

FORMING OF POLITICAL SYSTEM OF TAJIKISTAN:
POLITICAL AND JURIDICAL ASPECTS

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Contents

Introduction	3
Chapter 1	
Political Structures	8
State. United Tajik Opposition. Intertajik Talks. Regional Elites. Political Parties. Political Associations. Pressure Groups. Mass Media. Mosque. Electoral System.	
Chapter 2	
Political Culture	15
Political Consciousness. Subcultures. Orientation Towards the Political System. Political Clientelism. Secularization of Political Culture. Political Socialization.	
Chapter 3	
Functional Aspects of the Political System	23
System's Capabilities. Conversion Process. System Maintenance and Adaptation.	
Chapter 4	
Development of the Political System	31
Starting point. Directions of Development.	
Bibliography	37

Introduction

The last years of the 20s century will enter into the history of mankind as the end of "The Cold War" between two social systems - democratic and totalitarian. Staying in its rigid dogmas, communist ideology plunged into a deep crisis which led to the collapse of the communist regimes of the Soviet Union and the countries of Eastern Europe. The majority of these countries, including Tajikistan, have declared both their adherence to democratic values and the desire to build social systems based on democratic principles. It requires conducting fundamental changes in the economic, social and political systems of these countries.

Tajikistan, a young country attaining its independence in 1991, also has to resolve these complicated tasks. In 1994, the country adopted its new Constitution, which declared Tajikistan a "democratic, rule based, secular, and unitary state". The Constitution determined the directions of development of Tajik society and the legal framework for its political system. Tajik society has entered into a long transition period, in the course of which Tajikistan will have to rationalize the system of government of society, replace its ideologized political culture inherited from the totalitarian Soviet system with a more rational culture of political pluralism, and many other things.

This paper deals with the problem of forming the political system of Tajikistan after the country attained its independence. Prior to that, Tajikistan was a part of the Soviet Union, its political system was a part of the totalitarian Soviet political system. Though the Tajik society formally had all structures of the totalitarian political system, it did not possess the necessary autonomy to make decisions. All decisions were made in the center of the empire. The political process was incomplete, and the Tajik political system did not have an output.

Immediately after attaining independence, the Tajik society entered into a path of confrontation which soon led to the civil war.

Up to now, some people have been seeking for the answer to the question why the development went the way it did. Some blame islamo-democrats who were striving for power, others believe that conservatives who did not want changes are guilty, and a third group of people think that the events were initiated by external forces. It appears that each of these factors in some measure influenced the developments. However, the factors mentioned, as well as the civil war itself, are rather consequences-the response of the society to certain conditions of the social and historical development.

The reasons for the development of these events lie in

the peculiarities of the social structure of the Tajik society, character of public relations. To find these reasons, we need to investigate the link between the organization of the society and its development. We can resolve this task applying to a theory of political systems, which provides for an extensive analysis of the political organization of the society, its culture and social structure, interrelation and interdependence of these factors, and their links with the development of the society.

In this research, the political system of Tajikistan from the positions of the contemporary western rational politology will be considered. Attention has been concentrated on the two basic theories of political systems: the theory of David Easton and the theory of Gabriel Almond.

According to the theory of D. Easton, the political system is a self-developing and self-regulating organism. "All those activities involved in the formulation and execution of social policy, in what has come to be called elliptically in political science, the policy-making process, constitute the political system."¹

The system consists of several parts composing a single integrity. It has mobile boundaries separating it from other systems of the society - economic, legal, educational systems.

The system has its input, where the impulses in the forms of demands and support come. The output of a system - authoritative allocation of values through political decisions. The signals coming to the input of a system, their character and intensity depend on both the system's capability to meet the requirements of citizens and system's reaction to demands. The support of system increases when the system meets the demands. Otherwise, the support of a system decreases, and it may lead to a crisis in the political system. The demands and support to the political system should come permanently, otherwise, because of underloading, it can stop functioning. Excessive demands to the system may cause the system's overloading and stagnation.

The demands take a special place in diverse information coming to the system. D. Easton divides demands to distributive (on wage and working time, education, health care and other services), regulative (public security, control on market and producers, and etc.), communicative (on giving political information, etc.), participation (on suffrage, participation in decision-making, etc.). The system makes committal decisions, actions on their implementation and related with them types of behavior. The

1 D. Easton, "The Political System", (The University of Chicago 1965) p.129

output activities of the political system are stipulated by its principal destiny and its nature. It consists of authoritative allocation of values and provision of their acceptance by population. The form of authoritative allocation of values is the political decision making by one of the elements of the political system.

The support coming to the political system is expressed in the form of payment of taxes, participation in voting, military duty service, and loyalty to the state and its symbols.¹

According to theory of G. Almond, social systems are made up not of individuals, but of roles. A family, for example, consists of the roles of mother and father, husband and wife. The family is only one set of interacting roles for its members, who also may have roles outside the family in schools, business firms, and churches. In the same sense, a political system is made up of the interacting roles of nationals, subjects, voters, legislators, bureaucrats, and judges. The same individuals who perform roles in the political system perform roles in other social systems as the economy, the religious community, the family, and voluntary organizations. As individuals expose themselves to political communication, form interest groups, vote, or pay taxes, they shift from political to non-political roles.² The boundaries of political systems are subject to relatively large fluctuations. For example, in an election the boundaries are greatly extended as voters become politicians for a day. With the return to more normal conditions, the boundaries of political system contracts.

One of the basic units in the theory of G. Almond is "structures". Particular set of roles which are related to one another are structures. For example, judging is a role, a court is a structure. State, political parties, pressure groups, mass media and other structures, which take part in certain stages of decision-making can be political structures.

Every political system is continually involved in recruiting individuals into political roles.

A principal aspect of development or transformation of the political system is role differentiation, or structural differentiation. Under "differentiation", G. Almond refers to the process whereby roles change and become more specialized or more autonomous or whereby new types of roles are established or new structures and subsystems emerge or are created.³

G. Almond thinks that studying any political system, one

1 D. Easton, "A System Analysis of Political life", (New York 1965) p.38

2 G. Almond, B. Powell, "Comparative Politics" (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1966) pp.19-20

3 Ibid., p. 21

needs to know its underlying - propensities as well as its actual performance over a given period of time. He refers to these propensities, or this psychological dimension of the political system, as the "political culture". It consists of attitudes, beliefs, values, and skills which are current in an entire population, as well as those special propensities which may be found within a separate part of the population.

Political culture is roughly linked with two other concepts: political socialization and secularization.

Political socialization is "the process whereby political attitudes and values are inculcated as children become adults and as adults are recruited into roles."¹

Secularization is "the process whereby men became increasingly rational, analytical, and empirical in their political life."²

The political system has input where demands and support come. The political system outputs four classes of transactions: 1) extractions, may take the form of tribute, booty, taxes 2) regulations of behavior 3) allocations or distribution of goods and services, opportunities, honors, status, etc. 4) symbolic outputs, including affirmations of values, and displays of political symbols.

Any political system has some way of processing demands.

In this regard, G. Almond outlines three levels of functioning of the political system: 1) system's capabilities, including regulative, extractive, distributive and responsive capabilities 2) conversion process, or transformation of inputs into outputs, which consists of phases of interest articulation, interest aggregation, rule making, rule application, rule adjudication, and communication 3) system maintenance and adaptation, which includes political socialization and recruitment.

The final part of the G. Almond's theory of political systems is dedicated to the problem of development. Almond determines that development occurs when the existing structure and culture of the political system is unable to cope with the problem of challenge which confronts it without further structural differentiation and cultural secularization. G. Almond brings four types of challenges or problems to political system: 1) state building 2) nation building 3) problem of participation 4) problem of distribution. Resolving those problems successfully, the political system achieves a higher degree of structural differentiation and cultural secularization, or higher degree of development.

The theory of political systems of G. Almond as a model for this analysis of the political system of Tajikistan has

¹ Ibid., p. 24

been chosen. Although not diminishing the merits of other existing theories of political systems, including the theory of D. Easton, the theory of political systems of Almond corresponds more with the purpose of this research. The G. Almond's theory appears to be more rational and concrete. It gives a more detailed, and at the same time a more full picture of the political system, its functioning and development. G. Almond gives special importance to behavioral aspects of a political system - its political culture, which is of particular interest. The political culture of Tajikistan is relatively mixed, and it influences on the shaping of political structures. Without studying carefully the political culture of the Tajik society, it is difficult to understand the ongoing processes of the society.

And finally, Almond's theory of political system is more easily understood for a wide range of readers which is of no small importance to the aim of this work.

This work consists of four chapters. The first chapter deals with the political structures of the political system of Tajikistan. The second chapter considers the political culture of Tajik society and the process of political socialization. The third chapter is dedicated to the study of the political system's capability, converse process and decision making. In the fourth chapter, the results of the study are bridged with the development of the political system of Tajikistan.

CHAPTER I

Political Structures

"Political structures" refers to "the observable activities which make up the political system."¹

Included in this category are those structures of the political system of the country which function as subsystems, such as state, electoral system as well as those which have other organizational character, such as United Tajik Opposition (UTO), regional elites, pressure groups, etc. All these political structures in different degree determine the peculiarity of the political process and have influence on the decision making.

The succession of stormy events following the country's independence, such as the civil war, destruction of the old Soviet system of government, pursuit of political and economic reforms, accelerated the process of social mobilization. This, in its turn, influenced the development of the political structures of the political system of the country and their interrelations.

State Power. According to the Constitution of Tajikistan, adopted in 1994, state power is based on the principle of separation of power to legislative, executive and judicial ones. These functions are performed by the Majlisi Oli (Parliament), Government and Court, respectively.

However, the Constitution separates functions among branches of power inaccurately. There are some cases of duplication of functions of one branch of power by another one. For example, according to the Constitution, The Constitutional Court is authorized to supervise the coordination of laws adopted to the Constitution of the country. At the same time, the President of the country is eligible "to abolish or suspend the resolutions of the organs of state government in the case of their contradictions to the laws and the Constitution of the country."

The Parliament also has the right to interpret the Constitution and laws.

According to the Constitution, the President has the right to introduce to the Parliament the candidatures of chairmen, their deputies and judges of the Constitutional, Supreme and Supreme Economic Courts for both election and recall. The judges of the martial courts as well as judges of regional, city and district courts are appointed and dismissed by the President of the country on presentation of the minister of justice. Such procedures make the

judicial power to be dependent on the President, the head of the executive power.

1 G. Almond, B. Powell. op.cit. p.21

According to the Constitution, the Procurator Office takes a special place in the system of state organs. The Procurator Office performs supervision on precise and uniform execution of laws. It has executive as well as judicial functions.

The state power, unofficially, is formed on a regional basis. For example, now all key positions are divided between the representatives of Kulyab, Leninabad and Gissar regions, who came to power in 1992 after the victory over the islamo-democratic coalition. Previously the islamo-democratic coalition, in its turn, represented the coalition of Qarategin and Badakhshan Tajiks.

Legislative Power. The Majlisi Oli (Parliament) is the highest representative and legislative organ of the state. The parliament is unicameral, and it is elected for five years. The main form of the activity of the parliament is session, which is called on by the Presidium of the Parliament not less than twice a year. In the intervals between sessions, the work of the Parliament is organized by its Presidium, which consists of the Chairman of the Parliament, his deputies, chairmen of the committees and commissions of the parliament. The deputies who are not working on a full-time basis in the committees or commissions of the Parliament, in the period between sessions are engaged in their own business.

Executive Power. The President of the country, who is elected for five years, is the head of the state and the executive power. He forms the Government, which is headed by the Prime Minister (the President is the Chairman of the Government), and President's Administration, which performs the administrative function of the executive power. The President appoints and dismisses the Chairman of the National Bank, Procurator General, judges of the Constitutional, Supreme, Supreme Economic Courts as well as the judges of martial, regional, city and district courts.

The President appoints and dismisses the heads of regional (including the head of the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region), city and district administrations. According to the Constitution, the head of administrations, at the same time, are the head of the local representative bodies (Majlises). Thus, the whole system of the state power, including executive, representative and judicial branches is controlled by the President of the country. There is only one independent body not-controlled by the President - the Parliament of the country.

Judicial Power. The judicial function is performed by the Constitutional Court, Supreme Court, Supreme Economic Court, Martial Court, regional, city, and district courts. The martial and economic courts have two instances, and civil courts have three instances. The term of office of judges is five years. The procedures of election, appointment, and dismissal of judges have been mentioned earlier.

According to legislation, non-professional judges - public assessors who have the same rights as judges - take part in court sittings. That practice, which underlined the popular nature of court, was widespread in the Soviet court system.

United Tajik Opposition (UTO). UTO appeared as a political actor in the beginning of 90s as a result of the creation of alliance of a part of the national intelligence, anticommunists, national-patriots, and islamic fundamentalists - forces who wanted social and political reforms in the society. The UTO nominated a single candidate for the presidential election of 1991. However, the peculiarity of the political culture of the Tajik society, which we will consider later, led to a political struggle which started as the struggle between reformers and conservatives and which took on another character and transformed into the struggle among regions and the civil war.

We have determined the UTO as a single political structure because this structure is considerably wider than the alliance of political parties - the Islamic Revival Party, the Democratic Party, the popular movement "Rastokhez" and "La'li Badakhshon". The UTO has its government and military units. Presently, the UTO controls certain territory of the country (the eastern part of the country which sympathizes with the UTO).

Intertajik Talks. The opposition between the government and the UTO led to the creation of a new political structure in the political system of Tajikistan - the Intertajik Talks.

Under the aegis of the United Nations, the Intertajik Talks on national reconciliation between the government of Tajikistan and the UTO began in 1994. The decisions on cease-fire, return of refugees, exchange of prisoners of war were made in the talks. At last, the two sides took a decision on the establishment of the commission on the national reconciliation consisting of the representatives of both sides. The commission will prepare changes and amendments to the constitution of the country and make recommendations concerned with the functioning of political parties and associations, and mass media, draft new laws on parliament and local administration, and form a new government in the country. If the decisions expected are

implemented, they will lead to significant changes toward the democratization in the political system of Tajikistan. **Regional Elites.** Regions are the basis for the system of the social representation of the country. The civil war contributed to the strengthening of regionalism. As a result of the civil war, political elites in some regions (mainly, those fighting against UTO) significantly strengthened their political, economic and military power. Formally, those elites recognize the central government, however, only in those areas, which meet with their interests. For example, Qurghanteppe-Tursunzade group (Uzbek-led), which articulates the interests of part of the population of Qurghanteppe Zone (mainly, Uzbeks) and Gissar Valley, twice in 1996 and 1997 advanced troops against the central government. The cause for that was the control on the Tursunzade Aluminum Plant, which is the main source of the currency for the country. At the cost of mutual concessions, the two sides managed to settle the conflict which could have split the country further.

Such political elites, however not so influential, exist also in the north. They organized antigovernmental demonstrations in Khujand and Urateppe in 1996.

Any attempt of the central government to increase its influence in those regions encounter resistance from the regions which want to preserve their relative independence.

Political Parties. The Constitution of the country gives citizens the right to establish political parties, trade unions, and other public associations. Citizens also have the right to take part in meetings and demonstrations sanctioned by the authorities. The Constitution also states that the public life develops on the basis of a political pluralism. In principal, there is no restriction for political activities. It is prohibited to create public organizations propagandizing racial, ethnic, social and religious enemies, or calling for violent overthrow of the constitutional order and organization of illegal military units.

The creation of political parties in the country began in the end of the 80s, during Gorbachev's perestroika, after the destruction of the political monopoly of the communist party. The first experience of political pluralism was sad for Tajik society. Opposition parties resorted to extreme, radical forms of the political struggle for power which led to the civil war.

By a court's decision, the activities of the Party of Islamic Revival, the Democratic Party, the people's movements "Rastokhez" and La'li Badakhshon" have been suspended. They were accused of forcible capture of power.

A negative attitude towards the functioning of political parties formed in the society. However, soon new political parties and movements started appearing. As a result of the

Intertajik Talks, the prohibition on the activities of the above mentioned parties have been removed. The ideological orientation of today's Tajik society has influenced that of the political parties and movements. Parties are shaped by the culture in which they must operate.

In accordance with their ideological orientation, political parties and movements operating in the country may be classified in the following way:

Ideological Parties. Here belong the Communist Party and the Party of Islamic Revival.

Despite the USSR's break-up and the crash of the communist system, the Communist Party which used to be a part of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, has not ceased to exist. The strategic goal of the party is a restoration of the former USSR. For this purpose, it collaborates with communist movements of other former Soviet republics which have an aim to restore the former unified state. The social base of the party are people who have nostalgia for old Soviet times. These are individuals of middle and elderly age, national minorities, or people who have preserved their Soviet mentality. In addition, some strata of the population connects the fall of living standards and political instability in the country with the collapse of the Soviet Union. Therefore, they find the slogans about the restoration of the Soviet Union attractive. However, communist ideals are not popular among youth. They find the values of an open society, such as the freedom of entrepreneurship, wealth, etc., more attractive.

The aim of the Islamic Party of Revival is a construction of a theocratic society. The party is the skeleton of the United Tajik Opposition and conducts the military struggle for power.

Islam has greatly influenced the shaping of culture and social psychology of Tajiks. The communist ideology has failed to fully poison the religious consciousness of Tajiks. However, the religious positions in the society were considerably weakened.

After the crash of communist ideology and formation of an ideological vacuum, the gradual return of the society to its traditional culture has begun. However, only a small part of the country's population support the idea of a theocratic form of state structure.

Nationalistic Parties. These are parties whose aim is to revive national culture, and construct of a secular, democratic society on the basis of the national idea. To these parties belong the Democratic Party and the movement "Rastokhez". This party and the movement are popular among some part of Tajik intelligentsia. However, the peculiarities of the political consciousness of the society, which we are going to discuss below, create definite difficulties which prevent to these parties to lead their ideas to the wide strata of population.

Populist Parties. These political parties do not have any particular ideological orientation. As a rule, they are formed around some influential person. They do not have a long-term strategy and implement certain tactical tasks.

Regional Parties. These parties articulate interests of some region. "La'li Badakhshon", which articulates the interests of the Badakhshan Tajiks, a religious and ethnic minority living in the south-east of the country, is a regional party.

In general, the political party system of Tajikistan is in the initial formation stage. Political parties do not perform a considerable role in the political system of the country. For instance, from 181 deputies elected to the parliament in 1995's parliamentary election only 11 are members of different political parties (opposition parties boycotted the election).

The development of the party system of the country is stipulated by the presence of some objective and subjective reasons. First of all, it relates to the peculiarity of social differentiation of the society which is characterized by a vertical split of the society into regions, and the domination of regional consciousness over a social one. The majority of people are not interested in the programs of parties. It is more important for them to know which region the leaders of a party come from. Therefore, the growth of uninational parties is the question of the future. Today, the electorate of parties are limited by the region where from are the leaders of parties.

The majority electoral system of the country, which is not party-based, also affects the development of the party system.

Other factors inhibiting the development of political parties and movements are weak financial capabilities of the majority of parties, insufficient organization of parties, lack of experience of the political struggle in the condition of a multiparty system.

Political associations. There are many public associations in the country articulating the interests of various professional, ethnic and social groups of population. Many public foundations are operating in Tajikistan. There are not any restrictions for creating and operating public associations.

Pressure groups. The existing pressure groups mainly were formed in the course of the civil war. As a rule, such groups are headed by a former field commander who waged war on the side of the present government, or by other active participants of the war. After the cessation of active military actions, the majority of them using their influence took control over some enterprises or other economic structures. These groups have a great influence on the government. They exert pressure on all branches of

power, which are forced to make decisions satisfying the interests of that groups.

There are also pressure groups of other character, such as a group of directors of large industrial enterprises. They also, using different channels, exert pressure on the power. However, these groups are not so influential as the first groups.

Mass Media. Officially, the Constitution declared freedom of speech. State censorship and persecution of critics are prohibited. However, in fact, the press and television are controlled by the state. According to the law on mass media, the organ registering a newspaper - The Ministry of Culture and Information - equally with the court, can suspend the publication of a newspaper. The mass media does not reflect in full the ongoing events and processes. In general, it expresses the official point of view.

Mosque. According to the Constitution, religious organizations are separated from the state and are not eligible to interfere in state affairs. At the present time, the official mosque observes this rule, excluding those territories controlled by the UTO. In those areas, the norms of shari'a are gradually, replacing constitutional norms, and religion is actively invading the life of those communities.

The mosque performs certain functions in the political process, particularly, in interest articulation. The mosque also plays an important role in the process of political socialization. Traditionally religious authorities are much-esteemed in the Tajik society.

Electoral System. The electoral system is regulated by the Laws on Election of the President, Election of Deputies of the Majlisi Oli (Parliament), Election of Deputies to Local Majlises, and Referendum. Elections and referendums are supervised by the Central Electoral Commission composed by the Parliament.

The elections of deputies are held on a majority system, and on individual and alternative basis. Five candidates ran for each of mandates of the Deputy of the Parliament in the last election in 1995. Nine candidates were running for presidency in the Presidential Election of 1991, and two candidates in 1994. However, the main shortage of the electoral system is that elections are held under tight control of the Central Electoral Commission. In general, this commission is not independent, but controlled by the state.

There is a lack of clear procedures for the nomination of candidates as deputies and procedures for voting.

CHAPTER II

Political Culture

In the first chapter, we considered the political structures, the objective side of the political system of the country. However, in order to have more ideas on the political system of Tajikistan, we need to consider the political culture of the society which opens additional details of the subjective side of the political life. "Political life is the pattern of individual attitudes and orientation toward politics among the members of a political system. It is the subjective realm which underlies and gives meaning to political actions."¹ This concept characterizes a system of political convictions, opinion and values predominating in the society in a concrete period of time. "As much the culture contributes to purification of ideas, determines the positions of people, influences on the forms of social activities, it is the main element of the political game."² The political culture appears throughout where political relations exist. The transmission of political settings, orientations, convictions, experience, patterns of behavior are accomplished through political culture. Producing common political values and roles of behavior of citizens, the political culture is an integrative-stabilizing element of a political system.

The forming of a political culture of the society goes on under the influence of different factors: geographical, historical, economic, etc. The influence of these factors is not similar in different societies. Therefore, each society has its own, distinguishing it from other, political cultures.

Traditionally, the structure of a political culture includes political requirements and interests, knowledge of policy, convictions, orientations, judgements, evaluations of political appearances, political consciousness, political norms, traditions and other categories, which in differing degrees, influence the development of a political system.

The peculiarities of the historical development of the

Tajik society determined its present political culture. In the historical sense, a lack of continuity in the development of both Tajik statehood and Tajik culture had a great impact on the formation of the political culture of Tajiks. We will discuss that later in the course of consideration of different components of the political culture of Tajik society.

In order to have a full understanding of the political

1 G. Almond, B. Powell. op.cit. p.50

2 M. Dogan, D. Pelassy. "How to Compare Nations", (Chatham, New Jersey, 1994) p. 98

culture of the Tajik society, its specific, determining components will be considered:

- 1) political consciousness of the society
- 2) subcultures which create the society
- 3) orientation towards the political system
- 4) political clientelism.

In addition to this, political socialization and secularization, the processes which characterize the development of the political culture of the society will also be investigated.

Political consciousness. In essence, political consciousness covers "inclusion of perceptible and theoretical, valuable and normative, rational and subconscious concepts of individuals through mediation and humanization of their objective ties with power institutions, as well as between each other on participation in government on society and state."¹ To put in other words, political consciousness characterizes the spiritual aggregate determining the human capacity of existence in the political sphere.

Talking about political consciousness, we imply a deeper and more spiritual layer in which political culture is formed. Every society has its own types of political consciousness of individuals which reflect the individuals' attitude to the power phenomenon and identifying oneself with certain political positions. For instance, in western countries, this criteria is essential when differentiating the society as liberal, conservative, christian democrat, or other.

In today's Tajik society we differentiate the following dominating types of political consciousness of individuals: theocratic, communist, and transitional.

Theocratic. Islam, being a religion, simultaneously is an ideology with its concept of the social system of society. The basic principles of this ideology are the totalitarian character of the political system and the integration of the

secular and spiritual sides of the society's life.

Islam was spread among Tajiks after the Arab invasions in 7-8th centuries A.D. All Tajiks, as well as Uzbeks living in Tajikistan profess Sunni Islam, except Badakhshan Tajiks who are supporters of the Ismaili sect. Spiritual homogeneity contributed to the development of a relatively common social psychology of the society and common mentality. However, the country's population may be differentiated by the extent of religiosity and the place given to religion in the society's life. The society may be divided as supporters of theocratic and secular forms of the

1 A. I. Solovyev. Article "Political Consciousness" in the selection "Politology Basics" (Moscow, 1992), p.151

social structure.

The main role in the propaganda of ideas of the theocratic state is performed by the Party of Islamic Revival.

Communists. We can call them "sovietists". They associate their communist ideals with the Soviet Union. They understand that they can not build a communist society in Tajikistan independently, therefore, their most immediate task is the restoration of the Soviet Union. This category of citizens includes a part of the elderly population as well as all of the Russian speaking population.

Transitionals. This category includes individuals who have not formed completely their ideological orientations, or they have recently declared their convictions, but they have not achieved that level of ideological conviction which allows us to consider them an adherent of some ideology. This part of the population accepts neither theocratic, nor communist ideology. We can include to this group nationalists, democrats and other individuals without any ideological orientations.

It is difficult now to say what is the share of each of the above mentioned groups in the total population because the majority of people do not share their convictions openly. However, one can notice two tendencies: the increase of theocrats and the decrease of communists. We can investigate the causes for that later while considering the process of political socialization.

Groups of individuals with different political orientations exist in each of the regions of Tajikistan. The size of the groups vary among regions. However, the groups have not impacted the social structure of the society. The social structure of the society has been determined by its vertical structures - regions.

Subcultures. The process of transformation of the Tajik

ethnos into a nation has not been completed yet. After the collapse of the state of Samanis (Samani was a Tajik dynasty) in 10th century, which is considered as peak of Tajik statehood, the process of forming a Tajik nation within a united state has been suspended. Several smaller medieval feudal states-theocracies under the rule of different Turkish, Mongol, and then Uzbek dynasties appeared in place of the state of Samanis. A long period of disconnected Tajiks living in different states began after that. Tajiks lived in several regions almost isolated from each other. Though Tajiks have a common language and religion, Tajik communities existing isolated from each other's socio-cultural regions led to the development of regional identification, and its domination over national identification. Just after the annexation to the Soviet Union, Tajiks formally restored their state.

The national system of education was established during the Soviet era. Newspapers and magazines were published in Tajik, and many other things were done to develop a national culture of Tajiks. However, all that did not accelerate the process of a national identification because the policy of the Soviet state was not aimed at increasing national identification of the ethnic groups living there. It had the goal to create a Soviet nation. The struggle of regions for power which broke out after independence contributed to the development of a regional consciousness.

The boundary of the socio-cultural division in the country is a line dividing North-South. These areas are separated geographically and have been in fact developing isolated from each other over the centuries. Distinguishing conditions of the historical, economic, and social development of the north and the south are reflected on the mentalities of the population of both regions regarding their political cultures. "When a particular set of political orientation is distinguishing from others in the system, we speak of a political subculture."¹

The north is situated close to cultural centers of Central Asian civilization, and this fact has influenced its cultural development. The advantageous geographic location has contributed to its economic development. In general, the northern region has a relatively homogenous political culture. During a long period of co-existence, Tajiks and Uzbeks residing there have developed common value orientations, customs and traditions. The north is distinguished from the south by its more firm kinship-clan relations and conservatism. At the same time, northerners are more pragmatic and obedient.

The socio-cultural panorama is more complicated in the south of the country. The peculiar relief of the south, with its many valleys isolated from each other, stipulated the division of the southern region into several socio-cultural subregions. A lack of great cultural centers

affected the homogenization of the political culture of the south. The capital city of Tajikistan - Dushanbe, which is situated in the south, was founded just in 1924. There are four socio-cultural subregions in the south: Gissar, Qarategin, Kulyab, and Badakhshan, a religious and linguistic minority. Different value orientations has led to the development of different psychologies of the population of these regions. For example, Qarategin Tajiks are more religious and it is reflected in their psychology. However, the socio-cultural differences among southern subregions are not so deep as they are between the north and the south.

Besides, there is the Vakhsh Valley in the south, which was populated in the 30s by people from above mentioned southern subregions. Even living side by side over a long

1 G. Almond, B. Powell. op. cit. P.63

period, the people preserved their subregional consciousness. It was there, in the Vakhsh Valley that the clashes between the different subregional groups began, which then led to the civil war.

Ethnic Uzbeks with their particular culture living in the Vakhsh and Gissar Valley, and Kulyab subregion complicate the cultural landscape of the south. The majority of the Uzbek tribes living in these areas retain their patrimonial lifestyle.

The problem of regionalism today is one of the most significant problems affecting the development of Tajik society. "A deep recognition of one's identity with certain community leads to that citizens show their patriotic feelings within the framework of interests of their communities, but not within the framework of the whole society. This often leads to tension threatening firmness and integrity of the state system."¹

The Tajik political system faces the problem of nation building. A common cultural heritage, language and religion can be a good background for homogenization of the political culture of Tajiks.

Orientation Toward Political System. "One way of characterizing political culture is in terms of the distribution of general attributes toward the political system and the input and output processes. We may thus describe a political culture in terms of awareness of these political objects and of their significance in individual activities."²

Using this criteria, Almond divides citizens into three groups: parochials, subjects, and participants. *Parochials* are those who know a little or nothing about the political system of their country. *Subjects* are those who

are aware enough of the political system of their country, but are passive. *Participants* are those who participate actively in political life.

If we try to divide the citizens of Tajikistan based on that criteria, it is obvious that the majority of people will be in the parochial group. A steady legal nihilism and a lack of interest in politics are the results of the previous historical development of the society in despotic, and then totalitarian states.

The subject's group includes a small number of educated people who are interested in the processes ongoing in the society, but for some reasons are not involved in policy. Some of them are apathetic towards political manners and practice existing in the society; others do not believe that they can change anything in the society.

1 D. Morrison, H. Stevenson, "Cultural Pluralism, Modernization and Conflict" (Canadian Journal of Political Science 5, no 1 (1972))

2 G. Almond, B. Powell. op. cit. p. 53

The participant's group, which is probably the smallest one, includes the members of the political parties and movements, deputies, government officers, and some businessmen.

The size of these three groups may change. The direction of change will depend on the direction of the development of the political system of the country, i.e., towards democratization or to other directions. In the first case it will lead to the decrease of parochials and the increase of subjects and participants.

Political Clientelism. "The clientelistic interrelations are one of the forms of personal dependency not stipulated by blood relationship; they are the expression of the link between two persons who have unequal opportunities - patron and client - for mutual support, mutual exchange of services."¹

Political clientelism is an important characteristic of social relations of Tajik society. During the Soviet years such relations were popular, mainly in rural areas. With the development of market-oriented relations in the economy, clientelistic relations spread throughout the country. Since the civil war, political clientelism has become one of the major forms of social relations. In fact, the whole country is divided into many patrimonies with their own patrons. Imperfectness of the political process as well as a wild outburst of crime make the majority of businessmen and state officers to look for a patron. They find patrons in the face of former field commanders and some influential state officials. In fact, all state structures are susceptible to personal influence. It is a very difficult

task to resolve any question in the state structures without the help of a patron.

"Two very important processes contribute to the establishment of clientelism: forming of centralized state and extension of market relations."² Just these processes are occurring on in the country now.

Secularization of political culture. This process is called cultural secularization and it is one of the indicators used to evaluate characterizing the development of the political system in general. It is closely connected with the development of the political structures, i.e., state structures, political parties and movements, the development of which in its turn, depends on the secularization process of the political culture. "The emergence of a pragmatic empirical orientation is one component of the

1 J.F. Medard, "Le rapport de clientele", Revue Francaise de Science Politique 26, no 1 (February 1976):203

2 J.D.Powell, "Peasant Society and Clientelist Politics", in Political Development and Social Change, ed. Jason L.Finkle and Richard W.Gable, 2d ed. (New York: Willey, 1971), 522

secularization process. A second attribute of the process of cultural secularization is a movement from diffuseness to specificity of orientation."¹

Political socialization. Human societies reproduce themselves by acculturation. As D. Easton assumes, "each society cannot go on existing all by itself; it is preserved only in that case if this code of rules is adopted by each individual, if she or he is prescribed to fulfil a minimum of behavior norms."²

This function in the society is performed by political socialization. "Political socialization is the process by which political cultures are maintained and changed."³

It goes by transfer of social and political experience stockpiled by the society and concentrated in cultural traditions, group and human values, norms of status and political behavior. The task for political socialization is the development of an individual's skill to orient in the political arena and to perform specific public and state functions.

Today the process of political socialization has a special importance for Tajik society. The transition from totalitarian society to democracy demands not only construction of necessary democratic institutions, but also an appropriate political culture of a democratic society. The democratic political culture is radically different from the totalitarian political culture. Therefore, political socialization in Tajik society has to solve two tasks: firstly, the forcing out of the old totalitarian political

culture and, secondly, bringing the new political culture of a democratic society.

The complexity of the task of democratic acculturation is that the values of western democratic culture, such as individualism, pluralism, priority of a personality, freedom of speech and others are not traditional in Tajik society. The values typical of totalitarian and traditional societies predominate. The majority of people do not investigate the essence of the processes happening. Others do not accept democratic ideals and many people do not believe in the irreversibility of the democratization of the society announced by the government. They associate democracy with the anarchy prevalent in many spheres of public life, and associate order with the strict totalitarian regime.

The political socialization is an instrument through which the needed social base for democratic reforms may be formed. The success of the democratic reforms, to a great extent, will depend on the content of the political

1 - G. Almond, B. Powell, op. cit. p.58

2 - J.D. Easton and J.Dennis, Children in the Political System (New-York, McCraw-Hill, 1969)

3 - G.Almond, B. Powell, op. cit. p.64

socialization. To understand the essence of the ongoing political socialization, we need to consider the structures involved in this process and agents of political socialization.

Agents of political socialization. Every society has its specific channels and mechanisms of political socialization providing formal and informal, and open and hidden transmission of traditions joining the predominant political cultures. Prior to independence, there was a well organized Soviet system of political socialization. The system involved children exposed to ideology from early childhood, and then the process of socialization continued in school, army, university, and job. After the attainment of independence and the collapse of communist ideology, the old system of political socialization collapsed. Adopting a new constitution, the society officially said good bye to communist ideology, and declared its adherence to democratic ideals. However, in fact, there is not a system of political socialization adequate with the goals set. One can enumerate the reasons preventing the creation of a single system of political socialization: firstly, a lack of national consensus in the society, including the question of political socialization; ideological disorder in the society, which affects the formulation of content of the political socialization; thirdly, insufficient knowledge of democracy; fourthly, the shortage of finances to provide for the normal functioning of the main channels of the political socialization, such as the education system, mass media,

etc.

The shortages of the national system of political socialization, in some degree, are compensated by external channels. First of all Russian television broadcasting to Tajikistan influences the political socialization. The majority of the population watch these broadcasts and receive information on the processes of democratization ongoing in Russia. International organizations and some western countries play an important educational role in political socialization. They spread democratic literature, hold seminars, acquaint Tajiks with life in democratic countries, organize short-term visits of Tajiks to western countries, and provide education of young Tajiks in western schools and universities.

At the same time, unofficial channels of political socialization, such as mosques increase their influence in the political socialization. By the term mosque, one should understand not just the official mosque, but many other parish mosques as well. Islam has its own, distinguished from the official, theocratic program of political socialization.

Chapter III.

FUNCTIONAL ASPECTS OF THE POLITICAL SYSTEM

A political system like any other system has its input and output (see pp. 4-5). In the interval between the incoming input of a political system and decision making, and their implementation there are certain mechanisms providing for the functioning of the political system. G. Almond determines three levels of the political system's functioning: system's capabilities, conversion processes, and system maintenance and adaptation function.

Considering the political system of the country in these three levels, we can evaluate its potential, and interactions of its different structures and system capability for adaptation and development.

System's capabilities

Extractive capability. The extractive capability of the political system refers to the range of system performance in drawing material and human resources from the domestic and international environments. This system's capability is determinative for a political system. Limited material and human resources contract the capability of system to perform different tasks, and, on the contrary, significant material and human resources extend capability of the political

system.

Extractive capability of the political system has a direct relationship to the country's economy. The more capable the economy, the more resources can be extracted from it. The economy of Tajikistan is currently in a difficult state. It faces a long transition period. The extractive capability of the political system depends on pursuing economic reforms, and the development of the economy. In 1996, the government managed to collect approximately \$30 in taxes per capita. Obviously, it is difficult to maintain the political system and to provide for its development with such low capability. As for the capability to extract human resources, authorities mobilize people to perform certain tasks by compulsory measures.

Regulative capability. Regulative capability of a political system refers to the control function of a political system over the behavior of individuals and groups. The country is moving away from the totalitarian control system of the society. Economic activity, personal life, and public association are gradually being released from the control of the state. The legislation is being adjusted in coordination with the new constitution of the country. There are different structures performing control functions. However, they need to the perfect mechanisms providing for the control.

Distributive capability. Distributive capability of a political system refers to allocation of goods, services, honors, etc., to individuals and different groups. Distributive capability depends on the budget of the country, i.e., greater the budget revenues, the greater the distributive capability of the political system.

Symbolic capability. Symbolic capability is the rate of effective symbol flow from the political system into the society. Symbolic capability deal with the pursuit of different measures symbolizing statehood, for example, protocol measures.

Responsive capability. Responsive capability characterizes the relationship between input and output of a political system. The stability of a political system depends on how fast and effectively the appropriate decisions will be made on demands coming to the input of the political system. The responsive capability is linked with the conversion function of the political system which will be considered later.

The analysis of the political system's capabilities allows one to predict how the political system can response to challenges, and achieve the goals set. More developed capabilities of the political system contribute to the development of the political system. Their development, in their turn, depend on the development of other elements of the political system - political structures and political culture.

The capabilities of the political system of Tajikistan

have been developed to different degrees. For example, the regulative and symbolic capabilities are more developed than the extractive, responsive and distributive capabilities.

Conversion process. The conversion function of the political system refers to the process of conversion of incoming demands into political decisions and their implementation. Almond determines six stages of conversion process: 1)interest articulation; 2)interest aggregation; 3)rule making; 4)rule application; 5)rule adjudication; 6)communication.

Interest articulation. Interest articulation is the first stage in the conversion process. The demands to decision making structures are formed in this stage. The demands can be formulated by individuals, groups or associations of citizens. The interest articulation is important because in this stage lies the boundary between the society and the political system. The content of the political process and stability of the political system depend on the availability of interest articulation structures.

The parochial political culture of the Tajik society on one side and old Soviet stereotypes of behavior of the authorities on the other affect the interest articulation. Firstly, association of citizens in the interest groups is going on slowly. Secondly, the decision making structures are trying to suppress incoming demands, or they react on them reluctantly. Sometimes this has caused demonstrations of people, or even armed appearances as took place in 1996.

Though there are different associations of people, trade unions, etc., they are frightened by repression, so state on their demands very carefully. Traditionally, the more effective channels of transmission of demands are personal kinship-clan ties. The individuals from the ruling regions have more opportunity to have their demands met than those from non-ruling regions.

Interest aggregation. The function of transformation of demands into general policy alternatives is called interest aggregation. Usually in countries with a developed democracy this function is performed by political parties. They receive demands from different associations of citizens, generalize demands, and then present them to the rule-making structures. However, in countries with undeveloped political systems, it may happen that the functions of interest articulation, interest aggregation and rule making are all performed by the same structure.

We have already considered the political parties and noticed that they are in the early stage of forming. The political parties have weak links with the society; they are not well enough organized, and they do not have the needed experience of participation in a democratic political process. There are a small number of skillful economists,

politologists, and lawyers among the members of the political parties who could transform demands coming from the bottom into general policy alternatives. Furthermore, the majority electoral system diminishes the chances of political parties being represented in legislative bodies, and as a result, political parties do not play a significant role in decision making.

The state bureaucracy is the main structure engaged in interest aggregation. Ministries and other state agencies receive different demands coming from the bottom as well as from the top, and then generalize them into general policy alternatives. They then submit them to the government.

Thus, the functions of interest aggregation and decision making are performed by the same structure - government. This is one of the reasons for the low responsiveness of the political system of the country.

The development of the specialized interest aggregation structures creates a potential for greater system responsiveness and effectiveness.

Rule making. The life of every society is regulated by a certain code of rules. Every society has structures making those rules. For example, in the absolutist monarchy or patrimonial society, all rules come from one person - king or headman. In the societies with more developed political systems, the function of rule-making is performed by different structures. Therefore, there is a need to identify these rule-making structures, determine the degree of their participation and interaction in rule-making.

According to the constitution, deputies of the Parliament, President, Government, Constitutional, Supreme and Supreme Economic Courts, and the Parliament of the Mountainous Badakhshan Autonomous Region (MBAR) can be rule initiators. However, the degree of their participation in rule-making is different. The courts and the Parliament of MBAR can just initiate rules, but the role of the Parliament, President and Government in rule-making is significantly wider.

The Parliament of the country adopts and abolishes laws and resolutions, approves a state budget and the members of the government, and makes many other economic decisions.

The President, within his competence, issues resolutions. The laws adopted by the Parliament come into force after receiving the President's signature. If the President does not agree with a law, he returns the law with his objections within 15 days after receiving it. If the Parliament by the majority of two thirds of its votes confirms its decision again, or if the President does not return the law within the deadline, he must sign the law.

The government, which is chaired by the President, also can issue resolutions and decrees. The Government presents for the Parliament's approval economic and social programs,

and drafts state budgets and other economic papers.

The existence of different structures involved in rule-making as well as the availability of mechanisms of their interactions contribute to the quality of rules made, and give a dynamic to the rule-making process. However, a factor affecting rule-making is the lack of a regularly acting parliament. The present Parliament gathers not less than twice a year. In the interval between sessions, the functioning of the parliament commissions and committees is organized by the Presidium of the Parliament, which, however, can not make laws. Therefore, the parliament has to adopt the great number of different laws during its short sessions. This leads to laws that are adopted without serious deliberations, or other urgent laws being postponed till the next session to be adopted.

Rule application. "The presence of differentiated and well-developed structures for rule application greatly expands the capability of a political system to manipulate its environment."¹ Rule implementation, extraction of resources, collection of needy information are the functions of the rule application structures. The availability of well-organized rule-application structures is a necessary condition for the development of a political system.

1 G. Almond, B. Powell. op. cit. p. 142

A bureaucracy is a structure involved in rule-application. According to the words of Carl Friedreich, "the vast bureaucratic structure of modern states with their tens of thousands of officials make them the core of modern government."¹

Hierarchy of command, differentiation of roles and functions exist in army, church, and government. The effective work of these structures, and application of rules made depend on a well organized command hierarchy and rational distribution of roles and functions in each of these structures.

The Tajik bureaucracy, as the whole society, is in a transition period. The transition from the command-administrative system of ruling to more rational forms of ruling, and structural changes in economic and social spheres have led to a change of roles and functions of the bureaucracy in the political system. Liberalization of the whole public life demands a displacement of emphasis from the control-directive toward control-coordination functions of the bureaucracy.

During the Soviet years, Tajikistan had a developed bureaucratic system. The Soviet state gave an importance to the training of government officers. The state office was prestigious and well-paid.

The difficulties of the transitional period experienced

by the country impacted the rule-making structures. Political instability has contributed to the exodus of the population from the country, including highly qualified workers of government structures. Low salaries and a lack of any privileges have led to a loss of prestige for government jobs. Some experienced government workers transferred to the sphere of business or other spheres for higher salaries. These transfers decrease the professional standard within the state bureaucracy. There are also some financial and technical difficulties affecting the effectiveness of the rule application structures. Many decision made remain non-implemented.

Every state, interested in realization of set goals, need not just to have rule application structures, but also must provide for their effectiveness by increasing the prestige of the state office, establishing a system of training of state officers, and other positive measures.

Rule adjudication. The life of the society is regulated by the code of rules which impose certain restrictions and commitments to citizens. There are also different punishments for violation of the rules. It is important to define when and when not rules are violated. Many disputes requiring settlement appear in the process of interaction of

1 C. Friedreich, "Man and His Government", (New York: Mc Graw - Hill Inc. 1963) p. 464

subjects of a political system. This function of a political system is called rule adjudication.

There are different structures involved in the rule adjudication in the political system of Tajikistan: courts, the Procurator's Office, President, and the Parliament. They perform different roles in this process.

Courts consider disputes and violations of laws and make adjudicative decisions on them.

The Procurator's Office supervises the observance of rules by the state structures, enterprises, political parties and public associations, and individuals. In the case of violence the Procurator's Office brings a suit and passes it to the court, which considering the case makes a decision. The Procurator's Office has a right to give orders or instruct to violators of the law how to circumvent the law. The Procurator's Office also supervises the observance of laws when considering cases and passing sentences by courts. The Procurator's Office can protest the decision made by any court, excluding the Constitutional Court.

The decisions made by the Constitutional Court are final. However, the Constitutional Court is not the only structure dealing with constitutional disputes. The President of the country has a right to abolish or suspend the resolutions of

the state structures contradicting the Constitution and laws. The Parliament also has a right to interpret the Constitution and laws. In addition, the Parliament can annul the resolutions of its Presidium if they contradict the Constitution and laws.

The sharing of constitutional rule adjudication among the Constitutional Court, the President and the Parliament contradicts the principle of separation of powers, decrease the independence of court, and in general affects rule adjudication.

Communication function. "A political communication is performed in the form of various interactions, including information ones, between different elements of a political system."¹ The development of other structures of a political system depends on the development of the communication function.

A special role in the process of political communication belongs to the mass media. It is the responsibility of the mass media to apprise the population of public life, political processes going on in the society, control the state structures, and disseminate diverse information. The state structures, in their turn, use the mass media to explain their actions, popularize their policy, etc. Mass media also is used in political socialization. Political

¹ G. Marchenko, "Guidelines for Politology", (Moscow: Znanie, 1992), p. 185

parties uses mass media in their political struggle.

All forms of mass media functioning Tajikistan, in general, are controlled by the state. Though the legislation provides for the freedom of press, there is an unofficial censorship in the country. The functioning media hold an official, state point of view. Because of the economic crisis, the majority of mass-media are in difficult financial conditions. Therefore, usually those mass-media survive which are supported by the state.

The other aspect of communication function relates to the functioning of rule-making structures. To make effective decisions, these structures should have accurate and necessary information. However, the present financial and technical shortages create certain difficulties to properly

perform the communication function of the political system.

System maintenance and adaptation. A stable functioning of a political system, and its adaptation demands regular reproduction of political culture as well as reproduction of the present and creation of new political roles and structures. This function of a political system is performed, correspondingly, through political socialization

and political recruitment. Political socialization has already been considered (see pp. 21-22). It will just be mentioned that maintenance, transmission and change of a political culture are performed through political socialization.

Political recruitment is "the function by means of which the roles of political systems are filled."¹

There are two ways of political recruitment: First, universal, when the criteria for recruitment are professional and personal qualities of individuals. With universal recruitment individuals are selected to perform roles through elections, exams, and competitions. Another way of a political recruitment is particularistic, that is when the criterion of recruitment is an association of individuals to some region, ethnic group, or clan. The society can give preference to one of these ways of political recruitment, or both can coexist. It depends on traditions, political culture of a society, and the development of a political system.

Traditionally, the kinship-clan links are strong in Tajikistan. This has determined the clan-regional principle of the creation of the state structures and the process of political recruitment. Each clan or region seeks to strengthen its positions, weaken the positions of competing clans or regions. Therefore, taking some position, the representative of any clan regards only the interests of his clan. He tries to surround himself with people from his clan. The same is done by representatives of other clans.

¹ G. Almond, B. Powell, op. cit. p.47

A lack of a state system of political recruitment contributes to this. Such a system of selection of individuals to political roles does not contribute to the effectiveness of the political recruitment or the increase of professional skills of political structures. Instead it leads to a low performance of other functions of the political system of the country.

The tasks of a transition period - building democratic institutions and a market economy - demand great experience and deep professional skills from the persons engaged in performing these tasks. The current method of political recruitment in the political system does not contribute to executing these tasks successfully.

CHAPTER IV

Development of the political system

In order to identify the concept of development, it is necessary first of all to identify the criteria to measure development. For instance, indicators characterizing the degree of development in an economy are the GDP produced per capita, labor productivity per worker, and the share of industry in the GDP total volume. These indicators may be at the same time a criteria of development. What are the development criteria of political systems?

G. Almond suggests three interconnected criteria characterizing the degree of development of the political system: structural differentiation, cultural secularization and subsystem autonomy. He has determined these criteria comparing political systems of various historical and modern societies: primitive, traditional, totalitarian, authoritative, and democratic. The results of the

comparison have shown that the higher the degree of differentiation for structures, cultural secularization, and autonomy of subsystems, the higher extractive, regulative, symbolic peculiarities of a system. The higher the degree of differentiation of structures, secularization, and autonomy of systems, the more effectively a political system performs a conversion function and higher the capability of a political system for self-preservation and adaptation. Political systems with such qualities, as a rule, react on impulses and challenges coming to the input of the system effectively and in a timely manner. And on the contrary, political systems with underdeveloped political structures and low subsystem autonomy have fewer chances of self-preservation and adaptation. For instance, low structural differentiation and subsystem autonomy as well as an underdeveloped responsive function of the Soviet political system were a reason that the political system could not respond to challenges facing it. This caused the Soviet society to fall into a deep crisis which led to the crash of the State. There are many other examples showing a direct dependence between the development degree of structural differentiation, secularization of culture and subsystem autonomy from one side, and the development of functions of the political system and its capability for self-preservation and adaptation from the other side. "The higher level of development refers to differences in structural differentiation and in secularization, and these are related to differences in conversion patterns, in levels of political system capability, and in socialization and

recruitment processes." ¹

Before talking of political system capability, and possible development tendencies of Tajikistan's political system, we have to characterize the initial position on which the country's political system rests. This will allow evaluation of the system's capabilities, determination of the tasks which the system will have to fulfil, and also the possible tendencies of its development.

Starting point. In the previous chapters, we have considered the society's political structure and how it functions.

For instance, we have determined the existence of the relatively differentiated political infrastructure. However, not all these political structures function autonomously. Some of these political structures are controlled by other structures. For instance, the most influential political structure - the executive branch of power - has an authoritative character and power to control courts, local legislative power, mass media, and the mosque. The

electoral system is also controlled by definite groups. The party system is in the initial stage of formation and political parties do not play a significant role in the political life of the society. In addition, there are other independent and influential political structures such as the United Tajik Opposition and regional elites.

The parochial model of political culture dominates in the society, for which lack of citizens' interest in the political system is typical. The social structure of the society is vertical. It consists of regions having developed in isolation under various socio-cultural conditions. Regional self-consciousness predominates over national self-consciousness.

The extractive, responsive, regulative, and distributive functions of the country's political systems are weakly developed. The conversion function of the political system is not effective. Relatively developed is the rule-making function; however, the absence of independent interest articulation and interest aggregation structures negatively influence the content of the rule-making process.

Restructuring of the rule application structures, transfer to more rational methods of circulation is occurring very slowly. Not enough rational division of authorities between the center and regions and also the existence of some other objective problems have affected the rule application function.

The performance of the same adjudicative functions by different structures, in general, reduces the effectiveness of the execution of the adjudicative function by the political system.

1 G. Almond, B. Powell, op.cit. p.304

The underdeveloped system of political socialization and lack of a state recruitment system have determined a low capability of the political system for self-preservation and adaptation.

Thus, to draw a result of our research of Tajikistan's political system, we may declare that its political structures, political culture and subsystems autonomy have a limited character. According to the classification of the political system types, the political systems with limited political structures are called premobilized modern political systems. They are called modern as they have attributes typical for modern societies - a constitution, and political infrastructure, though in the limited size. Judging by the ruling regime, premobilized authoritative and democratic political systems are differentiated. Unlimited power and lack of control of the state by citizens, use of force, monopolization of power and politics, prohibition of political opposition, non-interference or limited

interference of non-political spheres is typical for authoritarian regimes.

The characteristics of authoritative power have been described in detail because they are all present in the ruling regime of Tajikistan. In addition, the heads of executive power of cities and towns are not elected but appointed and relieved by the President of the country. This also is a criterion of a authoritative ruling regime.

According to the level of its development and the type of political development, Tajikistan's political system is a pre-mobilized modern authoritative political system. Correspondingly, the development problems which face the country's political system, are typical for this type of the political system.

Directions of Development. Challenges which cause the development of a political system come from outside, and inside the society, or from the political elite of the society.

A threat coming from a neighboring state forces a political system to strengthen its extractive function, and to mobilize resources to repulse a possible attack. The political system adapts its structures and creates new structures to fulfil this task.

Demands for greater political participation or demands from a political group in the society may lead to a change in the political system. For instance, the demands of the United Tajik Opposition may lead to a change in the electoral system, reorganization of the Parliament, or other changes.

The political elite of the society may also initiate changes in the political system. For instance, not to lag behind in the competition with neighboring states, the political elites try to find the means to construct a modern infrastructure, modern Army, etc. It may lead to the appearance of new structures and changes in the structures' functions.

"Development results when the existing structure and culture of a political system is unable to cope with the problem or challenge which confronts it without further structural differentiation and cultural secularization."¹ Almond differentiates four types of challenges which may lead to the development of the political system: 1) the integration of the society and control of the society - state building, 2) the increase of national self-consciousness - national building, 3) the participation of the citizens in decision-making - process participation, 4) the distribution of weals.

The peculiarities of the historical and current development of the Tajik society have developed in such a way that these four problems simultaneously face the country's political system. The simultaneous decision of

these tasks is a difficult task and endangers the stability of the political system. The gradual solution of each of these problems would be more optimal. However, there are a number of cases when relatively successful societies have resolved all these problems simultaneously.

State Building. The problem of the society's integration became pressing right after the gaining of independence. In the north and in the east the appeals for separation might be heard. The breaking out of a civil war disintegrated the society to a greater extent. The current government has made much effort to integrate the society. This led to definite results. For instance, there are no longer appeals for separation. However, not all the regions are equally loyal to the central power. This is caused by the fact that not all the regions are equally represented in power structures.

Therefore, the integration of Tajik society and the regions' loyalty to the central power depends on a consensus while forming the centralized power structures, and rational differentiation of authorities between the center and regions. Especially important for the society's integration is the question of loyalty to the central power in those regions where the Uzbek population is concentrated. These are, first of all, the regions located along the border between Tajikistan and Uzbekistan.

Another aspect of state building is the creation of a strong centralized power.

"State building is commonly associated with significant increases in the regulative and extractive capabilities of the political system, with development of a centralized and penetrated bureaucracy related to the increase in these capabilities, and with development of attitudes of obedience

1 G. Almond, B. Powell, *op.cit.* p.34

and compliance in the population which are associated with the emergence of such a bureaucracy."¹

The successful decision of these two approaches will be dependant on the decision of the state building problem, including the development of the country's political system.

Nation Building. "Nation building emphasizes the cultural aspects of political development. It refers to the process whereby people transfer their commitment and loyalty from smaller tribes, villages, or petty principalities to the larger central political system."²

This process is connected with state building. It is impossible to reach a high national self-consciousness without reaching the corresponding strengthening of the state.

There are two instances which complicate the process of reaching a homogenous national culture. Firstly, the

presence of other ethnic groups, which in Tajikistan is namely the large Uzbek community. It is important that they are not separated from the nation building process and that they share with the title nation unified values.

The second aspect covers the Islamic movement and a theocratic state. Theocrats have their own, different from official, concept of state building and nation building which presupposes the society's homogenization through religious values. In order to avoid a split in the society, it is necessary to achieve consensus on all the questions dealing with the development of a political culture and political system.

Participation. The demands for political participation started being put forward immediately following the country's independence. Under the conditions of a lack of a strong state, it led to a civil war. After prolonged Inter-Tajik talks, the government and the United Tajik Opposition have reached an agreement on a number of questions which, to a considerable extent, solve the problem of political participation. However, some new groups putting forward new demands may appear in the decision-making process. Therefore, this problem will face the country's political system for a long time.

Distribution. The distribution problem is connected with resource and welfare distribution among different groups of the population. This problem appeared right after the USSR's break-up and the old distribution system. The establishment of a new distribution system has been affected by a low economic potential of the country. For instance, in 1996 the GDP per capita was only USD 183. Naturally the state directs those modest means to the its own needs and there is not enough for other needs.

1 Ibid, p. 36

2 Ibid, p. 36

Therefore, the demands coming to the system's input are as a rule not satisfied, but, this does not lead to a decrease in demands. Teachers, doctors, and scientists demand salaries, businessmen demand lower taxes, regions demand financing their social programs, etc. Such demands will come regularly. Therefore, it is necessary to develop other functions of the country's political system - first of all, the extractive function, which will contribute to the development of the distributive one.

In conclusion, we need to notice some factors which can affect the development of the political system of the country. Firstly, from the beginning the development of the political system of Tajikistan took a character of "cumulative revolution". The optimal condition for a stable development of a political system is to overcome challenges

stage by stage. The problems of state-building and nation building are resolved in the first stage and then the problems of participation and distribution. The political system of Tajikistan has to resolve all four of these problems simultaneously, which does not allow concentrated attention in one concrete direction, but demands a distribution of power and energy in all directions. It is difficult for a political system to withstand such overloading and it can lead to its exhaustion. However, it does not mean that the political system of Tajikistan will fail to overcome the problems facing it. Reasonable, proportional prioritized distribution of power in each of these directions is needed.

Secondly, in order for the political system to develop stable, it is necessary for the population to support it.

Thirdly, it is necessary for the development of the political system to be supported by the development of other social systems such as the economic and international systems. Development of these systems contributes to development of a political system. For example, the development of the economy increases the extractive and distributive capabilities of the political system. The development of an international system allows the political system to receive assistance from different countries.

Fourthly, in order to provide a stable development of the political system, the availability of a well-organized army, police and state bureaucracy is necessary.

Finally, the development of a political system depends on the behavior of the political elite - how it understands the problems facing the political system, and how it reacts to these problems, and also on the availability of consensus among political elites regarding most principal questions of the development of the political system.

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