CHAPTER II
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The Republic of Tajikistan declared independence from the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (U.S.S.R.) on September 9, 1991. It had a ministry of foreign affairs for nearly forty years before that. As long as it was part of the Soviet Union, however, the republic had no power to conduct its own independence diplomacy. After independence the central objective of Tajikistan's foreign policy has been to maximize the opportunities for its socio-economic reform and development by developing relations with as many states as possible. Particular diplomatic attention went to two groups of countries: the other former Soviet republics and Tajikistan's near neighbors, Iran and Afghanistan, which are inhabited by culturally related peoples. At the same time, Tajikistan pursued contacts with many other countries, including the United States, Turkey, and Pakistan. In 1995 Tajikistan opened its first embassy outside the former Soviet Union, in Turkey. The potential for political support and economic aid is at least as important in shaping Tajikistan's diplomacy as are ideological and cultural ties.

Tajikistan joined the CIS like the other Central Asian republics, which was created in December 1991, three weeks before the Soviet Union collapsed officially. Shortly before opposition demonstrators forced President Rahmon Nabiye to resign in August 1992, he asked several presidents of former Soviet republics, including President Boris N. Yeltsin of Russia, to help him stay in power. They refused this request. In the fall of 1992, the increasingly embattled coalition government that succeeded Nabiye asked the other members of the CIS to intervene to end the civil war. However, such assistance was not provided. On 7 September Nabiye was seized by opposition force at Dushanbe airport, and was forced to announce his resignation (Europa Year Book 2008:4210). Tajikistan foreign policy has been impacted by its great historic-cultural past, present politico-military formulations and, above all by economic needs and security concerns. The multiplicity of external influences, which were heavily punctuated by long-drawn foreign intervention,

simultaneously collided with other internal developments such as the emergence of religious extremism, civil war and frequent use of drug money in expanding terrorist bases and other factors like political instability, ethnic exclusivity and clan rivalries (Singh 2007: 68).

Tajikistan is very important from the point of view of security thinking and strategic geography. It is not a Turkic state in contrast to other Central Asian states. Tajikistan is wedged between immediate neighbors Afghanistan, Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and China. Millions of Muslims living in Xinjiang province of China have created a constant challenge. Beijing has "its own Chechnya" in the western region of the country. India and Pakistan are "distant neighbors" of Tajikistan, a quasi-state in the words of Michel Hammer, which can only survive and be maintained through the benevolence and indulgence of its neighbors (Singh 2007: 69).

The foreign policy of Tajikistan has been influenced by factors related to its immediate and distant neighborhood as well as its geo-strategic situation in turbulent Central Asia. Its foreign policy has largely centered on the articulation of national security interests and stability in the region.

Since independence, the Republic of Tajikistan has clear and peaceful foreign policy. The conceptual structure of the Tajikistan foreign policy based on three fundamental components:

First, pragmatism in foreign policy and equal mutually beneficial cooperation;
Second, the legitimate interests of international actors in Central Asia region;
Third, to conduct predictable foreign policy in international affairs.

In 2002 the republic of Tajikistan declared of new concept in its foreign policy. It was "open doors policy", which means open cooperation with all countries in the world on the principal of mutual respect, bilateral and mutual cooperation (HE Emomali Rahmon 2007: 8-9).

President Imomali Rahmon has proclaimed Tajikistan's willingness to establish amicable relations with all countries, and has supported stronger ties with the neighboring
states of Iran, Afghanistan, Pakistan, and other countries sharing Tajikistan's language, history, and culture. He has emphasized cooperation with China and India, and has called for increased economic ties with the United States, Europe, and Japan.

Tajikistan foreign policy is determined by its geo-strategic position and other factors such as mutual benefit, equal rights, and contribution towards the strengthening of world peace and international security. To this end Tajikistan is signatory to most international treaties, protocols, conventions etc. it is an active member of many international and regional organizations. Tajikistan is signatory of the collective security treaty (CST) of the CIS (led by Russia). It is an active member of the United Nations, Central Asian Economic Alliance, Conference of Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA), Economic Cooperation Organization, Shanghai Cooperation organization (SCO), Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe, Organization of Islamic Conference, International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, European Bank of Reconstruction and Development, Asian Development Bank and the Islamic Development Bank. It is also a participant in NATO’s Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council and in Partnership for Peace Program (Jim Nichol 2009:4).

Working at the very broad spectrum of Tajikistan’s interests and membership in numerous international organizations, one gets an idea about the main direction of Tajikistan’s foreign policy. Tajikistan’s foreign policy has an ex-Soviet and a Eurasian bias. The priority is for close relations with Russia, CIS countries in the region and immediate neighbors China and Afghanistan. Beyond the neighborhood, the focus is on India, Iran, Japan, Pakistan, South Korea and Turkey.

After 11 September 2001 (9/11), Tajikistan has started figuring high on the agenda of US foreign policy makers. The country became a central player in the War against Terrorism. But the US has failed to make any huge investment in the poor economy of this Central Asian republic.

In November 2001, during a visit to Dushanbe and Tashkent, US Defense Secretary Donald Rumsfeld was offered the Karshi-Khanabad (K-2) air base (in
Uzbekistan) for US military operations in Afghanistan. He was the first top-level American dignitary to visit the Tajik capital in nine years. In 2004, the Chief Commander of the US Armed Forces visited Uzbekistan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to discuss military and technical cooperation.

After 9/11, the world has realized that international terrorism cannot be tackled my methods of the past. We need collective international effort. In the 1990, Tajikistan was the one of the first post-Soviet republics to experience international terrorism (HE Emomali Rahmon 2006: 23). The Tajik government supported US initiatives to form an international anti-terrorist coalition. Tajikistan was the first country in Central Asia to offer three military facilities to the US Air Force for carrying out offensive operations against the Taliban. It provided a meeting point for Russian and US security officials as well as Northern Alliance allies. For quite some time, the West considered Tajikistan as an “Uzbek-Russian Protectorate”.

**Tajikistan- Russia**

For 70 years, Russia and Tajikistan were tied together, first, as a part of single political, economic and social Leviathan and second, as center and periphery. A considerable part of their relation now takes place at the level of the CIS. The Tajik civil war had developed into one of the most serious challenges to Russian policy in the Commonwealth Independent States (CIS) region and a dilemma to Russian policymaking in the middle of 1990s. With an ambition of playing the role of a great power upholding the whole of the former Soviet Union (except the Baltic States) as its sphere of influence, Russia had taken upon itself the responsibility for peace and stability in the CIS. Its capacity to fulfill this ambition is however limited. Russia is faced with two dilemmas in dealing with Tajikistan. The first is that on the one hand, Russia needs assistance from the international community in bringing an end to the Tajik war, and on the other hand, Russia fears losing ground and influence in the region because of outside involvement. A second dilemma follows from the need for a political compromise between the parties in
order to solve the conflict, and the Russian tradition in conflicts of fighting down the adversary with the help of an ally (Jonson 97:1).

Jonson, Lena has described “Russian policy-making on Tajikistan has taken place in the context of a general confusion after the breakup of the Soviet Union and a lack of policy-making authority within the foreign policy field. As a consequence of this, the Foreign Ministry was only one actor in this decision-making; and military circles got a remarkable high influence” (Jonson 97:7).

Russia played the ‘key’ role in the peace settlement in Tajikistan. The talks commenced under the aegis of the UN in 1994. In late 1995, negotiations came to deadlock and hostilities resumed. In November 1995, Russian President’s Assistants for International Affairs, Demitriy Ryurikov, arrived in Dushanbe to hold consultations with the parties in the conflict and resumed inter-Tajik dialogue. Russia appointed Yevgany Primakov, the Foreign Minister of Russia, who visited Dushanbe 1996 and declared that repairing relations with the opposition was precondition, not only for political stabilization but also for the preservation of the country’s integrity and for solving economic problems. After several rounds of talks in 1996 to facilitate a meeting between the UTO leader, Said Abdulloi Nuri and President Imomali Rakhmon and later their meeting at Khozdeh (Afghanistan) in December 1996, the process moved towards the signing of a protocol on military cooperation in March 1997, which provided for the integration of the government and opposition armed units by July 1998. This led to General Agreement on Peace and national Accord in Tajikistan signed in Moscow 27 June 1997.

Through the mid-1990s, Russia played a role in independent Tajikistan by its military presence there, in the form of the 201st Motorized Rifle Division and the Border Troops. Russian personnel in Dushanbe acted as advisers to the post-civil war government. Russians also held important positions in the Dushanbe government itself, most notably the Ministry of Defense, which was led from 1992 to 1995 by Aleksandr Shishlyannikov. Yuriy Ponosov, who had a generation of experience as a CPSU official
in Tajikistan before the breakup of the Soviet Union, became Tajikistan's first deputy prime minister in March 1996.

The protection of the Russian minority in strife-ridden Tajikistan is a stated foreign policy goal of the Russian government. Russia's concern was eased somewhat by the conclusion of a dual-citizenship agreement between the two countries in 1995. Russia also has justified its active involvement in the affairs of Tajikistan by citing the need to defend the Tajikistan-Afghanistan border - and thus, the CIS - from penetration by Islamic extremism and drug trafficking. In April 1999 Russia and Tajikistan signed an agreement on the establishment of a Russian military base in Tajikistan; in the same month nine major bilateral agreements were signed, including a Treaty of Alliance and Co-operation. In October 2004 Russia officially opened a military base in Tajikistan and took formal control of the Nurek space monitoring center; in return, Russia agreed to cancel US $242m, of Tajikistan's $300m debt to Russia (Europa Year Book 2008: 4214).

Tajikistan has little commercial value to Russia. Relations between Russia and Tajikistan are based on the Agreement on cooperation and Mutual Assistance signed in Moscow on 25 May 1995. This agreement set out the principles upon which Russia-Tajik relations should be based: mutual respect for national sovereignty and territorial integrity; the peaceful resolution of conflicts and non-use of force; equal rights and non-interference in each other's internal affairs; and respect for and observance of human rights and basic liberties and other internationally acknowledged norms. Since this Agreement, about 70 treaties, agreements and protocols have been signed by the presidents of the two countries. The opening of the CIS Department in 1997 in the Tajikistan Foreign Ministry has contributed to improvement in relations as aspects of relations with Russia are being evolved here. Tajikistan joined the CIS Custom Union in February 1999. The visit of Russian Prime Minister, Victor Chernomyrdin, in January 1998 paved the way for cooperation in several others areas like energy, civil defense and handling of emergency situations. During President Yeltsin's visit to Tashkent on 12 October 1998, a trilateral Declaration on general cooperation between the Russian Federation, the Republic of Uzbekistan and Republic of Tajikistan was signed which
provides for joint action on political, economic and defense matters and cooperation in the protection of the Afghan/Tajik and Afghan/Uzbek borders.

Russia and Tajikistan signed an agreement on construction of Rogun hydro-electric power station in October 2002, it is kind of second largest in the world. The $1.3 billion projects is expected to be completed in 2007. Russia and Kazakhstan signed an agreement with Tajikistan to complete the Sangtuda hydel project in April 2003. Under the 2003 agreement, Gazprom would conduct prospecting, extractions and exploitation of gas recourse and build and reconstruct pipe line network there. In October 2004, during Putin visit to Dushanbe, Unified Energy System (UES) of Russia decided that Russia would get a stake in project in Lieu of clearing of $ 50 million debt of Tajikistan to Russia (the total amount of Tajikistan debt is $ 300 million). The Rogun project also got a pledge of $ 560 million investment from RusAl. Miller and Tajikistan's minister of energy J.Nurmakhmadov signed Memorandum of understanding for gas and oil and gas joint venture in March 2006, in which Gazprom would invest upward of $ 6 million and would retain the controlling stake. Under the deal, Gazprom also would develop four gas fields Sarikamysh and Rengan in the western and Sagazon and Olimtoi in southern Tajikistan (Ganguli 2006: 281-82).

Over the last 17 years, Tajikistan has cautiously interacted with a large number of countries in the world and has successfully managed economic and military assistance from a wide variety of members of the international community. Russia has offered moral, military, political and material support even though there have been occasional fluctuations in its relations with Tajikistan (Umarov, Khojamahmad 113).

**Tajikistan- Uzbekistan**

Tajikistan and Uzbekistan formally established diplomatic ties on 22 October 1992. Even before 9 December 1992 when the Uzbek President approved the dispatch of a military contingent to Tajikistan, pro-Communist elements in Tajikistan has been receiving support from the government of Uzbekistan and the Uzbeks in Tajikistan. The
two countries signed a Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance on 4 January 1993. Between 1993 and 1994, Uzbekistan had high influence in Tajikistan. The Uzbek military involvement in Tajikistan, however, was dictated by domestic compulsions like the likelihood of the spread of political Islam and the probable exodus of Uzbeks from the civil-war-ravaged country. Relations between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan, however, have witnessed ups and downs since the beginning. On its part, Uzbekistan was deeply worried about the rising tide of Islamic forces in Tajikistan and its spillover in the adjoining Uzbek territories. Consequently, Uzbekistan adopted a strict policy against religious extremist forces. Its security forces carried out aerial bombardment of the hideouts of extremists and terrorists.

Tajikistan's relations with Uzbekistan have been mercurial. Tajikistan has accused Uzbekistan of harboring separatists, and Uzbekistan has accused Tajikistan of harboring anti government groups intent on overthrowing the Karimov regime. One repercussion of tension is Uzbekistan's decision to cut natural gas supplies in early June 2007 because of Dushanbe's debt of about $3.5 million. Later the two countries have also quarreled over Tashkent's mining of the common border in an effort to prevent Islamic militants from infiltrating Uzbekistan from Tajikistan (Torbakov 2007).

Relations between Uzbekistan and Tajikistan have rarely been good since those two former Soviet republics gained independence in late 1991. In 2006 Tajik and Uzbek authorities traded accusations and counteraccusations over security on their common border (Pannier, Bruce 2006).

**Tajikistan - Kyrgyzstan**

Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have successfully promoted good neighborly relations since the establishment of diplomatic ties on 14 January 1993. Kyrgyz President Askar Akayev visited Dushanbe in 1996 and a Treaty on the Foundation of Inter-State Relations was signed. In return, President Imomali Rahmon visited Kyrgyzstan during 6-7 May 1998. The Kyrgyz republic fully supported Tajikistan's membership of the Custom Union

There exist some outstanding issues related to transportation, trans-border rivers, ethnic groups and disputed sections on the Tajik-Kyrgyz border. The Asian Development Bank (ADB) and the Organization of Petroleum Exporting Countries (OPEC) are helping both Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan in various construction projects. However, incursions by the IMU into Kyrgyzstan from Tajikistan territory in 1999 and 2000 have aggravated relations between the two countries. Tajikistan by 2005 was annually importing from Kyrgyzstan printed materials worth $ 14.1 million, 66,400 tons of asbestos product, and electric bulbs. More recently, the TAJIK government has encouraged the rapid development of its own printing industry and the rehabilitation of the contraction materials industry (Umarov, Khojamahmad 113).

Tajikistan – Kazakhstan

Diplomatic relations between Tajikistan and Kazakhstan were established on 7 January 1993, President Imomali Rahmon paid a state visit to Astana, the Kazakh capital, on 13 January 1993. The two countries signed several documents including the Bilateral Treaty on the Fundamental Principles of Inter-State Relations and the Agreement on Principles of Economic Trade Cooperation. During the visit of Kazakh President Nursultan Nazarbaev to Tajikistan on 13 June 2000, several documents were signed in the field of education, science and technology, information and prevention of drug-trafficking.

Tajikistan exports to Kazakhstan 8,400 tons of fruit juice and 298 tons of aluminum and transformers. Tajikistan could expand the export of dried fruits and canned fruits and vegetable, aluminum, fresh flowers, fermented tobacco, cotton fiber, and cotton and silk yarn. Proper diversification of trade through these products could improve the balance of trade between these countries. Tajik import from Kazakhstan has also fluted, but not by as much as those from Uzbekistan. Imports from Kazakhstan amounted to $5.5 million in 1991, $26.5 million in 1995, $ 95.8 million in 2003, and 152 million in 2004. Tajikistan
imported from Kazakhstan 280,100 tons of wheat flour, 80,200 tons of coke, 64,600 tons of oil products, and 48,400 tons of wheat and wheat flour (Umarov, Khojamahmad 112-113).

**Tajikistan – China**

Independent Tajikistan is seeking diverse contacts with all interested states. Under Soviet Union the Central Asian republics remained in the shadow of the Communist system, the disintegration of which finally gave them a chance to develop relations with other countries. At first, the world community remained indifferent to their existence and limited itself to general declarations. The People’s Republic of China, however, became aware that the three new Central Asian states in its northwestern border radically changed the foreign policy context. The change of the world order also brought China and five Central Asian countries numerous difficulties. Because they fall into the category of developing nations, they face many internal economic and social problems. Detrimental factor in their surrounding also often threaten the economic and political security of China and the Central Asian Countries (Zhuangzhi, Sun 43).

When the Republic of Tajikistan and the People's Republic of China were establishing diplomatic relations fifteen years ago (January 4, 1992), these relations were undeniably marred by the unsolved problem of the state border (Dubovitsky 2007). On 4 January, 1992 Dushanbe made one of its first foreign policy moves by signing a joint Tajik-Chinese communiqué on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries at the embassy level. The date itself is an eloquent sign of Beijing’s interest in the political processes that swept the post-Soviet expanse in the late 20th century. China was one of the first states to recognize the independence of all the Soviet republics, including Tajikistan.

In 1993 Chairman of the Supreme Soviet of Tajikistan Emomali Rakhmon paid his first official visit to China on an invitation from the Chinese leaders. He traveled to Nanjing, Shanghai, and Urumchi and met top Chinese officials: Chairman of the PRC
Jiang Zemin and Chairman of the Standing Committee of the National People’s Congress of China Yang Shangkun. The talks proceeded in a friendly and businesslike atmosphere.

The sides discussed issues of mutual interest; Point 12 of the joint declaration said that relations between China and Tajikistan had good prospects. The visit produced another important decision on developing trade and economic relations on a priority basis. The sides pointed out their common position on the key issues. The visit demonstrated that China supported the young independent state; without this support Tajikistan could hardly attain many of its foreign policy goals in Asia.

One of the priorities for Tajikistan is cooperation with China. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) has been a useful forum in expanding Tajik-China ties. The relations between both countries are also conditioned by the presence of the Eastern Turkistan Liberation Movement (ETLM) on the border region between the two countries.

**Tajikistan – Iran**

Among the newly independent states of Central Asia, Tajikistan occupies a special place for Iran. Although Tajikistan lacks the economic significance of Turkmenistan and Kazakhstan, and Uzbekistan’s political weight, for the combined reason of culture and ideology, its relations with Iran carry a special role in shaping Iran’s overall foreign policy in Central Asia. Of all the new “Muslim” states, Tajikistan is the only Farsi-speaking state with a strong linkage to the Iranian cultural milieu. In fact, it is this cultural element that presents Tajikistan not only as an opportunity but as ‘burden’ or ‘responsibility’ for the Iranian leadership (Mesbahi Mohiaddin 1997: 141).

Tajikistan pays special attention to cooperation with Iran as it believes that the relations with that country are one of strategic guidelines in its foreign policy. Iran and Tajikistan have worked to considerably deepen academic and cultural ties, signing several agreements to increase cooperation in these fields.9 Tajikistan’s ties with the

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9 Tajikistan-Iran Foreign Relations, By Ariel Farrar-Wellman, Robert Frasco, July 7, 2010
Islamic Republic cultural, historic and linguistic affinities between them despite relative remoteness.

When Tajikistan declared independence, Iran was one of the first countries to extend diplomatic recognition, and the first to establish an embassy in Dushanbe. In 1992 Iran provided training for a group of Tajik diplomats from Tajikistan. In the fall of 1992, Iran repeatedly offered to help mediate Tajikistan's civil war in cooperation with other Central Asian states. Although such offers produced no negotiations, Iran did send food and set up camps for refugees from Tajikistan. Iran worked with Russia in attempting to negotiate a peace agreement between the Dushanbe government and the opposition. In July 1995, Tajikistan opened an embassy in Tehran, one of its few outside the former Soviet Union.

After 1991 bilateral contacts in the mass media and in sports increased significantly, and Iran funded construction of several new mosques in Tajikistan. Some of Tajikistan's most important contacts with Iran in the early 1990s were cultural. For example, Tajikistan held an Iranian film festival, an exhibition of Iranian art, and two exhibits of Iranian publications. Dushanbe was the site of international conferences on Persian culture and the Tajik language. In the early 1990s, Iranian books and magazines became increasingly available in Tajikistan, and Dushanbe television carried programs from Iran. Cooperation between the countries extends in the areas of language, publication of Persian education books Tajik schools, student exchanges, scholarships, book exhibitions, and rebroadcasting of Iran's television programmes (Mesbah Mohiaddin 1997: 144).

Iran is attempting to cultivate closer ties with Afghanistan and Tajikistan as part of a diplomatic effort to alleviate international the Iranian initiative led to a late July summit in the Tajik capital Dushanbe, where the leaders of the three states signed several economic agreements. The summit's crowning achievement, though, was the creation of a
"cultural cooperation commission" to promote closer tripartite economic and security ties. According to Iranian President Mahmoud Ahmadinejad, the commission will convene twice annually with the inaugural gathering slated for this fall in the Afghan capital Kabul. In addition, the Iranian president advocated the creation of a television network that would "broadcast the Persian language and culture to the world," and the expansion of educational exchanges assure over Tehran's nuclear program.  

Tajikistan – Afghanistan

Relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan are generally good. Tajikistan sits on Afghanistan's northeastern border, lying adjacent to the Afghan provinces of Badakhshan, Takhar, Kunduz, and Balkh. The 749-mile (1206-km) border largely follows the course of the Amu Darya and Panj Rivers. Much of Tajikistan’s southeastern border with Afghanistan lies in the Pamir Mountain range - the junction of the Hindu Kush and the Karakoram Mountains and home to some of the highest peaks in the world.

The two countries have strong historical links and share the Persian language, with large numbers of Tajiks living in Afghanistan. Tajikistan and Afghanistan, the country with which it shares its long southern border, have been affected not only by the cultural and ethnic links between inhabitants of the countries but also by the way the Soviet regime tried to use those links to ensure the survival of a communist government in Kabul after 1979. The Soviets put Tajiks from Tajikistan in positions of power in the Soviet-backed Afghan government and sent propaganda publications from Tajikistan to Afghanistan. Afghans were brought to Tajikistan for education and communist indoctrination, and Tajiks served in the Soviet military occupation of Afghanistan. In 1991 the political climate in Tajikistan allowed some citizens to criticize the war openly, although there was no reliable gauge of how widely this antiwar opinion was shared.

Into the early 1990s, the communist government in Dushanbe and the then-communist government in Kabul favored the development of economic relations and exchanges in the fields of education and publishing. During the civil war, the anti-reformist side alleged that its opponents relied heavily on the subversive actions of Afghan mujahidin. Most neutral observers dismissed the large-scale role of Afghans as a propaganda ploy. Relation with Afghanistan was strained by the apparent in ability of the Afghan Government to prevent mujahiddin fighters and consignments of weapons from crossing the frontier in Tajikistan. The election of largely pro-communist Tajikistan Government in late 1992 further strained bilateral relations and in April 1993 the Tajikistan Government to the Afghan authorities about alleged incursion across the border by Afghans, apparently to assist rebel troops (Europa Year Book 2007: 4214).

Rugged terrain and poor border enforcement make the Tajikistan - Afghanistan border very permeable. Beginning in 1992, border crossings - for private smuggling, to escape the Tajikistani civil war, or to obtain weapons for one side or the other in that war - became increasingly numerous. By early 1993, the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees estimated that 50,000 to 70,000 refugees had gone from southern Tajikistan to northern Afghanistan. By 1994 many of them had returned home, although the exact number is not available.

The Central Asian approach Afghanistan from a short term perspective and with considerable reluctance. They have made few efforts to develop infrastructure project and economic ties to Afghanistan that might give them better links to the outside world (Confrence Report 2008: IV). Afghanistan, which shares a border with Tajikistan, provides a transit point for both Iran and Pakistan. In addition, there have been ethnic, cultural and religious commonalities between the people of Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Also, Tajiks and Uzbeks live on either side of the border. Relations between both countries however have had several ups and downs, trials and tribulations.
In January 2007, with funding from the United States, Afghanistan and Tajikistan opened a bridge over the Panj River linking the two countries. Although the goal is to improve trade, the president of Tajikistan expressed concern that it could also increase drug traffic. In March 2008, Iran, Afghanistan and Tajikistan issued a joint communiqué for expanding economic and cultural relations, including improving security. In January, 2009, Afghanistan officially agreed that Tajikistan owned 3,000 hectares of disputed land along the Panj River. The issue arose when the river shifted course, leaving several Tajik cotton fields on the Afghani side of the river.

Tajikistan and Pakistan

Tajikistan-Pakistan relationship has deep roots in the history. During the medieval period, people of this country have been tied up by common culture and in particular by common literature. The Central Asian republics came into direct contact with Pakistan after the collapse of the Soviet Union. At the instigation of Pakistan’s Inter-Services Intelligence (ISI) and US Central Intelligence Agency (CIA) anti-Soviet propaganda campaigns and military operations were carried out by Pakistan against Tajikistan and Uzbekistan since the beginning of the Afghan War. The goal of detaching the Central Asian states from CIS and, thereby, weakening the Russian Federation remained one of the avowed objectives of Pakistan after the Soviet Union collapsed. It was in this backdrop that when the Tajik civil war began, Pakistan lent support to Tajik rebels in Afghanistan who forged ethno-religious solidarity with the UTO for destabilizing the newly independent Central Asian republic. Pakistan has been chastened by successive failure – and dangerous efforts to develop ‘strategic depth’ in Afghanistan and the rest of Central Asia (Christine Fair 2008: 201).

In recent years, however, relations between Tajikistan and Pakistan have improved. The Karakorum highway has connected the two countries. During the difficult period of Tajik state building, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan rendered and still rendering disinterested assistance, constantly and firmly supported and supports the political course of H.E. President Emomali Rahmon directed at establishing lasting peace,
stability and national accord in the country, economic development, improving the living standard of the population, strengthening friendship and mutually beneficial cooperation with all countries of the world.

Education promotion is developing through Diplomatic Academy of Pakistan, NUML, and the International Islamic University of Islamabad and also available through some Military institutions. Regarding common ethnical peculiarities of the people of Pakistan and Tajikistan, it is well known that they both have deep, historical, religious, cultural and other similarities which bring them closer. For example national festival 'Nowruz', this is celebrated in Tajikistan annually for three days, starting from March 21st.

Another important point and a solid cause of spiritual and bilateral relationships is the personality of Hazrat Mir Kabir Ali Hamdani (Hazrat Shah-e- Hamdan). The personality and belief of Hazrat Shah-e-Hamdan are very much attractive for the Muslims to act upon & get rid of terrorism and extremism. No doubt, Hazrat Shah-e-Hamdan was a great saint and spiritual leader of the Islamic history. His shrine is in the city of Kulab in the Republic of Tajikistan. Every year, thousands followers of Hazrat Shah-e-Hamdan go to his shrine. The Government of Tajikistan respects those pilgrims and provides them facilities. Hazrat Shah-e-Hamdan preaches Islam in the whole subcontinent and sells the true message to the rest of the world. The Government of Tajikistan has built his shrine with the modern art of construction and also established a museum and a library in the shrine area. In this way, we can confidently say that Hazrat Shah-e-Hamdan is playing keen role to making both nations closer. 12

The exchange of the official visits of the Presidents of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Islamic Republic of Pakistan in 2002 and 2004 have opened a new page in the history of bilateral relations between the two countries and have laid a solid foundation for further development of relationship and have identified concrete directions and proper mechanism for implementation of around 20 bilateral documents.

In 2009, Tajikistan and Pakistan relations reached the new heights. On 29-31 July, official visit of the delegation of the Islamic Republic of Pakistan headed by the President His Excellency Asif Ali Zardari to the Republic of Tajikistan was held. And the host of issues has been discussed, inter alia, especially the hydro energy, education, communication, transport, trade, economy and industry and a number of agreements were signed there, by taking in mind the special importance for both sides in the field of energy supply of the countries.

**Tajikistan-USA**

Diplomatic relations between the Republic of Tajikistan and the United States of America were established on February 14, 1992. The Embassy of the United States in Dushanbe was opened in March 1992. The Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the U.S. to the Republic of Tajikistan is Mr. Kenneth E.Gross (*since October 2, 2009*). The United States was one of the first countries to recognize Tajikistan as an independent country on December 25, 1991. Since then, through six different ambassadors, the U.S. has developed a strong, multi-dimensional relationship that has evolved with Tajikistan's history as an independent nation. 13


Today the Tajik-American relations are effectively developing in the following fields: trade and economic, humanitarian, security, military-political, fighting against the international terrorism, culture and education, public health services and etc. Intensification of bilateral contacts is evidence of US interest in further strengthening of

13 [http://dushanbe.usembassy.gov/history.html](http://dushanbe.usembassy.gov/history.html)
cooperation between countries. Other important event which demonstrated strengthening relations between the Republic of Tajikistan and the USA was the opening of a new U.S. Embassy compound in Dushanbe on June 28, 2006 with participation of the President of Tajikistan.

Since the establishment of bilateral relations between the U.S. Government and the Government of Tajikistan 25 documents regulating the legal base have been signed: 13 on trade and economy, 12 in the fields of military-technical cooperation, combating terrorism and illegal drugs trafficking. United States considers development of cooperation of countries of region, especially in effective use of hydro energy resources as an important factor of political and economic stability in countries of Central and South Asia.

On May 26, 2010, His Excellency Abdujabbor Shirinov, Ambassador of the Republic of Tajikistan to the United States, granted an interview with a large focus on energy issues and on how they are affecting his country. Ambassador Shirinov spoke openly about the energy and water shortages impacting the region, joint collaboration between Tajikistan and Afghanistan to address its needs such as energy, the construction of a large hydro-power dam seen as key to Tajikistan’s energy security, and oil and gas exploration where preliminary assessments tend to show an untapped potential that could lead Tajikistan to energy independence. ¹⁴

The volume of trade between the Republic of Tajikistan and the United States of America was 79725.9 thousand US dollars in 2008. The export made 240.8 thousand USD and import was 79485.1 thousand USD. These indicators were consequently 99020.6, 299 and 98721.6 thousand USD in the first sixth months of 2009.

The United States sees Tajikistan as an important partner in Central Asia, including as a contributor to border security in the OSCE area and as an important link to implementing the Ministerial Decision in 2007 on intensifying the OSCE’s engagement

with Afghanistan. The US fully supports the Government of Tajikistan in the areas and across all three dimensions towards the concept of comprehensive security.\footnote{http://www.america.gov/st/texttrans-english/2010/July/20100708160033SBliebahC0.3652394.html&distid=ucs}

The U.S. continues providing technical assistance in the various areas of cooperation. In July, 2002 the Memorandum of Mutual Understanding between the USA and the Republic of Tajikistan about rendering of the technical assistance in preparation for the legislation on micro financing has been signed. The document became the important step for improvement of vital conditions of the citizens of Tajikistan and stimulation of growth of small business in the country, which has opened access of citizens to credit facilities.


In April 2008, President Rahmon stated that Tajikistan was ready to “further expand relations of cooperation with countries or the West and the East, as well as those of the Islamic world, from the point of view of our open-door foreign policy.” (Nichol, Jim 2009: 3). For the purpose of arrangement of conditions for prolonged development of efficient potential of Law Enforcement structure of the Republic of Tajikistan on August 22, 2009 the Amendments N.7 and N.8 to the existing Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Government of USA on Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement from January 2003 were signed. According to this
document the Government of the USA provided additional $13.4 million of US dollars to the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan. These projects are directed at fighting against illegal drug trafficking, strengthening border of Tajikistan, assistance in the sphere of reform of police and improvement of the legal system of Tajikistan. Annually under the program of Military Cooperation more than 100 Tajik military officers receive advanced knowledge, participating in trainings and arrangements planned by the Central Command of the USA.

With aim of support to antiterrorist operation in Afghanistan Tajikistan undertakes following steps: provides air spaces on carrying out of humanitarian and rescue operation in Afghanistan and ground structure for dislocation of military air force unit of the anti-terrorist coalition headed by the United States of America; revealing and not permitting usage of bank accounts and property by the international terrorist organizations in the territory of Tajikistan; exchange of useful information and others. Today Tajikistan actively participates in the second stage of operation, namely, the program of restoration of Afghanistan. Concrete step on rendering such help became construction of five bridges connecting Tajikistan and Afghanistan on frontier sites. The first bridge connecting Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Region of Tajikistan and province of Badakhshan of Afghanistan is already entered into operation in November, 2002.

On July 26-27, 2005 the U.S. Secretary of Defense Donald Rumsfeld visited Tajikistan. During his visit he has met with the President of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon and other officials. During his meetings issues of establishment of peace and stability in Afghanistan, struggle against terrorism, drug trafficking and proliferation of arms which are today in the interests of both sides were discussed. The important event on bilateral relations between the Republic of Tajikistan and the United States of America was the opening of bridge on August 26, 2007 in the Panj River joining the Tajikistan with Afghanistan which was constructed by financial support of USA. On January 22, 2008 U.S. Central Commander William Fallon visited Dushanbe. During his visit W. Fallon met with the President of Tajikistan. During the meeting the prospects of bilateral cooperation, as well as the potential development of the Central-Asia region and the
situation in Afghanistan have been discussed. The Ministry of Education of Tajikistan signed agreements in the field of Higher Education with relevant educational ministries of the People's Republic of China (2001), Czech Republic (1997), Republic of Turkey (1993), Islamic Republic of Iran (2002), Russian Federation (1997) and Kyrgyz Republic (2000). Agreements on exchange of specialists were concluded with German Academic Society (DAAD) in 1995 and American Council for cooperation (AKCELC) in the field of language learning (1996).\(^\text{17}\)

Cooperation in the field of education and health care is developing. In June, 1996 in Washington the *Cooperation Agreement between Ministry of Education of Tajikistan and the American Councils for International Education (ACCELS)* was signed. Within the framework of this scientific-educational cooperation exchanges are carried out. Annually many scholars and students can study in the United States.

On July 19, 2005 the US Ambassador to Tajikistan R. Hougland has opened educational Internet - center at the Islamic University of Dushanbe. This center is one of 24 educational centers in Tajikistan. Support of public health system is one the priorities in rendering of humanitarian assistance. Starting from 2001 through HOPE project Tajikistan's medical system received medicines, medical instrument and equipment for the sum of 196 million US dollars.

The Republic of Tajikistan and the United States are also cooperating in the context of Framework Agreement between the governments of the U.S. and Central Asian countries concerning the development of trade and investment relations, which signed on June 1, 2004 in Washington. On 17-18 June, 2008 fourth annual meeting of the Council of the U.S. - Central Asia Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) took place in Dushanbe. Delegation from Afghanistan joined as an observer at the meeting. The participants of the meeting considered the condition of economic

\(^{17}\) Ministry of education of Tajikistan has worked out main priorities in reforming the higher education (HE). 
cooperation on investment and trade in Central-Asian region, as well as between region and USA.\textsuperscript{18}

During the participation in 63rd sessions of UN General Assembly on September 2008 in New - York the President of the Republic of Tajikistan E. Rahmon met with the U.S. Deputy Secretary of State William Bern. During the meeting questions of development of cooperation in field of energy, transport and communication, formation of regional electric power, as well as cooperation with International Financial Institutions have been discussed. Also meetings of Head of State took place with the Americans Entrepreneurs and with the President of the «Tethys Petroleum» Company David Robson.

On November 11, 2008 Deputy Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asia George Krol visited Dushanbe. During his visit George Krol met with the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon and the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan Hamrohon Zarifi. During the meetings water-energy problems, the prospects of bilateral cooperation and regional questions, in particular situation in Afghanistan have been discussed. On January 17, 2009 the U.S. Central Commander General David Petraeus visited Dushanbe. During his visit D. Petreus met with the President of the Republic of Tajikistan Emomali Rahmon. During the meeting the perspectives of bilateral relations, as well as potential of the development Central-Asia region, situation in neighboring country Afghanistan, including transit of cargo through Tajikistan by commercial means to support US efforts in Afghanistan have been discussed.

Tajikistan is not a producer of illicit narcotics, but it is a major transit country together with Pakistan and Iran for heroin and opium from Afghanistan. The Republic of Tajikistan has emerged as a frontline state in the war on drugs and is suffering from the boom in Afghan drug production. The Republic of Tajikistan is also a major center for

\textsuperscript{18}Cooperation Of The Republic Of Tajikistan With The United States Of America. http://www.tjus.org/Tajik-American%20Relations.htm
domestic and international drug trafficking organizations. A significant amount of opium/heroin is trafficked, primarily using land-based routes, through Tajikistan, onward through Central Asia to Russia and Europe. Approximately 40 percent reaches Russia; 30 percent goes to Europe; and there is evidence of trafficking in Afghan opiates to and through China. Chinese border police and the Tajik Drug Control Agency conducted a joint study of the drug flow of Afghan opiates from Tajikistan to China in October 2007. They estimated that approximately five percent of Afghan opiates entering Tajikistan exit to China, three percent go to the United States, three percent through Africa to South America with the remainder going to Russia and Europe.19

On May 5, 2009 in Dushanbe Amendment to the existing Agreement between the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Government of the United States of America on Narcotics Control and Law Enforcement from January 2003 and Memorandum of Understanding between the Government of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Government of the United States of America on cooperation in the sphere of reform of local self-governance bodies have been signed. According to those documents providing additional funds in the framework of noted Agreement was planned.

Tajikistan- India

The historical and cultural contacts between India and Central Asia go back to the very dawn of history. Since the early times there has been a constant flow of culture and commerce between the two regions. “Waves upon waves of immigrants came to India from central Asia, and many of these were scholars, scientist, technicians and artisans.” (Hasan 1985: 6). They contributed to the rich tapestry of Indian life and culture. This was reciprocated by Indian missionaries who transmitted Indian religion, art and merchandise to that region. Recent research and archaeological excavation show a certain typological affinity between the cultures of south of Tajikistan and Soan culture of North – West of India as early as the Paleolithic age. In the Neolithic age similar agricultural practices and

social development gave rise to urban civilization and states in the two regions. Regular contacts seem to have existed between Indus Valley towns and the settlements in South Turkmenistan (Levin 1971: 203-4).

Ethnically, the Tajiks are the descendents of the Indo-Iranian branch of the Aryans. Their mother tongue – Tajik – belongs to the Irano-Arian group of languages and, hence, has similarities with Sanskrit language. Linguistically to non-Dravidian (Indo-Aryan) languages in India and the Tajik language belongs to the same language family. In the early middle ages, besides trade relations, our forefathers were also connected through cultural relation, and some of the most well known instances of these relations include adoption of the game of chess and the magnificent world classic “Kalil Dimna” (Panchatantra), part of the world treasure of culture, by our ancestors thought their reinterpretation.

During the Greek and Saka rule when Northern India and Central Asia became part of the same state formation, cultural and economic interactions became particularly strong (Levin 1971: 203). The high watermark of India-Central Asia relations was reached under the Kushan Empire, which included territories of Central Asia and a considerable part of North India. The Kushan period witnessed lively and reciprocal cultural exchanges. The carriers of cultural influences in India were primarily the Kushan authorities, functionaries and soldiers; in Central Asia they were Buddhist missionaries and monks (Levin 1971: 197).

The ancient ties between India and Central Asia became long-ranging and regular in the early 13th century when Islamized Central Asian Turks established control over North India. The contacts were temporarily disrupted by the Mongol invasions, but Timur’s incorporation of a part of northwestern India into his empire restored the relationship between the two regions (Gopal, S 2001: 3).

The establishment and consolidation of Mughal rule in India since 1526 and 17th centuries gave a further boost as the ruler’s maintained strong psychological and
emotional ties to their homeland in Central Asian (Foltz, R.C., 1998). The Tajik nobility in the Mughal court greatly contributed to the evolution of India's composite culture (Firdous, T 2006: 321-322). Many of the Mughal emperors expressed the desire to reconquer their homeland, though only two of them – Humayun in 1549 and Shah Jahan in 1646 – actually made any attempts in that direction (Foltz, R.C., Karachi, 1998, pp.137-147). According to Richard Foltz, India was the main beneficiary of the two hundred year long brain-drain (Foltz, R.C., 1998: 69). It is also said: “Persian culture acted as a bond between the two peoples, mainly due to the Tajik nobility which wielded considerable influence in the Mughal court” (Puri, M.M., 1997: 237-268).

The medieval period of Tajik-Indian relations is characterized by the coming of the Tajik (Persian) language to this ancient country and emergence of excellent Persian literature in India. Work of such great master of literature as Saadi Salmon, Muhammad Avfi Bukhoroi, Amir Khusro Dehlavi, Mirza Abdulqadiri Bedil, Zebunissa, Muhammad Iqbal and hundreds of others masters of word are a matter of pride for us (Umed Nazarov, 2006:29).

The informal ties between India and Central Asia were further strengthened during the Soviet era when strong cooperation was established with the Soviet Union in the fields of science, politics, economics and culture. During the Soviet period the relations between Tajik and Indian peoples became closer. The main person at that time, who played major role in a historical link between two people from Tajik side, was Tajik poet Mirzo Tursun-Zoda. He visited India several times and supported Indian people on the fighting for their Independence during 1947-1949. He wrote several poems about Indian people and their heroism on the way for the freedom and building democratic country. Such as, “Indian ballad”- (1948-49), “I am freedom from Asia” (1950-56), “From Gang to Kremlin” (1970) “Tara Chandra” were written by Mirzo Tursun-Zoda, where he described life of Indian people after Independence. Nowadays the relationship between the two countries has a new level and it is on the progress of a new stage of cooperation.