspaper in Tajik and Russian. The party's stated goal is establishment of the rule of law and civil society in Tajikistan. The PNMT favors a secular state and deplores "the use of relation to instigate national discord, ideological intolerance, hostility, and hatred between adherents of different confessions."<sup>25</sup> The party is chaired by Hakim Mukhabbatov.

### **Status**

Republican

### **Internal Structure & Leadership**

The managing bodies of *Junbish* are the congress, central council and the administration of the central council. The supreme managing body is the congress, which is called not less than once every two years.

### **Alliances & Contacts**

National Movement of Tajikistan is the member of Public Council of the RT.

Chairman of NMT is Hakim Muhabbatov.

<sup>25</sup> Abdullaev, Khamoudin and Akhbarzadeh, Shahram. Historical Dictionary of Tajikistan. The Scarecrow Press, Inc., London, 2002, p. 163

## Leaders

**HAKIM MUKHABBATOV** – Chair of national movement *Junbish*; Managing Editor of newspaper *Junbish*.

Mukhabbatov was born in the Vanj district of Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast on March 27, 1962. An ethnic Tajik, he holds a degree from the Moscow Oil Chemical Institute.

Mr. Mukhabbatov studied in the Moscow Oil Chemical Institute from 1979 to 1984 in the faculty of automatics and computer science. From 1984 to 1986 he served in the Soviet Armed Forces. From 1986-1988 he worked for *TajikTA* as an electronics engineer. From 1988 to November 1988 he worked at the Scientific Research Institute at the State Planning Office of the Tajik SSR as a scientist.

In 1989 Mr. Mukhabbatov was one of the founders of an organization in Moscow dealing with Tajik culture called *Soghdiana*, which he headed from 1990 to 1994. In 1990-1994 he was a postgraduate student at the Economics and Mathematics Institute of the Russian Academy of Sciences.

From 1995 to 1997 Mr. Mukhabbatov acted as deputy chairman of the Central Asian Institute of Politics and Business in Moscow. He has been heading *Junbish* since November 1997 and the Party of National Movement of Tajikistan (since February 27, 1999). Since December 1997 he has been a managing editor of the newspaper *Junbish*.

**Contact Information:** 21-62-38; 21-77-87.

## Public Association La'li Badakhshon

### Brief Background

The Public Association Lal'i Badakhshon ("The Flower of Badakhshon") representing a collection of opposition figures from GBAO, was formed in Dushanbe on March 4, 1991 and was registered on May 30 of that year. Lal'i Badakhshon was banned between June 1993 and August 1999 but continued to operate illegally. In 1999 the party had nearly 3000 members, mainly from the ranks of the intelligentsia. Lal'i Badakhshon is a regional organization with the stated goal of "educational, social, economic and political development" in the GBAO. It publishes a newspaper called *Bokhtar*. The movement joined the United Tajik Opposition in 1993 after being targeted by the Kulyab-based United Front for persecution due to their allegiance to other opposition interests, including the Democratic Party and the Islamic Renaissance Party. After joining the UTO its activities were mainly confined to the territory of the GBAO, Lal'i Badakhshon took part in various rounds of the peace talks between 1994-1997, and in June of 1997 entered the Committee for National Reconciliation (CNR). Lal'i Badakhshon has been led by its inception by Atobek Amirbekov, who recently has also taken on membership in the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan.

In accordance with the General Peace and National Consent Accords of Tajikistan the presidium of the Supreme Court of RT removed the interdiction on activities of the organization on August 12, 1999.

### Status

## Republican

### Internal Structure & Leadership

The supreme managing body of La'li Badakhshan is the congress. The presidium acts as the managing body between congresses, and is responsible for convening plenums. The presidium's chair is also responsible for management of the organization. There are four deputy chairs.

### Regional Influence & Social Base

Initially, members of La'li Badakhshan came from the ranks of the intelligentsia, mainly from GBAO. During the conflict, however, the make-up of the party's membership changed. Presently its members include law enforcement officers and former soldiers from GBAO. In addition, the party is under the strong influence of General Salamsho Mukhabbatov, who is currently chair of the state holding company *Tajikneftegas*. La'li Babakhshon maintains party branches in many districts of the country where ethnic Badakhshanis currently live.

### Alliances & Contacts

The members of La'li Badakhshon took part in the work of the Committee on National Reconciliation (July 7, 1997 – March 26 – 2000).

In February 2000 La'li Badakhshon joined the General Peace Accords of Tajikistan. Since the dissolution of the UTO, La'li Badakhshon has not been a formal member of any alliances but, nonetheless, has had close political links to the Social Democratic Party (R. Zairov - party chair) and CNUT (S. Turaev). Deputy chairman Amniyat Abdulnazarov is also a co-chair of the Coalition of Political Organizations of Tajikistan (though he had to freeze his position during his work as a deputy in parliament).

La'li Badakhshon supports the Coordinative Counsel of Political Parties of RT. It also proclaimed its unity with the movement *Vakhdat*.

### Leaders

**ATOBEK AMIRBEKOV** – Chairman of public organization La'li Badakhshon; a deputy in the Majlisi Namoyandagon; member of the Constitutional Law, Legislation and Human Rights Committee.

Amirbekov was born on January 10, 1950 in Khorog of GBAO. An ethnic Tajik, he holds a degree from the faculty of mathematics at the State Pedagogical Institute (1971).

He began working in November 1970 as a math teacher in a secondary boarding school in Dushanbe. From 1975 to 1992 he worked at the State Pedagogical Institute as a senior laboratory assistant, teacher assistant, teacher, and mathematics faculty professor. Mr. Amirbekov received a Ph. D. in Pedagogical Sciences in Kiev in 1985.

He is married, and has four children.

**AMNIYAT ABDULNAZAROV** – Deputy Chairman of La'li Badakhshon.

Abdunnazarov was born in Rushon District of GBAO in 1955. An ethnic Tajik, he received a higher degree from the State Pedagogical Institute.

After finishing secondary school, Abdunnazarov entered the English Department at the faculty of foreign languages at the State Pedagogical Institute. Having graduated from the Institute he first worked at a school, and later returned to the Institute to teach. In 1982 he attended six-month course at the state security school in Gatchina (Russian Federation). Abdunnazarov has published several research studies. In 1992 received a post at the Tajik Foreign Ministry by participating in a public competition at the Ministry. With the outbreak of the armed conflict in 1993, he moved back to GBAO, where he became a commander in the UTO armed forces. When the Peace Accords was signed he started working for the company *Tajikneftegas*. Abdunnazarov participated in the IFES observation mission to Russia for the parliamentary elections of 1999.

### **Work in Parliament**

Chairman Amirbekov is a deputy in the Majlisi Namoyandagon from electoral district no. 41. He is also a member of the Constitutional Law, Legislation and Human Rights Committee.

### **Present Situation**

La'li Badakhshan is currently finds itself in a challenging situation. GBAO represents an extremely impoverished region, which cannot subsist without the support of the rest of the country. Hence the leaders of the region, as well as the people of GBAO, have to perform a fine balancing act of maintaining certain autonomy and avoiding confrontation with central power. Due to this situation both the governing administration of GBAO and the chairman of La'li Badakhshan joined the People's Democratic Party of Tajikistan. As far as Amirbekov is concerned, his newfound allegiance to the PDPT is legitimate due to the public association and national cultural community status of La'li Badakhshan, as opposed to that of a political party. Hence it is possible to hold membership from La'li Badakhshan and at the same time from the PDPT. Other members are more reluctant to join the PDPT for fear of conflicting interests.

### **Present Tasks**

The main goal of La'li Badakhshan is the comprehensive protection of interests of Badakhshanis. The most important direction, however, is through parliamentary activities realized with the assistance of its chair, Atobek Amirbekov.

At present, the new program of the organization is under development, which will be directed to the improvement of the economic and social situation of GBAO. The following priority issues lie at the core of program:

- Attraction of foreign investment
- Rational usage of Badakhshan water resources, and construction of power stations
- Development of mineral resources

**Contact Information: 21-78-18; 35-68-54.**

## **Appendix A. Other Parties**

### **Democratic Party of Tajikistan (A'zam Afzali) (DPT-Afzali)**

#### **Alliances & Contacts**

In March 1996 this branch of the Democratic Party of Tajikistan (formerly the Teheran platform) signed the National Peace Accords. In March 1999 it signed to extend the Peace Accords. DPT (A'zam Afzali) has been a member of the Political Consultative Council since the Council's establishment in May 1999.

#### **Congresses & Forums**

The 3<sup>rd</sup> Congress of the DPT- Afzali was held in Dushanbe on July 17, 1999, with 54 individuals participating. The Congress considered five questions on its agenda, including the replacement of Shodmon Yusuf by A'zam Afzali as new Party Chairman. On May 26, 2001 the DPT (A'zam Afzali) held another Party Congress, at which a new party – *Hizbi Taraqqiyot Tajikistan* (Party of Development of Tajikistan) – was established.

### **Hizbi Taraqqiyot Tojikiston (Party of Development of Tajikistan)**

**Status: Unregistered**

#### **Brief Background**

On May 26, 2001 the Democratic Party of Tajikistan held a party congress, which metamorphosed into the Establishing Congress of the Party of Development of Tajikistan. There were 58 delegates, mainly representing the Kulyab region (with the exception of Dangara) and Soghd oblast (Uroteppa and Zafarabad districts). Sulton Quvvatov was elected party chair, with A'zam Afzali and Rustam Faiziev (who is also the head of the Soghd party branch) as his two deputies. Quvvatov (former chairman of the Tax Committee of the RT) lost previous political battles and had been out of the political game arena for some time. However, having at his disposal the vast financial resources and contacts with the law enforcement sector, as well as wide support in the Kulyab region, he intended to get back into high-caliber politics with the help of the Party of Development, and eventually run for president. There have been two main obstacles on the way to Quvvatov's success: no contacts with Russian elites, and poor party organization skills. In order to compensate for these shortcomings he united with A'zam Afzali, who is an experienced politician and a strong party organizer.

#### **Leaders**

**SULTON QUVVATOV – Chairman.**

Sulton Quvvatov was born in 1950 in Kulyab and is an ethnic Tajik. Having finished secondary school no. 4 in Kulyab, he entered the Tajik Agriculture Institute, from which he received his higher education diploma. Upon graduation from the Institute, he started working for the Department against Misappropriation of Socialist Economy Property in Kulyab region. During the following ten



years he moved up from a regular staff employee to become head of the regional branch of the department, climbing all the way to the top of the hierarchical ladder. At the end of 1984 he was transferred to the Head Office in Dushanbe (renamed to Office against Economic Crimes in 1991). In 1992 he became the director of the Dushanbe Office. From May 1995 to August 1998 Mr. Quvvatov served as head of Government Tax Committee of the republic of Tajikistan. He was also a People's Deputy of Majlisi Oli (1995-1999).

On May 26, 2001 he was elected chairman of the *Hizbi Taraqqiyot* Party.

### **Regional Influence & Social Base**

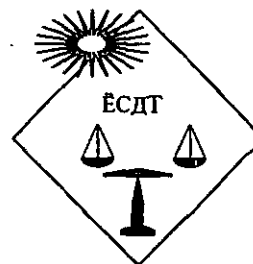
The party's strongest base is in Kulyab region (with the exception of Dangara). A regional group of relatives of Mr. Quvvatov, living in Kulyab City and its suburbs, and people dissatisfied with the policy of the current ruling elite are the strongest supporters of the *Hizbi Taraqqiyot* Party, as well as representatives of mid-and lower-level regional elites.

Supporters of the *Taraqqiyot* Party in Soghd Oblast represent the Uroteppa elite, whose help the Rakhmonov regime had utilized to dispose of the old Khojand elite in the area, only to discard them later when the task was completed. Another group of supporters include representatives of the middle- and lower-level elites of the region, excluding Isfara and Kanibadam, (which are well represented in the current government), and the mountainous regions of Zeravshan (Penjakent, Ayni, Kukhistonmatchinsk, and Mastchokh districts), which are the regional bases of the Socialist Party. Overall, northerners support Sulton Quvvatov because of the increasing potential for the rise of an opposition in the oblast, and Quvvatov is seen as a strong opposition leader having been faced with opposition forces himself in Kulyab.

### **Social-Democratic Party of Tajikistan**

#### **Status**

Unregistered



The Social Democratic Party of Tajikistan was initially known as "Tajikistan's Party of Justice and Progress" and was formed in March 1998 and registered in February 1999. The party's registration was not renewed in April 1999, and it was forced to reinvent itself under its current name. The party has been led by a group of intellectuals with no apparent or obvious regional affiliation.

The 5<sup>th</sup> Constituent Congress of the Social Democratic Party of Tajikistan took place on October 27, 2002. The party has made numerous yet unsuccessful bids at registering with the Ministry of Justice, always being cited for irregularities or inconsistencies in the submitted registration materials. The process of rejecting the SDPT's registration application has often taken several months. During the congress, party chairman Rakhmatullo Zoirov (who took a position as a presidential advisor late in 2001) delivered a report on the party's activities, which included an overview of a survey conducted by the SDPT in three regions of Tajikistan to measure the "necessity" of the SDPT. According to results shared by Zoirov, the party maintains members in 58 districts of the country, thereby showing the need and desire for the party to continue to exist and conduct activities. There had been a question on the broader support of the SDPT, which was seemingly reaffirmed at the congress. Rakhmatullo Zoirov was again elected as party Chairman, with Shakhurjon Hakimov, H. Gafurzoda,

A. Abdalnazarov and Z. Naiova elected as Vice Chairmen and members of the party's political council.

### **Leader**

**RAKHMATULLO ZOIROV** – Leader of the Social Democratic Party of Tajikistan.

Rakhmatullo Zoirov was born on March 16, 1958 in Boghiston village, Bustonqal'a district of Tashkent oblast in Uzbekistan. An ethnic Tajik, he holds a university degree from the Ukrainian Law Academy in Kharkov.

Having finished secondary school in 1975, he began working as a loader, then as a miner and a driller in Chatkal geological expedition of the Association *Tashkentgeology* (1975-1977). From 1977-1979 Zoirov served in the Soviet Army Forces in the former East Germany. In 1983 he graduated from the Ukrainian Law Academy, and later taught there until 1986. From 1986 to 1993 Zoirov worked in Tajik National University as a professor, deputy dean and secretary of the party organization of the Law Faculty.

In 1993-1994 Zoirov was a member of the Committee of Constitutional Watch of the RT; from 1994-1997 he was head of the International Law Department of the Institute of the World Economy and International Relations at the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan; and from February 1998 to 1999 he served as dean of the Law Faculty at the Q. Dzhuraev Tajik National Pedagogical University. He is a candidate of Legal Sciences, and a senior lecturer.

Zoirov is the author of more than 150 scientific works on theory and history of state and law, constitutional law and criminal law, international law and political science. He is also the author of an alternative draft of the Constitution (1992) and the initiative draft (1994). In addition, he participated in the development of 25 draft laws. He has served on the Permanent Commission on State Building of Inter-parliamentary Association of NIS in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Zoirov is known in the scientific intelligentsia circles as an established expert of constitutional law. Due to his diverse origins, it has been challenging for him to establish a niche in the traditional political establishment of Tajik society. Despite the great potential of the Social Democratic Party it has yet to achieve major influence (not in small part due to its inability to get registered), though counts among his closest supporters members of the university circles of Dushanbe.

He is married, and has three children

**Contact Information: 21-09-18; 23-47-70**

### **Islamic Party of Liberty (Hizb ut-Takhrir al-Islami)**

#### **Status**

This quasi religious-political Sunnite party is presently operating illegally in Tajikistan. Its activities are prohibited in Tajikistan, and its supporters are prosecuted.

#### **Brief Background**

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami was established in 1952 by Taki ad-din Nabkhoni al-Falastini (1909-1977), a member of the Palestinian branch of the famous religious-political party Al-ikhvan al-Muslimin (Muslim Brothers).

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami intensified its activities in Tajikistan in 1997 in Soghd oblast. Its sphere of influence later started spreading over to Uzbekistan-border areas, central and southern Tajikistan, the City of Dushanbe and its suburbs, as well as to the Karategin Valley.

### **Internal Structure & Leadership**

The headquarters of the party (emirate) is in Western Europe (presumably in Germany) and Saudi Arabia, with additional emirates in Palestine, Jordan, Egypt and other Arabic countries, as well as in Turkey and some European countries. Recently emirates are starting to spring up in Central Asian countries.

The primary party organization of the party is called a *halqa* (circle), with men and women participating in different *halqas*. Confidentiality is strictly observed in the party: members of a *halqa* only know each other and their leader.

### **Leader**

The present emir of Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami is Abd al-Qadim Zallum (who was born in 1925 in Al-Khalil, Palestine), currently living in Jordan.

### **Regional Influence & Social Base**

Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami has most of its supporters in northern Tajikistan, in Soghd oblast. The party is significantly less popular in central and southern Tajikistan; there are few supporters in GBAO and Kulyab. Demographically, Uzbeks and Tajiks of the Ferghana Valley region prevail among the supporters of Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami.

### **Platforms**

The basis of the political doctrine of Hizb ut-Tahrir al-Islami is the idea of recreation of the Khalifat religious-political structure, which subsisted in the times of the Prophet Muhammad and his four successors. The party advocates the peaceful creation of an Islamic Emirate in the Ferghana Valley, though it has been suggested that they may maintain links with Fundamentalist groups such as the Islamic Movement of Uzbekistan.

## Appendix B. Results of 2000 Parliamentary Elections by Districts

		Votes Cast	Party of Justice	DPT	CPT	IRPT	SPT	PDPT
1-4	Dushanbe	204973	0.81%	5.03%	12.83%	4.64%	2.63%	71.48%

	Area of Republican Subordination	Votes Cast	Party of Justice	DPT	CPT	IRPT	SPT	PDPT
5	Tursunzade	73771	0.2%	0.7%	16.7%	7.5%	0.2%	71.48%
6	Shahrinai	63513	1.4%	4.8%	40.0%	8.2%	1.5%	39.1%
7	Hisor	63513	1.7%	3.1%	42.7%	13.0%	2.3%	28.0%
8	Somoni	67586	1.0%	9.0%	8.0%	1.2%	2.1%	76.1%
9	Leninski	77002	0.8%	6.2%	10.3%	4.4%	3.5%	71.5%
10	Kofarnikhon	79122	1.8%	6.4%	11.0%	25.2%	1.3%	45.0%
11	Faizabad	73090	0.9%	4.1%	11.1%	27.5%	0.6%	50.5%
12	Garm	81182	0.4%	18.5%	1.9%	14.1%	0.3%	61.6%
	Total	578421	1.06%	6.86%	16.69%	12.93%	1.48%	56.2%

	Soghd Oblast	Votes Cast	Party of Justice	DPT	CPT	IRPT	SPT	PDPT
13	Khujand	77120	1.7%	9.2%	22.1%	2.0%	1.3%	60.9%
14	Ghaffurov	70976	0.9%	2.6%	21.9%	0.7%	0.8%	65.8%
15	Urunkhojaev	68167	1.0%	3.1%	22.6%	0.5%	0.4%	66.1%
16	J. Rasulov	66185	1.7%	4.8%	28.0%	4.0%	2.4%	53.7%
17	Asht	47079	1.2%	3.6%	56.4%	3.9%	1.4%	25.5%
18	Mastchokh	64303	0.7%	2.5%	10.9%	18.7%	1.7%	59.5%
19	Kanibadam	83200	0.1%	3.6%	46.6%	0.2%	0.2%	48.5%
20	Isfara	90506	1.6%	3.1%	33.4%	26.6%	1.0%	26.7%
21	Penjakent	75645	1.8%	2.1%	14.0%	1.2%	0.6%	80.0%
22	Ayni	57327	0.7%	0.7%	19.6%	1.0%	3.3%	74.2%
23	Uroteppa	68462	14.0%	2.3%	29.7%	2.0%	1.5%	68.6%
24	Ganchi	67972	3.9%	2.5%	37.2%	6.3%	0.8%	49.8%
25	Nov	64398	1.0%	4.2%	17.1%	3.2%	1.5%	68.6%
	Total	901340	2.4%	3.53%	27.29%	5.86%	1.29%	55.94%

	Khatlon Oblast	Votes Cast	Party of Justice	DPT	CPT	IRPT	SPT	PDPT
26	Qurghonteppa	56755	0.2%	0.5%	11%	2.6%	0.2%	82.6%
27	Bokhtar	65838	0.9%	2.3%	9.7%	7.1%	0.5%	74.8%
28	Khojamaston	70931	0.2%	0.6%	7.0%	4.0%	0.6%	82.1%
29	Yavan	64649	0.01%	3.6%	41.8%	15.0%	2.2%	37.1%
30	Kolkhozabad	64286	1.1%	1.0%	15.2%	4.8%	1.0%	76.7%
31	Kabodiyon	73949	0.3%	0.7%	6.9%	4.1%	1.9%	85.5%
32	Vakhsh	58602	1.5%	0.2%	38.3%	21.5%	0.02%	34.6%
33	Kumsangir	67187	0.1%	0.08%	6.0%	20.3%	0.1%	70.9%
34	Farkhor	61089	0.1%	0.2%	29.5%	1.8%	0.1%	68.1%
35	Moskovskiy	65901	0.07%	0.09%	2.2%	0.09%	0.08%	96%

36	Dangara	58728	0.09%	0.1%	16.6%	0.8%	0.6%	88.0%
37	Kulyab	67482	2.1%	1.1%	16.6%	0.8%	0.6%	70.8%
38	Muminabad	59288	0.4%	1.6%	11.8%	0.9%	0.3%	81.1%
39	Vose	70629	0	0	50.0%	0	0	50%
	Total Khatlon	905313	0.54%	0.91%	18.15%	5.91%	0.6%	71.46%

	GBAO Oblast	Votes Cast	Party of Justice	DPT	CPT	IRPT	SPT	PDPT
40	Vanj	49611	0.3%	4.0%	14.9%	4.0%	0.3%	74.3%
41	Khorugh	49130	0.7%	4.0%	13.3%	1.1%	0.7%	76.2%
	Total GBAO	98741	0.53%	4.03%	14.19%	2.61%	0.51%	75.58%

<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>Votes Cast</b>	<b>Party of Justice</b>	<b>DPT</b>	<b>CPT</b>	<b>IRPT</b>	<b>SPT</b>	<b>PDPT</b>
	2873745	1.32%	3.54%	20.39%	7.31%	1.22%	64.91%

Source: Republic of Tajikistan: Parliamentary Elections of February 27, 2000, ODIHR Final Report, OSCE/ODIHR, Warsaw, May 2000.

### Appendix C. Regional Demographic Overview

Region		Territory	Population in 1991			
			Population total in thousands	Urban population	Urban (% to total)	Population Density (per sq. km)
Total in RT		143	5358	1681	31.2	37.4
GBAO		63.7	167	21	12.5	2.6
Dushanbe		0.1	592	584	98.7	4672
Khatlon region	Kulyab	12	668	168	25.2	55.7
	Kurgan-Tyube	12.6	1113	183	16.4	88.4
Soght		26.1	1636	541	33.1	62.7
Regions republican subordination		28.7	1182	184	15.1	41.1

Source: Intertajik Conflict: the Road (Way to Peace). Ed. By M. Olimov, Moscow, 1998, p. 77

# IFES

As one of the world's premier democracy and governance assistance organizations, IFES provides needs-based, targeted, technical assistance designed and implemented through effective partnerships with donors and beneficiaries. Founded in 1987 as a nonpartisan, nonprofit organization, IFES has provided integrated, collaborative solutions in the areas of democratic institution building and participatory governance in more than 120 countries worldwide. IFES' Washington headquarters houses eighty-five employees specializing regionally in Africa, the Americas, Asia, the Middle East, and Europe, as well as functionally in rule of law, civil society, good governance, election administration, applied research, gender issues, public information technology solutions, and more. IFES' staff offers vast country-specific experience and facility in more than 30 languages. IFES employs an additional 120 people in twenty-five field locations.



INTERNATIONAL FOUNDATION FOR ELECTION SYSTEMS  
1101 15th Street, N.W. • Third Floor  
Washington, D.C. 20005  
202 • 828 • 8507 FAX 202 • 452 • 0804  
[www.ifes.org](http://www.ifes.org)