

Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan

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DEDICATION

To my parents, who have been inspiring me from day one. Thank you for all of the support, encouragement and dedication.

To my wife, who has been there for me. Thank you for all of your support, help, encouragement and dedication.

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ABBREVIATION

ADB - Asian Development Bank

AFPPD - Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development

AKF - Aga Khan Foundation

APDA - Asian Population and Development Association

ASEAN - Association of South East Asian Nations

CAREC - Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation

CIS - Commonwealth of Independent States

CSO - Civil Society Organization

DPJ - Democratic Party of Japan

EBRD - European Bank for Reconstruction and Development

EPI - Equipment Provision for Infection Diseases Control

EU - European Union

GBAO - Gorno-Badakhshan Autonomous Oblast

ICPD - International Conference on Population and Development

ILO - International Labor Organization

ILS - Instrument Landing System

IPPF - International Planned Parenthood Federation

JBIC - Japan Bank for International Cooperation

JDS - Japan Development Scholarship

JETRO - Japan External Trade Organization

JICA - Japan International Cooperation Agency

JPPF - Japan Parliamentarians Federation for Population

JTF - Japan Trust Fund

LSIS - Living Standard Improvement Strategy

MDG - Millennium Development Goal

MEXT - Ministry of Education, Culture, Sport, Science and Technology

MOFA - Ministry of Foreign Affairs

MSDSP - Mountain Societies Development Support Program

NDS - National Development Strategy

NEXI - Nippon Export and Investment Insurance

NGO - Non-Governmental Organization

NRC - National Reconciliation Commission

ODA - Official Development Assistance

OSCE - Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe

OTCA - Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency

PALS - Precision Approach Lighting System

PRS - Poverty reduction Strategy

RH - Reproductive Health

SCO - Shanghai Cooperation Organization

SPCEA - Special Program for Central Eurasia Studies

TICA - Turkish International Cooperation Agency

UN - United Nations

UNDESA - United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs

UNDP - United Nations Development Program

UNFPA - United Nations Fund

USAID - United States Agency for International Development

UTO - United Tajik Opposition

INTRODUCTION

Overview of research

This research explores the relationship between Japan and Tajikistan, examining the presumption of Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan. The significance of studying Japan-Tajikistan relationship is that unlike other Central Asian states Tajikistan challenged the civil war and post conflict reconstruction. In all this process Japan has actively participated. The pattern of Japanese participation in Tajikistan, compared to other Central Asian states, was multiple and diverse. In other states of region Japanese participation in transition process was traditional.

In addition, yet not many works have been written regarding either the Japan-Tajikistan relationship or Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan. The reason could be the Japan's modest business investment in the country. However both sides have enormous potential to explore cooperation. As a result of opinion poll "Image of Japan in the Central Asian region" conducted by the Japanese MOFA's, the majority of people in Tajikistan consider themselves as a friendly toward Japan. (Japan MOFA, 2015, April 15). The reason could be Japanese support of country's transition process in the post-conflict period. Moreover, various positive image of Japan, such as peace promoter, friendly, country of advanced technology, healthy food and others could

impact on people's opinion about Japan. In addition, Japan, as a contributor to the reconstruction of Afghanistan, interlinked development of Tajikistan and Central Asia to stability and prosperity of Afghanistan.

There are a number of academic papers on Japan-Central Asian relationships, consisting of general introductions of the relationships between Japan and the region. At the initial stage of Japan's foreign policy to Central Asia, the two biggest Central Asian states, Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, have been targeted. The first official visit of Prime Minister Koizumi to the region started with these states. That is why most early academic papers of Japan's foreign policy to Central Asia focus on its relationships with Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan, or on general cooperation between Japan and Central Asia.

Japan has established and enhanced cooperation with all five states of the region, which, in fact, increased the interest of scholars to study the relationship of Japan with the three other states - Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Turkmenistan. Each of these states has their own specificity, which needs to be accurately examined. Thus, Prime Minister Shinzo Abe paid an official visit to each state of region on October 22-28, 2015, in order to "take a huge step in boosting ties with each country" (Channel NewsAsia, 2015, October 22).

Joseph Nye's soft power concept refers to a state's ability to shape other states'

choices through non-coercive measures, dedicating particularly to the United States during the growing anti-Americanization mood in late 1990s and early 2000s. This study defines soft power concept as ability to persuade and to use power of ideas. With seductive ideas and ability to persuade it apparently attract the choice of other states. It also had been discussed in its effectiveness in the case of Japanese foreign policy, especially in relationship toward South-East Asian states. Central Asia is different case compared to South East Asia, due to a lack of historical roots, geographical distance and communication during the Soviet period. These facts explain why citizens of the Central Asian states and Japan have comparatively less information. However the citizens of Central Asia have positive attitude toward Japan and Japanese people (Japan MOFA opinion poll, 2015, April 15). In addition to food and friendly attitude of Japanese people, Japan has image of a peace promoter, state of advanced economy and technology and as a first non-Western state, solving the population issue. All these elements have attracted Central Asians, particularly Tajikistan to strengthen cooperation with Japan. There is no academic paper written detailing Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan, making this study more significant.

The Japan-Tajikistan relationship and construction of Japanese soft power in Tajikistan are the main focus of this research. The investment efficiency of Japanese

grants to the country's various social sectors is an important issue. However, the reason of focusing on soft power is to examine the pro-Japanese attitude of public in Tajikistan, which is high compared to modest Japanese involvement. This study also examined the government decision, in the given cases, in favor of Japan. Therefore, soft-power potential of Japan is clearly demonstrated by the little input in "physical" and "material" resources but rather a model of development for the society that Tajikistan would like to learn from. For Tajikistan a post-war recovery and maintaining the peaceful society, as well as model of reaching the population progress of Japan are the issues to learn. The effectiveness of Japanese contribution to develop the human capital has also been considered. Moreover, China, Russia and the US have political, economic and social impact on Tajikistan. Each of these super-powers is also using the soft power policy in Tajikistan. The significance of this study is also to examine the level of Japanese (non-military power state) soft power implementation in Tajikistan, where it could face the clash of interest with afore-mentioned super-powers.

Aim of research

The purpose of this research is to examine the presumption of Japanese construction of soft power policy in Tajikistan. Considering a friendly attitude of the

local citizens toward Japan and success of the Japanese human resource development programs, it is an opportune for Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan. Tajikistan in the 90's and the first decade of 21st century had insufficient capacity to restore its economy, health, cultural and other social sectors, including productivity in agriculture, water irrigation, transportation and communication systems. Japan has been supporting the improvement of these sectors through various projects. Japanese financial and technical assistance in Tajikistan implemented over 340 social projects (NIAT Khovar, 2015, October 24)

In addition, Japanese support of civil society strengthened participation of Tajikistani citizens in social activities. It is important to stress Japan's humanist policy toward Tajikistan during the crucial transitional period. Japan did not look for a dividend from projects, but rather supported development of the various sectors. In addition, unlike the Europeans and Americans the Japanese government never criticized Central Asian states, including Tajikistan for their internal policies. Instead Japan has been supporting the democratization process of the states, peace enhancement and transition processes. Such endowments could be a reason of interest in Tajikistan toward Japanese political, economic and social system.

In addition to cultural and social relationships, relating to the "soft" power

concept, this research studied other development projects, such as human resource development that could be related to the concept of “hard” power, however may also illustrate the logic of Japanese “soft” power policies.

This study sustains the general opinion that the quality of the relationship can be measured not only within the framework of “donor and receiver”, but also the level of political and economic cooperation. Because a “receiving state” may rely on grant assistance, thereby losing the motivation for self-development, there is a risk for such states to end up with a complete dependence on a donor state.

At the initial stage Japan-Tajikistan cooperation was mostly grant-based. Considering recent political development and stability, Tajikistan has been motivated to explore new opportunities of cooperation. The outcome of cooperation could be considered as the main indicator of collaboration between Japan and Tajikistan. Although the index of cooperation needs to be improved, the important factor is to maintain such ties, enabling both sides to find ways of diversifying cooperation. The outcome of examining these sectors could also define the elements of Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan.

Although topics of “soft power” and “Japanese soft power policy” are not new, no academic research has been done on Japanese soft power construction in Tajikistan.

This study of the period since 1991 to the present provides a better understanding of the quality and the purpose of cooperation.

It is important to study the existing literature, unify the scattered scientific literature and analyze them. The originality of this research is also to examine Japanese participation in the development of post-conflict Tajikistan, and to define, if any, the development of soft power policy. This study attempts to answer the following: what can be considered as Japanese soft power policy, how its construction works in terms of the Japan-Tajikistan relationship and why it needs to be examined.

The outcome of this work could be used by experts and researchers studying Central Asia and Tajikistan as well as research relating to Japanese soft power policy.

Research method

This paper consists of qualitative data research. Data was collected from primary and secondary sources. Primary sources are partly in most of the chapters. As for agreements or memorandums, which included in most of the chapters, author visited and collected materials from relevant ministries, parliaments, Dushanbe City Administration and other national and the state institutions were visited. Some of those materials were collected during author's field work in Tajikistan in January 2014.

As for secondary sources, most material was aggregated from various institutions in Japan and Tajikistan. The libraries at the University of Tsukuba, Central Library of Tajikistan, Japanese and Tajikistan MOFA website, JICA and APDA archives have sufficient data, reflecting the Japanese and Tajikistan's points of view. This research, with much current modern research, also contains web-sources. There are also various academic websites, from which books were bought, borrowed and downloaded. All of these materials have been used in each chapter. For example, sources taken from APDA's records were related to population issues, sufficiently improving the fifth chapter. It describes the effort of Japan regarding population issues, participation of Tajikistani parliamentarians in related meetings and speeches of experts, including Japanese, to address population development. These materials enabled this research to follow the process of addressing population development in Tajikistan.

As for small-grant projects expressing cultural development, this research considered interviews and comments from the visited institutions, such as the National Conservatory of Tajikistan and Opera and Ballet Theater of Tajikistan (see Appendix A).

In addition, some information obtained from personal interviews, used mostly in chapters four and five. Not many academic materials addressing the Japan's contribution to the peace process in Tajikistan. During field work in Tajikistan short

interviews were conducted with related experts and members of the former National Reconciliation Commission, who shared valuable information through existing records on Japan-Tajikistan relationship to maintain peace in the country (see Appendix A).

Questions during personal interview were less complicated, such as: how effective were Japanese projects to your institution and how do you or your institution characterizes relationship with Japan? In addition, more or less the same questions were sent to Japanese side (see Appendix B).

Combining primary and secondary sources, interviews and personal archives provided insights into the issues and helped to develop an idea that matched to the existing theoretical framework. This study used content analyses, consisting of observation and documentary analyses. Analytical review of empirical data increases the validity and reliability of the research and opens up perspectives of the phenomenon studied. The role of observation method was also important to reach the main outcome of this study. In addition, the main tools of analysis are the two case studies – peace process and population development, which briefly included in chapters four and five.

This study consists of academic materials from regional scholars, including Tajik, Japanese, Russian, American, European, Iranian and others. Due to the development of the Central Asian region and alert of Afghanistan the interest of scholars

have increased and the numbers of various publications and research works related to Central Asia have expanded.

Limitations

There are limited academic materials related to the Japan-Tajikistan relationship. Most academic publications which cover Tajikistan fall into the observation of Japan-Central Asia or Japan-Eurasia cooperation category, and indicate as general overview of cooperation between the two states.

In addition, although this research covered almost all existed data, there are might be several recently published related publications not yet available to the public. For example recent works of the Japanese institutions (Keio University researchers and NEDO) documenting research on water related projects in Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan have yet to be published. Also, members of the National Reconciliation Commission of Tajikistan, who participated in a Tokyo meeting in 1999 to discuss peace enhancement, never published an overview/summary of the meeting. Data related to this meeting was only available from personal interview.

Moreover, this study managed to acquire several inter-governmental documents however, there are other related documents that were unavailable or unreachable for

public and academic use. Some inter-government treaties, inter-company agreements and others are restricted and not authorized for public usage.

Structure

This study prioritizes examining the general overview of the Japan-Central Asia relationship, the Japanese-Tajikistan relationship on economy and social sectors as well as the contribution of Japan to peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Each sector has been separated into one of five chapters.

Chapter one discusses the sufficient literature works of the related experts and researchers. In addition, this study considered “soft power” as an applicable theory to examine the Japan-Tajikistan relationship.

Chapter two examines the general overview of the Japan-Central Asian relationship. In order to address Japan-Tajikistan relationship it is meaningful to analyze Japanese foreign policy in the region. This chapter also describes JICA’s role in the region, its aims and activities. This study analyzes the Dialogue “Central Asia + Japan”, an instrument created by Japan to maintain its relationship with the region. Japan uses peaceful dialogue for regional cooperation, to support economic and energy policies of the region. This chapter also examines the Japanese foreign policy toward the region.

Chapter three describes the main development projects of Japan in Tajikistan, such as productivity, transport and communication, water and energy. This section examines the necessity of these projects to citizens of Tajikistan as well as its importance to inter-regional cooperation. Study of this sector clearly depicts a level of cooperation between sides, and cooperation itself is the basis of soft power policy. “From a low base Japan has been able to leverage its soft-power assets by increasing economic, educational, and cultural interactions with foreign countries” (Smith, 2013, p.116).

Chapter four examines the role of Japan in the peace process in Tajikistan. The peace treaty was signed in 1997 however negotiation on further peace development was continued within the National Reconciliation Commission (NRC) until the year 2000. Japan played its own role maintaining peace in Tajikistan. This chapter also analyzes the importance of human resources and education to maintain peace in country. Thus, considering the achievements of the post-conflict period of Japan in the reconstruction of the country and establishment of democratic principles, the government of Tajikistan has an interest to develop, educate and train its public officers, youth and young leaders in Japanese institutions.

Chapter five discusses the social development, particularly population and

health, culture and art. Japan encourages parliamentarians to participate in various population related events, in order to provide them with sufficient information on the importance of population development and health sector. In addition, this chapter examines Japan supported cultural and art programs. It would be a shortsighted to omit studying these sectors, because “culture is a soft power resource that produces attraction” (Nye, 2009).

CHAPTER ONE: Insights of the existing literature and theories

Introduction

This chapter examines the existing literature regarding geopolitical substance of Central Asia, Japanese foreign policy in Asia and its soft power determination. Most of the Central Asian and Eurasian authors' works were studied and analyzed. As for Japanese foreign policy and soft power determination well-known Japanese authors and experts' researches were discussed.

In addition, this chapter explored the insights of the theories related to this research. It examined the concept of power, including the hard power and soft power, with their major criticism.

Lastly, this chapter defined author's arguments regarding the Japanese soft power determination and its policy in Tajikistan.

1.1 Literature Review

This study examined related literature on geopolitical substance of Central Asia, as well as Japanese foreign policy in Asia and its soft power determination. Regarding the study of geopolitical substance of Central Asia there are group of regional scholars, such as Timur Dadabaev, Irina Zvyagelskaya, M. Sultonov, Valikhan Tuleshev,

Furughzod Usmonov and others, who have written significant literature on geopolitical substance of Central Asia.

Some of these scholars assure that Central Asia since the first half of the 19th century, has traditionally been considered as a zone of political interest to Russia and, therefore, it would be an irrational weakness of Russia's positions in the region, which has important strategic meaning. From the collapse of the Soviet Union, it was Russia's mistake to lose her position in Central Asia as a result of military-diplomatic failures of the Yeltsinism epoch, under the pressure of liberal-solzhenitsin ideology to expel unnecessary ballast from their country.

Russian expert Zvyagelskaya (2009), in her research pointed to the activity of the West in the region soon after Russian passiveness in Central Asia. Thus, after Russian "frostiness" toward its former junior Central Asian brothers, mostly because of her own internal political situation, the United States promptly declared this region as a zone of strategic interests. Regional "newly democratic regimes" started maneuvering with Super Powers in order to get bigger pieces. The group of experts, including Zvyagelskaya, believe that political, economic and military dangers in the region are incomparably more actual to Russia than to Central Asia. "Russian's national security depends on stability in this region" (Zvyagelskaya, 2009, p.46). As for the Tajikistan

transition period, she stated that the peaceful nature of the transition process only started in the beginning of year 2000.

In terms of social anarchy and paralysis of power caused by the aggravated conflict of transformation, the first and core plans become the basic task: to restore order in the society and the state. Since the restoration required a strong state, the structure of power focused its efforts on its construction. Thus, the concept of a strong state with a strong leader, capable of ensuring internal stability, was the fundamental context of the limited democracy, or democracy, “controlled from above” (Zvyagelskaya, 2009, p.41).

Tajik scholar M. Sultonov (2014) describing political changes of the last decade of the 20th century within the Soviet Union stressed that, as a result of a massive uprising of the “democratic humanists” the great state had been robbed and destroyed. Within a short period of time industrial centers, village cultural foundations had collapsed, and the country faced massive unemployment - public institutions suffering the most (Sultonov, 2014). Under demagogic slogans like “Freedom of human rights and protection of environment” in Tajikistan, people organized a massive propaganda campaign to stop construction of strategically important projects, which had to be

budgeted to come online during 1988-1995.¹

Furugzod Usmonov (2010) in his research explored the security problems in the Central Asian region. According to him, if previously a phenomenon of security was considered within the context of military resistance, today it is almost guaranteed to have characteristics of non-military challenges, such as economic, ecologic, information and energetic security. All these areas are the main challenge in the region of Central Asia.

Expert Timur Dadabaev (2006, 2008, 2011) in his research stressed that Russia has exercised heavy influence in the Central Asian region due to various circumstances, including political, economic, traditional and cultural. In addition to Russia, Chinese impact is growing in the region. As for the Japanese role in the region, the author pointed out that Japan is still in the process to find its own mode of engagement.

¹ The planned operation of the first section of the Roghun Hydro Power Station (3600MBt) scheduled in 1989, was interrupted. The second section was to be launched in 1990 and other sections before 1995. Similarly, within the same period, the government planned to launch the Sangtuda Hydro Power Station -1 (520MBt) and other mid-sized power hydro stations.

Construction of the second Vaksh's Azote-Tukoviy factory planned to double production of azote (nitrogen) enrichment, was suspended. Similarly also halted was construction of the second Yavan's electrochemical factory, important for the production of polymers and agricultural pesticides.

However, according to Dadabaev, there is a sense both in Japan and in the majority of Central Asian countries that potential for cooperation between Japan and the Central Asian countries is not fully and properly realized. The impact of its assistance and cooperation programs often falls short of the expectations by the Central Asian governments and general population (Dadabaev, 2008). In his recent analyses of the Japan-Central Asian relationship, Timur Dadabaev (2013, 2014) indicated that despite high expectations of both Central Asian states and Japan regarding further development of relations Japanese involvement in the region remains mainly confined to ODA disbursements and various forms of economic and technical assistance. Along with other major players, particularly Russia and China, Japan has also attempted to expand its impact in the region. However Japan's influence remains limited, with several directions of involvement that have yet to be explored (Dadabaev, 2013, p.507). As for Japanese "soft" power policy, Dadabaev (2014) highlighted the promotion of cultural interaction by establishing Japan Centers and regularly holding cultural events both in Japan and Central Asia. Japan Centers also promote language and business training courses. However, disparity between Japanese-led educational programs and very limited Japanese related employment opportunities in the region has resulted in an oversupply of potential personnel with Japanese language skills but few employment

opportunities (Dadabaev, 2014).

The transitional process of the Central Asian states has been varied from state to state. This process has been the subject of research for many scholars. Thus, German researcher A. Seifert (2009) has been working on the political processes associated with the transformation process in Central Asian states. According to him, the transformation processes are characterized by the fact that traditional and pathetic elements of economic and social processes coexist in parallel over long periods of time (Siefert, 2009, p.366).

Only a careful analysis of the process in each individual state may identify the typical characteristics of the region. Based on this view, Tajik scholar Professor Ibragim Usmonov (2006), author of several works on peace and security in Tajikistan, stressed that the way of the independence development in Tajikistan, the history of formation of the new Tajik state is quite different from the analogous process in other Central Asian states.

In particular, the political struggles in February 1991, followed by a state of emergency and political confrontation later in 1991, together with hunger strike protesters, active repression of the Communist Party from the leadership positions, an increase in the role/authority of religion and the religious elite, the pressure on the

legislature and the subsequent deterioration of the whole political life of the country. The causes of the civil war in the spring of 1992 are manifold, beginning with resignation of President Mahkamov, state anarchy in the autumn and winter of 1992, a new wave of political confrontation in the same year and long lasting strikes (Usmonov, 2006, p.38). Fratricidal war, lasting until the end of 1997, indicates the thorny path of Tajikistan's independence. Tajikistan was devastated from internal conflict. It was necessary to build a new market state. A country requires a framework conditions in order to create and expand of the private sector, such as the right to ownership and control of method of acquisition of private property. Unfortunately problems may arise in the process of implementation of the relevant provisions of the law.²

In the research work edited by Seifert and Naumkin (2006) authors mentioned

² By the end of 2000, the rate of privatization of medium and large enterprises was 40% (500 privatized objects), considered as low index for smaller and agricultural enterprises. The overall structure of the economy is determined by agriculture, employing 40% of the workforce. Reforms were necessary to improve the quality of products. This includes transferring collective and state farms to the agricultural unions, leasing and land confiscation. In the privatization program proposed by the World Bank in 2002, about 300 state and collective farms were sold to 14.000 private owners or families. As a result, 30% of the agricultural land is in private hands. After transition to private ownership, private farms stand in first place among large sectors of the economy. Today, smaller private enterprises also make up much of the composition of light industry.

that the problem of the negative socio-economic circumstances can't be omitted with effects of the market transition. It should be expanded in order to consider the negative consequences that transformation defines in terms of implementation of the capitalist system, even if the country does not have its own capital. In the case of Tajikistan, where the functioning of a capitalist system has to start from zero, the transition had been examined under political and economic pressure of the West, ignoring the absence of many necessary conditions for its implementation. As a result of the implementation of an abstract model of transition, all social systems, based on principles of equality of opportunities have been weakened. The social security system, which existed in the Soviet Union, was completely destroyed. The Tajik society was too weak to re-construct a replacement. As the consequence, the problem of poverty has been very acute. The World Bank listed other consequences: low income and consumption, limited access to the source of income and basic social services (education, health, water and heat), a boost of gender inequality, the growth of maternal and child mortality, the threat of illiteracy and a reduction of life expectancy. After 10 years of transformation Tajikistan failed to reach "the second millennium development goals" set by the World Bank (Seifert & Naumkin, 2006, p.16).

The politically and economically complicated situation in Tajikistan has been

supported by international society, including Japan.

The principles of Japanese foreign policy in Asia were clearly mentioned by Prime Minister Abe, during his Asian trip to several ASEAN states in January 2013. In his policy speech, scheduled to be delivered in Indonesia, Prime Minister Abe (2013) introduced “five new principles for Japanese diplomacy”. According to him, it is part of Japan's national interest to eternally keep Asia's seas unequivocally open, free, and peaceful, and to protect them as a commons, where the rule of law is fully realized for all the people of the world. In addition, “Japan's relationship that goes side by side with ASEAN is a supremely vital linchpin in terms of its importance to our diplomatic strategy.”³ He also explained the reason of his decision to expand the horizons of Japanese diplomacy from this region, by believing that ASEAN has significance as a model for all humanity.

Prime Minister Abe's “Five principles to build the future” contains the protection of universal values in the region, to ensure seas governed by laws and rules, interconnection of economies and intercultural cooperation. The last principle is the

³ Prime Minister Shinzo Abe's speech “The Bounty of the Open Seas: Five New Principles for Japanese Diplomacy” was supposed to be delivered on Friday January 18, 2013 during his stay in Jakarta, but actually wasn't because of some unavoidable changes in his itinerary. However, the full-text of his speech was published on the Cabinet's website.

promotion of the younger generation who will carry each nation into the future (Abe, 2013).

These principles mostly dedicated to the Japanese foreign policy in South East Asia. This action is to ensure that Japan is back to South East Asia (Fukuda, 2014). Basically Japan never been out of this region and its foreign policy toward South East Asia had been improving since Fukuda Doctrine.⁴ According to Rozman (2015) Abe Doctrine is more strategically-driven than the previous Japanese policy and sets Japan-ASEAN relations in the context of rivalry against China.

Takashi Inoguchi (2014) in his research described the challenges and success of Abe's policy wing in international relations, which he called *Abegeopolitics*. The success of Abe's transformative diplomacy is that by visiting 30 countries, he carried out his network diplomacy to induce unfriendly neighbors (China and Korea) to resolve disputes, to normalize bilateral relations and to stabilize East Asia and Pacific (Inoguchi, 2014). *Abegeopolitics*' challenge is how to improve relationship with China and Korea. As for worsening relationship with China, Abe inherited it from its predecessor, when

⁴ Fukuda Doctrine was asserted by former Japanese Prime Minister Takeo Fukuda during his speech in Manila in 1977 (heart to heart relationship). In his speech he called for economic cooperation and equal partnership with ASEAN states, to assist into the improvement their economy through ODA or FDI. In addition, Prime Minister Fukuda vowed to that Japan would never been a military power.

Prime Minister Noda nationalized the Senkaku/Diaoyutai islands. In relationship with China, Inoguchi queries whether Japan can afford the Chinese policy of making Japanese investment in China difficult. Other task, according to Inoguchi, how to alleviate concern of the most important ally – the USA. The inflaming patriotism that has been promoted by Abe's administration may lead to anti-Americanism.

Yoshihide Soeya (2013) also relates the main task of Japanese foreign policy with China's concern. According to him Japanese foreign policy in Asia considered the Japan-China relationship. He stressed that Japan may look for mutual support from some ASEAN states like Vietnam, in order not to be alone when facing the rise of China as a new geopolitical challenge.⁵

The issue of rise of China and its relationship to new geopolitical challenge of the Japanese foreign policy and security become more applicable after collapse of the Soviet Union, which was considered as the main threat to Japan. Thus, after collapse of the Soviet Union "new defense planning in a narrow sense as well as redefinition of a more broad security policy are required for Japan" (Tanaka, 1994, p.28). In his research on Japanese security, Akihito Tanaka stressed that most of the conflict in the world may

⁵ Professor Yoshihide Soeya made this statement during his visit to the Vietnam National University in Hanoi and Ho Chi Minh City in 2013. *Wochi Kochi* magazine briefly published the result of his visit to the Vietnamese institutions, titling it as "*Missing diplomacy toward Asia? - The blind spots of Japanese foreign policy.*"

affect Japanese economy, because its activities are global. In this regard Japan's security interests are now global (Tanaka, 1994). In addition, he also highlighted Asia and Pacific as the most important region of security interest of Japan. As for Japanese cooperation with ASEAN+3 and its regionalism within this organization, Tanaka (2007) pointed that after recovery of the 1997 crisis, the voices of regionalism and efforts of community building in the region have grown. However, according to him, ASEAN+3 has not yet proven its viability as the regional institution able to play a more substantive role beyond that of simply talk shop.

In most of the arguments above the authors mentioned Japanese foreign policy, security and issue of regionalism, however there is minimum argument on Japanese soft power policy in Central Asia and Tajikistan.

This study also examined research materials written by group of Japanese scholars working on Japan-Central Asia relationship. In the manuscript edited by Len Christopher, Uyama Tomohiko & Hirose Tetsuya "Japan's Silk Road Diplomacy: Paving the Road Ahead", the authors explored Japanese policy toward the Central Asian region. According to them, (2008) Japan recognizes that democratization is an important aspect in Central Asia's modernization process. The authors suggested that democratization should not be imposed from outside but instead be inculcated

domestically as part of political evolutionary process (Len, Uyama & Hirose, 2008). They stressed that Japan could do more to assist them in this process but ability of Tokyo to influence them is limited. That is why they suggested Japan to have developmental rather than a geopolitical focus on the region. This focus may provide an accurate basis for assessing Japan's contribution to the region. The authors pointed out that Japan should find ways to improve its development strategy in Central Asia, however, the ultimate responsibility for such development also lies on Central Asians as well. According to the authors, the geopolitical role of Central Asia is increasing, especially considering the situation in Afghanistan. Japan could play a leading role in the region by bringing all the external actors who are interested in Central Asia to develop a coherent development agenda for Central Asia.

Kawato Akio (2008) in his research described the history of cooperation between Japan and Central Asia. The author of "What is Japan up to in Central Asia?" also agreed with the above-mentioned scholars on Japanese active involvement in the region, but suggested that Japan, though generally considered to be reticent in world politics, could be a politically meaningful force in this region with its economic power and its untainted historical relations with Central Asia. Japan, unlike the US and EU, who often point to human rights cases of the region, may act appropriately and propose

more reform and democratization to the region. Author acknowledges the economic development of the region, however stressed that elements of instability in the region, due to situation in Afghanistan, still exists. In this regard he suggested no “Great Game” is needed in the region, since stability in Central Asia is essential not only to the region but also to the interested power states. That’s why, according to author, the stability of Afghanistan is a key issue. The instability of Afghanistan may spread to Central Asia, inducing surrounding countries to rely on outside forces to secure themselves (Kawato, 2008).

Shimao Kuniko, (2008) in his work titled “Japan’s Energy Strategy towards West and Central Asia under Contemporary Globalization” also highlighted active Japanese participation in the region through obtaining economic dividends, particularly Japan’s energy interests in the Central Asian region. According to him, energy security is a global issue and Japan is seeking its own way to strengthen its security strategy. In his research, the author compares Japanese energy cooperation with Middle East and Central Asia. Japan mostly imports oil from Middle East or Gulf states, but only a very limited amount from Central Asia. However, Japan has an interest in uranium development with Uzbekistan and Kazakhstan, which was proposed by Prime Minister Koizumi during his visit to Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan in August 2006 (Kuniko, 2008).

Author stressed that Central Asian energy might be needed for Japan in order to diversify its import market, because “Japan has energy policies that promote energy alternatives and conservation measures to reduce its oil dependence” (Kuniko, 2008, p.173).

In the context of Japanese strategy on energy, Yuasa Takeshi (2010) suggested examining the wider region - the whole Eurasian continent. He also stressed the idea of diversifying the energy supply route with a pragmatic policy towards Russia by the Koizumi administration. According to author, for Japan to attain its goals of diversification of energy supply channels, Russia is a more realist supplier of oil and natural gas than Central Asians. However, Japan and Russia have common interest in Central Asia’s energy resources, including constructing of a cooperative regime of technology for the peaceful use of nuclear energy (Takeshi, 2010).

Group of scholars defined Japanese foreign policy in Asia by the promotion of soft power policy through “Cultural Diplomacy” and other cultural promotion projects. It is important to discuss the concept of soft power on the foreign policy of Japan. It is one of the relevant examples of a developed state with foreign policy based on soft power. After the end of World War II Japan was banned from using military solution for international disputes. In this regard, Japan has had to focus on cooperation with other

states and find a mechanism to influence their partner's decision-making process.

Expert Seiko Yasumoto (2011) stressed that in addition to its ODA and other forms of cooperation with various states, Japan has also made significant contributions in the domain of popular culture. Japanese popular media, including drama, music, anime, computer games, movies have been disseminated to various states in Asia and other parts of the globe. In her research, Yasumoto pointed that Nye and Japanese officials speak of soft power as making Japanese values attractive and influencing countries to side with Japanese efforts in diplomatic and international relations. Previously Japan did not have any document promoting its values, however "growing recognition, now evidenced in recent Japanese government initiatives on behalf of the national interest, of a need to become active in the dissemination of Japanese values and in recognizing, where possible, their economic value" (Yasumoto, 2011, p.1). She pointed that the positive transfer of Japanese media through younger generations of Asia can be seen as an improvement of regional cooperation, political relations and better mutual understanding.

Expert Christine Yano (2009) agreed with the above-mentioned opinion and added that "Soft Power" is the ability to indirectly influence behavior or interest through cultural or ideological means - has been the backbone of much talk about Japan's "cool".

One of the origin of transferring Japanese popular culture into soft power is the imaging of “Cool Japan” that have similarities to “Cool Britannia” of the 1990s.

Kondo Seiichi (2008) in his research explained about position of “cool Japan” in Japan’s new public diplomacy. He also explained the reason of popularity of pop culture. According to him the Japan’s bubble economy and transformation of the values due to globalization were the reason to break down the country’s male-dominated, seniority-based hierarchy, allowing Japanese youth and women, who were previously relegated to a relatively low social status, to develop their talent more freely. Thus, activities such as pop culture has been one of their preferences. Moreover, the advances in high and information technologies created new form of culture and artistic expression, such as anime and video games. All these developments, according to Kondo Seiichi, has facilitated the transmission of Japanese ideas in the form of pop culture. In case if government wants to wield the soft power in public diplomacy, it must concentrate its efforts on building relevant environments, in which ideas and culture are freely created by the private sector and where transmitters and receivers are easily interact in the market (Kondo, 2008).

Sugiura Tsutomi (2008) claimed that culture as a source of soft power is also necessary for businesses. In order for Japanese company to be excellent, it needs soft

power. As for popularity of Japanese animation and game content, one of the reasons why they has become so popular in the world is that they were out of government control, left to take its own course and enjoy freedom of expression. Thus, according to him, too much government emphasis on “cool Japan” might put people off.

Agawa Naoyuki (2008) emphasized “personal soft power” as additional source of Japanese soft power. One of the aspects of Japan’s soft power that Nye failed to mention is the personal relationship and trust that politicians, diplomats, members of Japan’s armed forces and other members of the Japanese government establish with their counterparts and the general public in other countries (Agawa, 2008).

The topic of Japanese soft power via its “Cool” policy was also been discussed by international newspapers. Thus, The Japan Times (2012, May 15) indicated that the Japanese government’s exporting culture, including animation, fashion and food is to promote Japan’s “soft power” in a PR strategy called “Cool Japan”. The Economist (2014, June 16) added that a government led promotion of “Cool Japan” is part of a new strategy of the Abe Administration. In this regard, the “government of Shinzo Abe is in midst of spending some ¥90 billion (\$883m) to propel Japan’s creative industries abroad.

According to Otmazgin (2008), the Japanese popular culture is very popular in

East and South East Asia, especially among the youth in major cities of the region like Hong Kong, Shanghai, Jakarta, Seoul that follow fashion from Tokyo. However, their interest to Japanese popular culture is not limited. They also listen to American pop music, watch Chinese dramas on television or DVD, and go with friends to watch the latest Korean movie (Otmazgin, 2008, p.3). The author ascribes this popularity on the essence of the region containing particular characteristics that differentiate it from other Asian regions. He stated that it is not merely a collection of nation states as a whole but is a product of the economic, societal, and cultural inter-penetration among East and Southeast Asia's big cities and their consumer-oriented middle class population.

These studies examined three main directions (Geopolitical substance of Central Asia, Japanese foreign policy toward the region and its soft power determination) considered important to this research. This volume did not find any research papers on Japanese soft power policy in Tajikistan. No academic works determine Japanese soft power policy in this country.

1.2 Theoretical discussion

In order to study soft power it is important to address the concept of power itself. The concept of power is as ancient and ubiquitous as any that social theory can

boast (Dahl, 1957, p.201). In international politics there are classical theorists, who focused on power and related it to the theory of realism. In international relations theorists such as Thucydides, Machiavelli, Hobbes and Rousseau represent the classical realism. Others, such as Hans Morgenthau (1962) also the foremost supporter of concept of power from the perspective of the classical realism. According to him, all politics is a struggle for power. This statement came from his idea that the desire to dominate is a constitutive element of all human associations. Each state, regardless of its targets, aims to strengthen the power. In this case if one state seeks to maximize its power it is also definitely looking for domination upon other. Thus, according to Morgenthau (1948, chp.1) the realist school believes that interest could be the perennial standard where political action must be judged and directed, the contemporary connection between interest and the nation state is a product of history. Therefore, it is bound to fade in the sphere of history.

The main criticism of Morgenthau's power came from neorealism school, particularly from Kenneth Waltz (1979). He criticized Morgenthau's view on human nature as the source for power seeking, which Waltz shifted the focus onto structure as necessitating power-hungry states for security reasons. According to "Morgenthau's point of view, the power is rather a purpose by itself and the source of conflicts at an

international level, while for Waltz power is the mean used by states in order to ensure their survival” (Tabarcia, 2009, p.80).

Liberal school of international relations also criticized concept of power, stressing that “many important international outcomes cannot be adequately explained with reference to power, but instead are better understood by the salutary presence of democracy, particular configurations of domestic interests, liberal values, economic interdependence, or international institutions”(Barnett & Duvall, 2005).

Concept of hard power is mostly associated with realism in international relation. It addresses power politics and force and considered as oldest idea of using power. American expert Henry Kissinger stated that in the beginning of the last decade of 20th century the *Willsonism* has triumphed. Communism, ideological and Soviet’s geopolitical challenges were surmounted simultaneously. The target of “morally opposing communism was leaked to task of resistance to the soviet expansionism” (Kissinger, 1997, p.732). In addition, for the justification of his idea he cited President Bush, “In front of us the content of new partnership of the nations, which was jumped over cold war. The partnership based on consultation, cooperation and collective action, especially through international and regional organizations. Partnership, under united principles and power of justice and supportive of allocation of fairness on expenses and

responsibilities. Partnership, the target of which enhancement of democracy, prosperity, peace and disarmament” (Kissinger, 1997, p.733).

However, in the reality the USA used *hard power* against several states, especially the ones in Middle East. In general, until the 1990’s most of the states widely used *hard power* in their foreign policies. Hard power is the use of various economic and military strength of one state against other. This form of political power is often aggressive and is most effective when imposed by one political body upon another of lesser military and/or economic power (Copeland, 2010, February 2). However, “despite widespread use, power remains a slippery and problematic concept” (Bierstedt, 1950). The USA and its allies used its power against Saddam Hussein’s Iraq, first through economic sanctions and than military strength. The policy cannot be deemed successful, because no weapons of mass destruction were ever found in Iraq, and country was left in a chaotic situation, with most of the industrial sector ruined and ordinary citizens dying daily from terrorism and anarchy.

In the early 1990’s Joseph Nye coined the concept of soft power. This concept became widely used after the publication of *Soft Power: The means to Success in World Politics* (Nye, 2004). This concept refers to a state’s ability to shape other states’ foreign policy choices through non-coercive measures. It also welcomes dialogue and exchange

with other states that flourishes in an atmosphere of confidence, trust and respect (Copeland, 2010). According to Nye (2004), soft power can be defined as the use of culture, political values, and foreign policies to attract or influence, rather than coerce or induce, the behavior of others. It becomes effective to assist the transformation process of states rather than using more direct forms of power. This concept was defined after Nye's analysis of anti-American sentiments in the end of XX and beginning of XXI centuries. According to him, the unpopularity of American foreign policies is causing the next generation to question American power. Thus he proposed to strengthen the soft power policy. When you can get others to want what you want, you don't have to spend as much on stick and carrots to move them in your direction (Nye, 2004).

The USA and its allies wanted to forcibly change the system in Iraq, Libya and Syria that were not effective compare to the soft assistance given to the democratic transformation of societies in Georgia, Kyrgyzstan and former Yugoslavia states.

The soft power concept also understands as ability to persuade and to use power of ideas. First of all, with growing use of soft power policy by many states, it is important to create enticing ideas. Second, with seductive ideas and ability to persuade it is possible to attract the choice of other states.

The neorealist group, especially Neil Ferguson (2003) criticized soft power by

claiming that in international relations the actors use only economic incentives and force. In term of a country's goals when using the soft power he criticized that "soft power is too soft to obtain a country's interest."⁶ Thus, Antony Lake, assistant to President Clinton, was proposing to use soft power as long as it is working and than use hard power, that is to say using soft power to enlarge democracy and using hard power to enforce it.⁷

Japan, after its constitutional rejection of military aggression, its reputation as a politically stable and safe society and the recent increase in its popular culture exports constitute an attractive combination of soft power resource (McConnell, 2008). Japan and the US had different reasons to implement the soft power policy. The Joseph Nye's soft power concept was found and devoted to the United States. It was an idea to use existed popularity of American culture abroad in order to influence them. In case of Japan, first of all, is to develop and enhance cultural popularity. The reasons of spreading soft power policy abroad are various, and one of them certainly is rise of

⁶ For more information regarding soft power observation of Confucius institute see an article: Towards a New Framework for Soft Power: An Observation of China's Confucius Institute. Retrieved from <https://journal.hass.tsukuba.ac.jp/interfaculty/article/view/3/5> Accessed: 2014, August 22

⁷ For more information about soft power concept in geopolitics please refer to the following website: <http://www.forum-scpo.com/geopolitique/concept-soft-power.htm> Accessed: 2015, June 9

China and its growing influence to Asian and Pacific states.

Japan was banned from the using military force to settle international disputes, rarely uses its economic capacity to impose sanctions over other states and consequently relies heavily on soft power. It may use its culture and tradition as well as high innovation in technology as the tools of soft power. However, unlike the United States, Japanese culture is not yet globalized. Even though “Japan’s soft power has increased since the 1980s, it is limited by residual suspicion that linger abroad, especially in Asian states. In addition, Japan faces serious demographic challenges and its language is not widely spoken” (Nye, 2004). However, Agawa (2008) disagree with Joseph Nye claiming that Nye failed to mention the personal relationship and trust that politicians, diplomats, members of Japan’s armed forces and other members of the Japanese government establish with their counterparts and the general public in other countries. He called this element as a “personal soft power” (Agawa, 2008).

One of the important region to practice Japanese soft power is Asia, particularly South East Asia. After World War II, more particularly in the end of 1970s Japan participated in the development of this region. Japanese products along with its culture and tradition have become popular in the region.

In Central Asia people’s attitude toward Japan is very positive. Japanese image

of a peace promoter, advanced economy, technology and education as well as a country of *anime* and *Samurais*⁸ has respectfully reputed about them. The popularity of Japanese culture and tradition is in different level in Central Asia compared to the South East Asia. Toward the Central Asians, Japan emphasized common Asian identity, thus “cultural and racial commonality and an emotional affinity resulting from it has become part of official rhetoric” (Dobrinskaya, 2012, November 22).

Japanese innovative skills attract hundreds of Central Asian youth to study Japanese and try for admission at Japanese universities. The number of students learning Japanese language and culture at the local universities in Central Asian states are increasing. Japan contributes to the development of human resource “as beneficiaries of the Japanese education system, will return home as cultural ambassadors and build friendship bridges between their countries and Japan” (Lam, 2010, p.355).

For governments of Central Asian states one of the most attractive issues is a model of post-war development of Japan. Japan introduces its own model of the

⁸ In Central Asia, particularly in Tajikistan traditionally people respect the brave warriors. In *Shahname* of Firdavsi, a Persian writer, the image of Rustam and Suhrob, have positively embraced by readers. People in Iran and in Central Asia even these days naming their children as The heroes of *Shahname*. That's why image of *samurai* for ordinary citizen of Central Asia is a brave man, protecting his rights and properties as well as his country.

democratization of society, transition to market economy, regional cooperation, possibly strengthening peace and security in the region. The issue of democracy was stressed in Taro Aso's "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity", in which he assured "Japan will serve as an "escort runner" to support these countries that have just started into this truly never-ending marathon."⁹

Japan is heightening its international image through "Cool Japan" that attracts other states to Japanese manga, anime, pop culture, fashion, and products.

Japanese embassies and JICA Representative Offices are organizing various programs – cultural, educational and other socio-economic activities. The "competition of oratorical skills of Japanese language", "Budo festival", "Evening of traditional Japanese music"¹⁰ are among the activities organized by the Embassy of Japan in Tajikistan, annually increasing interest in Tajikistan to Japanese culture and sport. In fact, Japan has been able to leverage its soft-power assets by increasing economic, educational, and cultural interactions with foreign countries (Smith, 2013, p.116).

⁹ "Arc of democracy and prosperity" statement made by Mr. Taro Aso, Minister for Foreign Affairs on the Occasion of the Japan Institute of International Affairs Seminar "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic Horizons".

¹⁰ These and more cultural activities were initiated by the Japanese Embassy in Tajikistan for ensuring friendly attitude toward each other. For more information about other activities see Embassy's website.

Japan introduced its culture and business projects to the region. However Japanese development of soft power in the region may be challenged by other countries using similar policies, such as Russia, China, EU and US. All these countries are very active and propose various projects to maintain their policies in the region.

As the soft power concept clearly defined its goals, which can be achieved through direct political and cultural promotions, it does not, however, mention about its “indirect” influence. If the American culture and language become popular through state’s direct programs and via support of non-government institutions, the Japanese culture also promoted via the third states.

If Japanese culture promotion goes well in South East Asian states through various Japanese Government programs, it has reached countries like Tajikistan also indirectly – through the third states. For example, the popularity of Japanese cuisine in Tajikistan is result of Russian impact. Most of the citizens in Tajikistan watch Russian or European TV channels. Some of them travel and work in Russia and Europe and see popularity of Japanese food in those states. It impacts their food choice and continue this trend back in their home-state. Other example is Japanese Judo, which is part of the martial art, however many people in Central Asia consider it as a sport. Because popularity of Judo came to the region not from Japan but from Europe, which

introduced it as a sport.

In this regard, Japan may use both- direct and indirect soft power policy if it has interest to boost it in the Central Asia. For that it should be more creative and active to challenge other superpowers and region powers in the region.

1.3 Arguments

Despite of the major development contribution of Japan people in Tajikistan do not consider Japan as the main economic and trade partner. On the other hand, people in Tajikistan consider Japan as the economically advanced state. (Japan MoFA opinion poll, 2015, April 15). Pro-Japanese attitude of public in Tajikistan is very high when compared to modest Japanese involvement. Therefore, soft-power potential of Japan is clearly demonstrated by the little input in "physical" and "material" resources but rather a model of development for the society that Tajikistan would like to learn from. For Tajikistan post-war recovery and maintaining the peaceful society, as well as model of solving the population issue of Japan are the subjects to learn. In addition, this enquiry examined the other elements of Japanese soft power in Tajikistan:

- Regional commonality: Geographically Tajikistan and Japan locate in Asian region.

Both country value their tradition and norms, and consider them in the political and

the decision making procedures.

- Friendly attitude: People in Tajikistan consider Japanese as friendly.
- Healthy food: The trend of healthy food is growing in the main cities of Tajikistan, particularly in Dushanbe. The tendency of having healthy food adopted from Russian and European TV shows, as well migrants and students who are residing some time in aforementioned countries and Japan. However it has not yet spread all over the country but attracted several groups of society.
- High technology: Japan's advanced technology impacts citizens' choice in Tajikistan to purchase Japanese brand households. People from the middle or high income society in Tajikistan give preference to Sony and Panasonic TVs, Toyota and Nissan cars. Most of them are even searching for Japanese cars made in Japan but not made in other Asian countries.
- Image of economy developed country: Image of Japan as economically advanced state makes people think of Japan as the main trade and economic partner. People want government of Tajikistan to strengthen its relationship with Japan. In the "opinion poll" conducted by the Ministry of foreign affairs of Japan and to the question of "what comes in your mind when you hear about Japan?" majority respondents in Tajikistan stressed "economically developed country with high level

of technological development.”¹¹¹²

- **Advanced education:** Due to Japanese image of advanced technology and economy people in Tajikistan also consider Japanese education as very advanced. Currently many youth choose Japan as an education destination. Of course the number of students studying at the European, American and Russian universities are exceeding Japanese, but the tendency of growing number of Tajikistani students are evident.¹²
- **Post war recovery:** Example of Japan`s recover from the disaster of the WW-II is a subject of interest in many countries. For Tajikistan it is very important to learn the success and failures of the post-war recovery in Japan. Also, it is interesting to learn society`s consciousness change from post-war to moderate development. People in Tajikistan also passed the post-conflict period and acknowledge the challenges that Japanese society had faced.
- **Sport and tradition:** Japanese martial art, such as judo, kendo and others are getting popularity among the youth in Tajikistan. People adopt this art as a sport, because they have reached Tajikistan via Europe or Russia. Recently number of *judokas* in Tajikistan are increasing and most of them by having opportunity would like to be

¹¹ For more information and details about opinion poll “Image of Japan in Central Asian region”, which conducted by the Japanese MoFA in 2015.

¹² More about education projects and prospects are written in the chapter four.

trained at the Japanese schools.

- Support the transition process in Tajikistan: Unlike Europeans and American governments Japanese do not criticize internal policies of government of Tajikistan. They do not intervene into the internal affairs of a sovereign state. Instead they would like to support transition process in Tajikistan, maintain peace and security in the country. During inter-Tajik conflict period Japan kept neutrality and concentrated to support country's development. Such attitude of Japanese authority sympathized both government and people of Tajikistan. One of the examples is a Tokyo meeting, which was proposed by the Japanese side for inter-Tajik peace negotiation delegation. One of the reason why Tajik side accepted this invitation was neutrality of Japan during the conflict. In the Tokyo meeting sides had opportunity to discuss failure and progress of the Peace Treaty signed in 1997, and preparation for the parliamentary election in year 2000, in which both the ruling party and opposition wanted to stand for an election.¹³
- Achievements on population issue: Japan has reached population progress in early 1970s. Many countries in Asia followed the Japanese model and most of them, such as Vietnam, Korea and Thailand succeed it. Tajikistan with its high growing

¹³ More about Tokyo Meeting and peace process is written in chapter four.

population rate of 2.4% (UNdata, 2014) also has interested to learn more about population development from countries, such as Japan. First of all, Japan is an Asian country, and secondly, it was the first non-western state achieved population progress. In this context many related officers of the national institutions in Tajikistan are attending various related conferences and seminars, progressing on population development issue. Parliamentarians from Tajikistan also part of this process, they have attended the related meetings to learn and examine the Japanese model of solving the population issue. In addition some of them attended study visit projects within Japan. As a result in 2014 Parliament of Tajikistan established the National Council for Population Development. The aim of the Council is to establish and enhance cooperation on the issues of population and development, especially between members of parliament, government institutions, civil society and non-governmental organizations.¹⁴ In addition, in October 2015 the Parliament of Tajikistan was elected as a Chair of the Standing Committee of the AFPPD on the Investing on Youth. This responsibility may enhance role of the Parliament and Government of Tajikistan to strengthen the process of population development in Tajikistan and in the region.

Unlike the United States' culture which was naturally spread all over the world,

¹⁴ More information about population development is written in chapter five.

the Japanese soft power policy is more intentionally implemented. Government of Japan aimed to promote it via various policies and strategies, such as “Cultural Diplomacy” and “Cool Japan”. In this regard, the “government of Shinzo Abe is in midst of spending some ¥90 billion (\$883m) to propel Japan’s creative industries abroad. (The Economist, 2014, June 16). Joseph Nye (2005, December 5) stressed that Japanese culture, unlike the United States’, is not yet globalized. In addition, according to him, Japan faces serious demographic challenges and its language is not widely spoken. However Nye failed to mention about recent growing popularity of Japanese food, friendly attitude, sports and high technology, which are having not only regional but also global impact. In addition, even “the serious demographic challenge” of Japan become a subject of interest to other states. Thus for many South East Asian states the Japanese model of demographic dividend and population issue had become an ideal model of implementing population policies. For Tajikistan which faces high population growth the issue of population is also an agenda. Thus, country has interest to learn from Japanese experience.

Other issue which Nye failed to mention is neutrality of Japan in the major internal conflicts of the given state. Despite of the recent support of coalition in the global military operation Japan still remains a country which keeps neutrality in most of

the internal conflicts. It never supplied arms but rather called for peaceful negotiation. In some cases such attitude attract other states to enhance cooperation with Japan and consider Japanese model of development. In fact the same situation happened in Tajikistan. After signing a peace treaty in 1997 and having parliamentary election scheduled in year 2000, the members of NRC were in need of another meeting to discuss the failure and success of the peace treaty. They had considered to hold meeting in Japan in 1999 just a year before parliamentary election. The decision to meet in Japan was because of neutral position of Japan in Tajik internal conflict. Unlike Russia and Iran that supported government and opposition forces Japan was concentrated on human resource development and peace promotion.

Japanese human resource development in Tajikistan was not targeted to get economic dividends but rather establish trustful and friendly relationship. The public officers, representative of local governments and municipalities of Tajikistan had attended special courses, internship and study visits in Japan. According to them the choice of visiting Japan was due to the regional commonality, social development and peaceful environment. For example, the officers of Dushanbe municipality visited Japan in 2003. In this training program, the representatives of Tajikistan highlighted the functionality of volunteering system in the various towns and cities of Japan in order to

keep city clean, safe and to establish ongoing interaction between local government and with citizens (Personal communication, 2014). In addition, the administration of the city may save budgetary expenditure through cooperation with volunteer groups. Thus, after the training program participants proposed to the Dushanbe city administration to address this issue in the various communities of city. On August 16, 2011 the Resolution of Dushanbe Mayor under the number of 396-2 approved Program of Action to the better city residing and common action in order to enhance it. According to this program, administration has to hire about hundred volunteers from the city activists, and set up the closer relations with the local communities.

In this regard, citizens may take active participation in the process by informing about the problems in their own community or districts, to propose the best ways to improve conditions of the streets and areas, which in general may keep city clean, secure and improve citizen-administration cooperation. This case study shows the adapting Japanese model in Tajik society by learning Japanese experience with this country. Japan provides best environment for interested groups to learn Japanese models. Countries never feel neither pressure nor order from Japanese side, which makes smooth and convenient to follow.

Conclusion

The research works of the Central Asian scholars highlighted the geopolitical substance of the region. After collapse of the Soviet Union region has brought attention of the major super-powers and regional powers. Along with other major players, particularly Russia and China, Japan has also attempted to expand its impact on the region. Central Asians states also have interested to strengthen bi-lateral and multilateral relationship with those states. It may diversify their internal and foreign policies as well as their market.

Japan considers Asia and Pacific region as a priority to its foreign policy. In these regions, including in Central Asia it has faced challenge from growing China and its influence over the region. Japan uses various tools, including soft power, to strengthen its presence in Central Asia.

Soft power concept coined by Joseph Nye refers to state's ability to attract other country's choice by coercive methods, which is contrary to hard power concept that is the use of various economic and military strength of one state against other. One of its main criticisms is being too soft to obtain a country's interest.

The main argument is that despite of little Japanese trade and economic involvement the pro-Japanese attitude of public in Tajikistan is high. The soft-power potential of Japan is clearly demonstrated by the little input in "physical" and "material"

resources but rather a model of development for the society that Tajikistan would like to

learn from.

CHAPTER TWO: The modern level of international cooperation: Japanese foreign policy toward Central Asia

Introduction

Japan's foreign policy has passed several stages and was changed soon after the end of the Cold War, during which Japan benefited from contradictions between eastern and western blocks. Within a short period Japan had identified new components for its foreign policy. The Japanese image of a peaceful state aims to maintain peace and strengthen healthy economic competition between states. In this regard Japan promotes economic diplomacy, which is fusion of politics and economics and largely determines the dynamics of international relations (Khoshimov, n.d., p.43).

For Japan, a foreign policy with Asia is a priority. Despite its closeness during the Soviet period, Central Asia always remains an indispensable part of Asia. In the Japanese market, 80% depends on the oil exporting states of the Middle East and diversifying these sources is strategically important. In this context Japan considers Central Asia as a region to diversify its source of energy.

Central Asia is a geopolitically important region and an area of hegemony and regional powers. Many international organizations, and non-governmental and governmental institutions, are operating in the region, including following government institutions: JICA, USAID and TICA (Turkish International Cooperation Agency).

JICA is an independent state agency which has the function to establish and strengthen cooperation between Japan and the international society. Its function is to order, implement and coordinate Japanese aids or assistance to other countries. In the example of the Tajik society, there are two issues that could be the baseline of JICA's assistance: to develop the socio-economic condition and to aid the constructive support of international cooperation.

JICA supports various development sectors and also contributes to cultural exchange and networking. Thus, established Japanese centers aim to support mutual understanding between host states and Japan, as well as to promote cultural interactions. JICA's activity; its participation in inter-cultural development and the promotion of Japanese business and trade-making models may give it the right to consider itself as the main promoter of the Japanese soft power policy.

Central Asia+Japan is an instrument of regional cooperation between Japan and Central Asia. It holds annual peace dialogues and several other meetings between various institutions of Japan and Central Asia. Japan uses peaceful dialogue for regional cooperation, to support the economy and the energy policies of the region.

2.1 JICA as an instrument of the realization of the “soft” power policy of Japan in Central Asia?

The basis of such an ideology had been enhanced on October 1st 2008, the commencement date of Japan’s Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) union with JICA to defining Japan’s strategy on this issue. This was the reason for JICA’s reform that made it one of the biggest organizations promoting Japanese policy abroad. Today “JICA has more than hundred overseas offices and works in over 152 countries.”¹

JICA has opened its offices in the Central Asian region and conducts various projects. It is important to stress that Central Asia, in many aspects including education, health and social security, is more developed compared to most of the African, South-East Asian, Latin American and Arab states. However, the current economic situation of the region, inter-border conflicts and socio-political uprisings show that the region needs to revive its socio-economic conditions. JICA has been actively involved in the region and conducts various development projects. Table one shows JICA’s ODA index for 2011 (JICA Inclusive and dynamic development, 2012, p.4):

¹ JICA coordinates Japanese activities abroad. There are many development areas where it works. In many countries it has its own Representative offices separated from Embassy building.

Table 1

JICA international assistance in 2011

JICA's International Assistance	Percentage %
Loans, to develop other states	58.9%
Grants, for the development of the newly established states	16.8%
Technical assistance, to the developing states	24.3%

According to the data provided in the table, most of the international assistance is provided through loans. Loans are usually provided with lower interest in order to support the least development areas. Larger projects, such as infrastructure development, improving roads and communication between the center and the periphery, require bigger loans and JICA may provide them. However, in order to provide loans, Japan considers the capability of the receiving state to refund them. Thus, not every state can receive the loans.

In addition to loans, JICA provides grants. Grants are also important, especially to the newly developing states or post-conflict states, because they are irretrievable. Most of the grants are provided by money or with necessary materials and equipment. Thus, grants could be used for the improvement of the functioning of the main infrastructure, reconstruction, reforms and the improvement of the quality of the health

service, schools, culture and other areas. The sizes of these grants are much lower than loans, making them comparatively less effective. However, for the initial stage to improve critical areas, grants are important.

Finally, JICA coordinates technical assistance. It includes sending Japanese specialists abroad, to provide necessary technology, to invite international specialists to Japan and so on. Technical assistance, as well as grants, does not bring direct dividends to Japan; however, trained specialists and educated officers would rather continue their professional activities using Japanese models of management and thinking. If such models comply with the state's policy, then governments may continue to follow the Japanese model and send more professionals to Japan, this time at their own expense which could be an indirect dividend for Japan, from its grants and technical assistance. The Japanese government specifies the types of cooperation with various countries. Such cooperation improves relationships and cultural cooperation. That's why bilateral cooperation is more preferable for the states. It is important to stress that the situation around a specific country defines the characteristics of its Japanese assistance, as does a social cooperation. For example, in disastrous situations like earthquakes, flooding and fire, JICA may provide the relevant technologies or facilities from Japan, and this type of cooperation is based on formal governmental assistance.

Another situation that relates to the civil society is that of volunteers who represent Japanese social institutions and can be sent abroad by JICA’s program in order to cooperate with their local social institutions, NGOs, universities, cultural and educational institutions. In this case, JICA’s cooperation is more related to the social institutions than to the government. It means JICA has access to cooperate with various types of institutions within a country in order to strengthen the development process.

This research shows how the government of Japan participates in global issues. Japan understands that there are issues which can’t be solved by the effort of a single state. Even if some problems are “internal” there may be global principles concerned and it is important to solve these issues with the assistance of the international society. Table two indicates Japanese participation in joint action for tackling global problems (JICA Inclusive and dynamics development, 2012, p.5).

Table 2

Japanese participation in tackling joint problems

Global issue of Joint Action	Japan Strategies
Global problems - climate change, water issues, food, energy and diseases.	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Comprehensive assistance;

<p>Poverty reduction</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Immediate solving the issues;
<p>Improving management</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Strengthening assistance to jointly solve the existing tasks;
<p>Strengthening the human security and security of citizens from various dangers, in order to establish peaceful society</p>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Improvement of education and science

All these strategies are important for the global challenges and Japan understands that such issues have to be solved immediately and with joint efforts. All these issues fall within the principles of Japanese policy to maintain human security. There are many recent examples of the participation of Japan in the joint assistance of conflict, damaged and disaster areas, such as the reconstruction of Afghanistan (poverty reduction, safety, food and the maintaining of a peaceful society), sending doctors and professionals with required technologies and facilities to assist infected humans from Ebola in Sierra Leone and other West Africa states and many other cases in every region of the world.

Other example of Japanese global action is cultural promotion through various programs, such as “Japan Center”. The Japan Centre, which has been supported by JICA, is an important Japanese institute operating outside of the country. It has been

setting up in nine countries which are considered to be in a transitional market economy. The Japan Center was formed in 1998 “as a means to highlight Japan's ODA activities and to become hubs for training business personnel in the host countries and developing human networks between them and Japan” (Japan Center, 2014). Unlike JICA, the Japan Centre does not conduct economy development and industrial based projects; it focuses on three main programs: business, language and the promotion of mutual understanding. It plays a significant role in promoting the interaction between citizens of the host state, and Japan. They provide sufficient information about Japan through information services, such as libraries and websites. Japan Centers are widely open to the citizens of host states: entrepreneurs, public officers, students and others.

Japan Centers are located in several ASEAN states such as Vietnam, Cambodia and Lao PDR; it also has offices in Mongolia, Myanmar and Ukraine, promoting mutual understanding between Japan and Central Asian states as well.

Table 3

*Japan Center in Central Asian states*²

Country	Opened Year	Main project
Kazakhstan	2002	Enterprise Development

² Japan Center does the similar activities in Central Asian states. It mostly bases within the local Universities.

Kyrgyzstan	2004	Capacity Development of Business Persons
Uzbekistan	2001	Capacity Development of Business Persons

In each of these three states, Japan Centers conduct projects such as enterprise development and capacity development of business persons through its human development aspiration.

The Japan Centre does not limit its activities by focusing only on the aforementioned projects. There are various activities organized by the centers, particularly language and IT courses. In addition, it organizes nights of cultural performance, such as Japanese “Bon Odori” dance festivals and Karaoke competitions (in Kyrgyzstan), Japanese drum “Wadaiko” performances and Kimono shows (in Uzbekistan) and Japanese cooking class and Kazien training (in Kazakhstan) amongst many other interactions.

These interactions attract local people’s interest in Japan, its business developing method, management, education, culture and art. They learn and improve their knowledge of Japanese language that subsequently stimulates them to get admission to Japanese universities and look for jobs in Japanese companies. People participating in the courses organized by the centers are friendly towards Japan and have the willingness to keep their networking and interactions with Japan.

Culture, along with political values and foreign policy, is one of the main resources of soft power. Especially when this culture has been “attractive to other people” (Nye, 2004). The Japan Centre confirms its role as the main Japanese cultural promoter by attracting more and more participants to its program. Moreover, trainees and participants of the courses choose Japan as their destination for academic and professional careers. Unlike other individuals, who never attend the Japan Centre, participants travel to Japan with knowledge of basic Japanese and the mental proficiency that facilitate them smoothly to adapt to Japanese society. Most of the trainees of the Japan Centre learn the Japanese model of business and entrepreneurship, which improves their management skills. However, due to differences in mentality, including business making and management, most of the trainees face challenges to obtain skills in their home state. Japanese companies are not active in the region, compared to other rival states such as China, Korea, Europe and Russia, which prefer making business by their own model. The Japan Centre works strongly to promote culture and business models; however, in order to strengthen its aim, Japanese companies should also work harder to achieve this.

2.2 “Central Asia + Japan”: Dialog as a tool to support the policies of Central

Asian states

In 2004, under the leadership of Foreign Minister Yoriko Kawaguchi, Japan developed a new project called “Central Asia + Japan” dialogue and began to implement it. In this regard, the contacts between Japan and other countries of the region have acquired an institutional character. Particularly, the dialogue “Central Asia + Japan” defined the new structure’s main goals and objectives, including strengthening regional security and the promotion of economic development of the Central Asian republics. Within the framework of dialogue, the meetings of foreign affairs ministers have been regularized. During these meetings the parties usually discuss recurring issues regarding the regional economic relationship and security cooperation (Yuasa, 2007, p.80).

One of the important events of the Japanese history of diplomacy in Central Asia was the region’s visit of Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi. In 2006, Prime Minister Koizumi actually formulated new priorities of the Japanese foreign policy towards the republics of Central Asia. In particular, this visit emphasized the growing interest of Japanese business in the development of nuclear energy in the region.

During his meeting with the president of Kazakhstan, Nursultan Nazarbayev, Koizumi stressed the intention of Japan to deepen relations with Kazakhstan, especially

cooperation in the field of nuclear energy and particularly the development of uranium deposits. As a result of this visit, sides signed Memorandum of cooperation on nuclear energy.³

An analysis of regional initiatives of Tokyo shows that Japan's main interests in Central Asia are to ensure national energy security by increasing access to the energy resources of the region. Japan imports oil mainly from the Middle East. However, Japan has an interest in finding new partners who can guarantee a continuous supply of energy resources to the country, due to the high probabilities of conflicts in the region: the escalation of the Palestinian and Israeli conflict: the constant pressure of the United States and other Western countries against Iran because of its nuclear program, and the destabilization of Iraq), A variety of import routes will reduce Japan's dependence on the Arab world. In August 2006, before his arrival in Astana, Koizumi reconfirmed that Japan is interested in the energy resources of Central Asia.

Reasons for establishing dialogue should be seen in the changes of geopolitical realities of the early 2000s. Since the terrorist attacks on September 11, 2001, Japan has been facing new challenges. Announcing the international terrorism as a threat to its

³ For more information about signed agreements between Japan and Kazakhstan see:

http://www.world-nuclear-news.org/NP-Kazakhstan_signs_cooperation_deal_with_Japan-0303104.html Accessed: 2015, Novemeber 30.

national security, Tokyo began to assist the anti-terrorist coalition and participate in the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Central Asian states, three of which directly border with Afghanistan, have consequently appended to Japanese consideration.

The United States, and its allies' military operation in Afghanistan, initiated a new wave of Japanese interest in Central Asia. In April 2002, at the Asian Forum in Boao, Prime Minister Junichiro Koizumi called for greater cooperation with Central Asia. In fact, the business delegation, "Energetic mission of the Silk Road", visited the region to discuss opportunities for cooperation in the field of energy.

An equally important factor is the establishment of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in June 2001. The emergence of this new center of power has highlighted the need to strengthen the Japanese position in the region. In addition, the rise of Japan's main rival, China, and expansion of its impact in the region, forced Japan to reallocate its position in Central Asia. The idea of reorganizing its presence in Central Asia was considering timely enough. Soon after the beginning of the anti-terrorist operation in Afghanistan, some scholars drew attention to the need of a revision of the Silk Road Diplomacy.⁴

⁴ For this reason Action Plan of "Central Asia + Japan" Dialogue considered as important. It frames Dialogue's activity.

Koizumi's initiative was to signal the modernization of the Central Asian vector of Japan's foreign policy. In 2003, academic society and diplomats enhanced discussions on Japan and Central Asia's relationship, and ways to maintain cooperation. At that time, the suggestion was to consider regional integration, such as the formatting of "ASEAN plus three" that could be used for cooperation with Central Asians, and would significantly increase the political status and economic welfare of the region. Finally, this idea was formalized as "Central Asia + Japan".

Formally, this initiative was proposed by the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan, Kawaguchi, on 26 August, 2004 during her speech in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. After two days in Astana, both sides held the first meeting in the new format. Its main outcome was agreement on the principles of dialogue. These included: respect for diversity, competitiveness and coordination; open collaboration; the proclamation of its objectives including Japan's previous policies (enhancement of peace, stability and democracy in Central Asia, the consolidation of the economic bases, promotion of the reforms and social development), and the supplementation of new contents (interregional relationship, cooperation in solving regional and global problems).

Thus, both sides created a platform to discuss issues related to regions, such as economy, politics and security. The new initiative has been required to consolidate

relationship amongst regional states, whilst Tokyo acts as an external force maintaining the integration processes (InformAgenstvo, 28.08.2013). Thus, the dialogue documents highlighted that “Dialogue had been initiated as a new framework for cooperation, thereby elevating relations between Japan and Central Asia to a new level”.⁵

This dialogue also consists of several forums. Within its framework, and in the ten years of its existence, participant states held six intellectual dialogues consisting of meetings of foreign ministers, senior officials and one economy forum. Five countries, Japan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan are permanent members and Turkmenistan is an observer state in this dialogue.

Representatives of Afghanistan occasionally participate as “guests” in certain meetings. However, Afghanistan should be frequently participating in the dialogue. Its participation in this format may improve its relationships within the region, to prepare sides collectively resist against challenges. The development of Afghanistan will be difficult without cooperation with its regional states. The same impose to Central Asian states, three which borders with Afghanistan. Peace and stability in Afghanistan is important to maintain cooperation in the region and Japan, as an important international ‘actor’, could enhance this intention through the medium of dialogue.

⁵ Joint Statement was signed on August 28, 2004 in Astana.

2.2.1 Foreign Ministers “Dialogue”

On August 28, 2004, foreign ministers of Japan and Central Asian states met together in Astana for the first time. During this meeting they discussed how to enhance cooperation between Japan and the neighboring regions. After the meeting, both sides presented a joint statement indicating the followings:

- (a) Deepening relations between Japan and Central Asia
- (b) Importance of interregional cooperation
- (c) Cooperation in the international arena

In June 2006, at the second Foreign Minister’s meeting of the "Central Asia + Japan”, an important document was adopted which defined the main directions of cooperation between Japan and the countries of Central Asia, in the short-term. This document was called the action plan of the “Central Asia + Japan” dialogue.

Participants of the dialogue came to the following major decisions:

Table 4

Central Asia + Japan Action Plan

Main vector	Purpose
Political Dialogue - Dialogue - Cooperation in the international arena	Necessity of UN reform to effectively deal with various threats to the international community - A free trade zone in Central Asia, that would be a nuclear free region

	- Continuation of cooperation with the UN and other international institutions, to promote peace and stability in Asia
<p>Intra-Regional Cooperation</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - Measures against terrorism and narcotics - Clearance of anti-personnel mines - Poverty alleviation - Health and medical care - Environment - Disaster prevention and reduction - Energy / water - Trade and investment - Transport 	Japan reconfirmed its intention to support Central Asian efforts to enhance stability at the regional level
Business Promotion	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To set up a joint government business working group on economic issues -To study cross-regional projects and other related matters -To hold business forums and meetings to promote exchanges between companies of Japan and Central Asia
Intellectual Dialogue	-Intellectual exchange that promotes political dialogue, coordination and direction for broad ranging cooperation
Cultural and Human Exchange	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> -To promote mutual understanding -Hold cultural events

Each of these vectors is important to strengthen Japan and Central Asia’s relationship. Japan wisely decided to support countries own efforts to maintain stability. Unlike other regional powers, Japan does not impose its own views on regional stability, which may alert Central Asians. It rather supports Central Asians’ initiative to maintain

stability in the region. The aforementioned Japanese policy enhances the confidence of the regional states resulting in possible favor of Japan's role in the region.

In addition, at the same meeting the parties agreed to continue cooperation in the projects' development for the construction of new export routes for oil, natural gas and other raw materials, from the countries in the region to the world markets, through Afghanistan to the Indian Ocean. In this regard, Japan actively supports projects to build oil and gas pipelines from Central Asia to the south, with the prospect of further access to the markets of Southeast Asia and Japan.

The second ministerial meeting was heralded as the new vision of the region. This was indicated by Japan's Foreign Minister Taro Aso, with the proclamation of the concept of "Central Asia as a corridor of peace and stability" (Aso, 2006). Its basic principles include a broad approach to the region, given Afghanistan's and Pakistan's support to open regional cooperation, as well as partnerships based on universal values (democracy, market economy, human rights and rule of law). Aso's concept suggests that the "corridor of peace and stability" could be broader so that it may go beyond the traditional boundaries of the region and, in concrete terms, it involves bringing transport access and infrastructure development (the so-called "southern route", as well as a pipeline connecting Turkmenistan Afghanistan and Pakistan). This interpretation of the

wider based perspective of the Central Asian region is similar to the American concept of “Greater Central Asia”.

A new vision of Central Asia involves the incorporation of the region into a broader concept: an “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity”, described by Aso as one of the pillars of Japan’s Liberal Democrats’ foreign policy. It proposes the establishment of linking the states and strengthening the universal values. It was accentuated to promote the western values, and the use of the “arc of freedom and prosperity” concept, with its associations with the "arc of instability" statement that featured in the USA’s foreign policy’s lexicon, has been perceived by some experts as an attempt by Japan and the USA to distance Central Asia from Russia and China.

The concept of “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” was very controversial and was not used as a pillar of Japanese diplomacy. During his term as prime minister, Taro Aso proposed another concept, named the “Eurasian Crossroads" (2009), which he called a modern day version of the Silk Road: the complex intersection of transport routes that will run from Central Asia to the South, through Afghanistan to the Arabian Sea and to the west, across the Caucasus to Europe (Aso, 2009). In fact, this approach extends the idea of the “corridor of peace and stability”, combining Central Asia, Afghanistan and Pakistan with the states of the Caucasus. However, this new concept of

Also received no further development and has been lost within the constant perturbations of foreign ministry dynamics within the relationship with Central Asia.

The third ministerial meeting was held on August 2010, in Tashkent. In this meeting participants

*“confirmed the significance for Japan and Central Asia to continue their efforts on (i) the peace and stability of Central Asia, (ii) the strengthening of democracy, (iii) the improvement of economic infrastructures, promotion of reforms, and social development, and (iv) the strengthening of intra-regional cooperation by the Central Asian countries, through the framework of the “Central Asia + Japan” dialogue, based on basic policies including “respect for diversity,” “competition and cooperation,” and “open cooperation.”*⁶

The content of this dialogue also described Japan’s new strategy over Afghanistan. Japan stated that it would strengthen its support for measures against terrorism and narcotics, as well as provide grants and loans for infrastructural development of the region. It considers economic development of the region as an important factor to stabilize and develop Afghanistan.

⁶ These and more other efforts were stressed during press release. Participants stressed the main outcome of the meeting.

The fourth foreign ministers' meeting was held on November 10, 2012 in Tokyo. During this meeting, the Japanese foreign minister emphasized five areas of cooperation with the assistance package of \$700 million dollars.

Firstly, Japan will seek to increase its economic presence, stimulating trade and investment, and in return expects the states of Central Asia to improve the investment climate in the region. Particularly, in the meeting process, participants emphasized cooperation in the fields of environmental protection, energy conservation, alternative energy and other related issues. Special attention was given to the discussion of the prospective projects of human security, which for many years have been one of the most important elements of Japan's foreign policy. Some amounts of funds may be remitted for the stabilization projects for Afghanistan.

The stability of Afghanistan is important to the region, especially after the withdrawal of coalition troops in recent years. Participant states also discussed cooperation in the field of disaster management, where Japan has extensive national and international experience.

The structure of this package would allow Tokyo to solve several tasks, to boost economic cooperation with the region, contribute to the stabilization of Afghanistan and promote regional cooperation in the field of non-military security (for

example, climate change and "human security") to maintain and strengthen its reputation as a global non-military power.

The fifth meeting was held on July 16, 2014 in Bishkek. This meeting was held on the tenth anniversary of the "Central Asia plus Japan" dialogue, and was attended by foreign ministers from all the member states, for the first time ever.

In the process of meeting, both sides shared their views on the practical issues of the deepening political dialogue: trade and economic cooperation, the broadening of cultural and humanitarian exchanges and special attention was paid to the implementation of specific investment projects in the various areas, including the agricultural sector.

The Bishkek meeting reviewed the outcome of ten years of cooperation within the framework of the dialogue, and discussed the new strategies of development and of strengthening the mutual beneficiary partnership, particularly in the areas of agriculture, sustainable development (gender equality and prevention of natural disasters), the fight against drug trafficking and border security. The sides signed a joint statement of the "New Decade of mutually beneficial partnership between the countries of Central Asia and Japan."⁷ Thus, "this area will be the starting point of regional cooperation between

⁷ The Bishkek meeting coincided with a decade of lasting cooperation between Japan and Central Asia within the framework of Dialogue.

the countries of Central Asia and Japan and will be a model for future collaboration in other, equally beneficial areas of cooperation.”⁸ The documents of this meeting stress the enhancement of political trust and the development of economic relations:

*“We are in favor of strengthening the dialogue “Central Asia + Japan”, search within it pragmatic and viable projects and cooperation mechanisms. Our activities are designed not only to create conditions for cooperation, strengthen and develop economic relations, but also lead to the growth of genuine political trust and, ultimately, create the security conditions on the part of the vast Asian continent.”*⁹

The adopted joint statement of “New Decade of mutually beneficial cooperation between Central Asian countries and Japan,” describes the efficiency of dialogue and the major results it achieved within its ten years history. Following its decade of activities, Dialogue still remains a forum where participants meet to discuss global or regional issues, but it is not practicing any actions anymore. Of course,

⁸ Minister Idrissof characterized the role of Dialogue to Central Asian states, and its expectation of regional states, from the successes of this organization. Information from the Kazakhstan MOFA.

⁹ More details of the fifth ministers’ meeting were stressed during the joint statement of the meeting. Japan MOFA published on its website full text of joint statement/
<http://www.mofa.go.jp/files/000045783.pdf> Accessed: 2014, October 19.

ministerial meetings are important and it provides opportunity for each side to promote their relationship with Japan. However, due to its passiveness, dialogue lost its effectiveness.

2.2.2 Economic Forum

The Japan and Central Asia economic forum, “for the promotion of Japan-Central Asia economic exchanges”, was held on July 26, 2011. The initiative to arrange such a forum was made at the third ministerial meeting of the “Dialogue” in August 2010. The purpose of it was to improve relationships in the areas of trade and investment.

About eighty participants attended the forum; representatives from various public and private institutions of the Central Asian states and Japan, and made in total ten presentations.

At the forum, parliamentary vice minister of foreign affairs, Yutaka Banno stressed the importance of Central Asia to Japan, especially in the following aspects: a) the geopolitical significance; b) the rich natural resources, and c) the stabilization of Afghanistan including the crackdown on drug trafficking and other urgent tasks which the international community is facing today. He also pointed that this forum was an

opportunity to consider measures to vitalize cooperation to even higher levels between Japan and Central Asian regions, which are of great importance for Japan.¹⁰

In addition, Vice Minister Banno declared three important points for discussion in this forum: measures for the economic development of the Central Asian region as a whole, methods for transforming the entire Central Asian region into an attractive common market for prospective foreign investors and the activities of Japanese enterprises that can contribute to Central Asia's economic development. He also emphasized that "an awareness of these issues reflects the intent of the "Central Asia plus Japan" dialogue in which Japan serves as a catalyst to support the promotion of interregional cooperation".

At the forum, participants were divided into active discussions on the development of economic exchanges between Japan and Central Asia. Participants presented various initiatives which could promote economic exchanges between Japan and Central Asia. For Central Asians, the issue of Japanese contributions to their economy was important. Such contributions direct them "toward[s] strengthening

¹⁰ State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Yutako Banno stressed an important area of cooperation between Japan and Central Asia, in which Japan could be more active. Full speech of Yutako Banno at the Japan-Central Asia Economic Forum was published on Japan MOFA website <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/svm/speech110726.html> Accessed: 2013, September 6.

cooperation in the areas of infrastructure improvement, resources and nuclear power to serve as the foundation for economic activities in the Central Asia region”.¹¹

Specifically, explanations were given on such matters as the promotion of interregional cooperation through improvements to electrical power, transportation, and other infrastructure; the granting of financing and trade guarantees for strategic resources, and manufacturing plant transactions, and support for the development of industries related to nuclear power, oil, and natural gas.

The Japan and Central Asia relationship should also address assistance to the system development that creates the basis for management of the market economy and economic exchange. It is important to take measures to improve the investment climate of the region.

Another issue that was addressed in the forum was the development of human resources for the economic reform of Central Asia. In addition, both sides proposed to strengthen business networking between Japan and the region. For this purpose, business courses, internships and trainings are necessary.

The region of Central Asia, which is rich in natural resources, has to improve

¹¹ More details on Forum’s conclusion see Japanese MOFA website:

http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/dialogue/forum1107_csummary_e.html Accessed: 2013, September 7.

its business and investment climate. In addition to all of the above, it might be useful at the initial stages for each country to lighten their preferential taxation, particularly to attract bigger companies into their market. Most of the states in the region have already been working on “single window” systems or “online registration” to avoid unnecessary queues and save time for entrepreneurs.

At the forum, Central Asians proposed to Japanese companies to consider investment in power plants stations, electro-power grids, transportation and other related areas. Considering the combination of natural resources in the region, and advanced Japanese technologies, the sides agreed to cooperate in areas such as uranium development, rare metals and other minerals, oil shale and petroleum resources, as well as the development of water resources and other sources of energy. In addition, Japan proposed the usage of alternative and renewable energy sources, in which it has the leading technology.

In order to modernize the industry, through introducing Japanese technology, both sides proposed the investment cooperation in the spheres of vehicular production, medical equipment, precise instruments, construction materials and other manufacturing industries, chemical and petrochemical industry, metallurgy, pharmaceutical industry, textile industry and agriculture. Participants also discussed the attraction of Japanese

tourists into the region. For this purpose, Central Asian and Japanese companies may cooperate to improve this sector. The government of Japan ensured that local companies receive its full support on their activities in Central Asia.

In addition, in order to deepen the economic relationship between Japan and Central Asian states, it is important to understand the Japanese mentality and culture, especially its predictability, the implementation of commitments and responsibility, and long term cooperation. This economic forum was another effort by the government of Japan to ensure its willingness to support the business environment and market economy of Central Asia. It encourages Japanese companies to invest in the Central Asian market and strengthen cooperation with the region.¹²

2.2.3 Intellectuals' Dialogue

Intellectual Dialogue, which always takes place in Tokyo, plays its unique role in strengthening the cooperation between Japan and Central Asia. The first intellectuals' meeting was on March 30, 2006. In addition, in the same year on June 5, Tokyo hosted the second foreign ministers' meeting in the framework of the "Central Asia plus Japan" dialogue.

¹² For more information about Japan-Central Asia Economic Forum see the summary:

http://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/dialogue/forum1107_csummary_e.html Accessed: 2014, May 17.

In this meeting, participants discussed the cooperation in various fields between Japan and Central Asia, focusing on the promotion of interregional cooperation.

The second Intellectual Dialogue was held in Tokyo on January 30, 2007. The aim of this event was to come up with outcomes, which could be useful inputs to the governmental talks.¹³

The February Dialogue in 2009 was the third meeting between Central Asians and Japanese intellectuals. The main topic of the dialogue was the “environmental cooperation in Central Asia”, which came up with relevant policy proposals to the possible governmental talks.

The fourth Tokyo dialogue was held in February 25, 2010 and focused on the “further equipment of transport and logistics’ infrastructure in Central Asia”, organized by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs with support from the Japan Foundation. This dialogue refers to the intellectual dialogue within the format of “Track-2”, one of the five ways of “Central Asia + Japan” dialogue, which is known as the “Tokyo dialogue”. In this dialogue, as in previous meetings, participants from Central Asia and Japan

¹³ For more information about the second "Central Asia plus Japan" Intellectual Dialogue, which as held in Tokyo in 2004 and its achievements see Japanese MOFA website:

<http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/event/2007/1/0124-3.html> Accessed: 2014, April 6.

expressed various statements and presentations.

The “Track-2” format meeting, held before the “Tokyo dialogue”, was aimed at providing a significant contribution to the intergovernmental dialogue. The action plan of the dialogue clearly identifies transportation and communication as priority sectors of interregional cooperation. Also, in the first and third Tokyo dialogues, the issues of “equipment of infrastructure” (railways and roads, communications, airports and so on) and equipment of the transportation and logistics system had been listed as the priority areas of cooperation.

In his opening speech at the fourth Tokyo dialogue, Vice Minister Tetsuro Fukuyama pointed to the geopolitical importance of Central Asia and its attractiveness, from the point of international energy security. He explained the key diplomatic position of Japan in relation to Central Asia and the viewing it as a single region containing enormous potential.

Central Asians highlighted their advantageous geographical location, which could be used for developmental purposes. In addition, the priority sectors should be improved: facilitating the transport infrastructure and government strategies, including the establishment of the free economic zones. Also, the sides expressed their common position on integration into the Eurasian network of international transportation and

transits, through the activation of cargo transportation between Europe and Asia.

The problem of the Central Asian region, at the moment, is its remoteness from the global markets and its geographic conditions the problems associated with the crossing of several countries due to the lack of sea access, complicated customs procedures, and the duration and high cost of transportation.

In addition, the region has differences of priority policies within their states (ports, railroads, roads and etc).

As a result of this dialogue, the following recommendations, in relation to the further transportation cooperation between Central Asia and Japan, were proposed:

- To specify the economic potential of Central Asia, it is important to create a unified transport and logistics infrastructure in the region, including the development of industry and trade expansion, and the integration into the network of international transport outside the region.

- It is important to consider diversity of transportation (ports, railways, air, roads) and geographical location which are characterized as high cost, and the reconstruction of roads and infrastructure.

- For the facilitation of the terminals it is necessary to maximize interaction by regulating the economic interests of all related parties for improving transportation and

logistics processes, and integrating the flow of goods, information, services and capital.

- In order to increase competitiveness of transportation services, it is essential to reduce time and cost, which could be solved through the transparency of customs procedures or substantial simplification of border crossing posts.

- Particularly, it is desirable to get support from grant provided states and international organizations for the simplification of procedures at border crossings.

- In order to ensure transparency in the area of equipment of logistical infrastructure, it is important to enhance information and communication networks, as well as initiate projects to trace the goods.

- To attract private investment it is essential to adjust legal frameworks relating to the given areas and, at the same time, to maintain cooperation with international organizations and institutions in order to use international standards on corporate governance and accounting.

In these projects the role of Japan is important because it has enormous experience in this field. In addition, sides proposed to activate intergovernmental dialogue, with consideration of the recommendation of the fourth Tokyo meeting.

On March 18, 2014 during the 6th Tokyo dialogue, the Japanese company introduced the products, technologies and practices that could be used for the

development projects in Central Asia. This dialogue was very productive. Experts shared their vision on the regional development projects. As a result of this work both sides defined the relevant projects to be conducted via the Japanese ODA and the Japanese companies. In addition, the sides agreed to set up networking between universities and research institutions, with international organizations, in order to get integrated with various technologies.

In this meeting the participants proposed to discuss agriculture issues at the next and fifth meeting of foreign ministers, and agreed that the agricultural sector should be equally reformed in order to create the supply chain, and to improve the quality and safety of agricultural products. In order to solve the common challenges of the region, it is necessary to maintain the discussions about how to use the elements of the regional cooperation for their solution.

At the sixth meeting, parliamentary vice minister for foreign affairs, Hirotaka Ishihara (2014), highlighted that “goals, to which Japan has consistently targets in this dialogue - is the stability and development. In other words, based on the understanding that for the further development of the countries of Central Asia is very important joint involvement in the region to address common challenges, Japan is acting as a “catalyst”, continuing to promote regional cooperation between the 5 Central Asian countries”. The

same role Japan acts with ASEAN partners.

That is why, according to Ishihara, in order to achieve sustainable economic development Central Asians should expand rural employment and develop agriculture, which is one of the key sectors of economy.

2.2.4 Senior officials meetings

A senior official meeting discusses the ways of strengthening cooperation between Japan and Central Asia. The first meeting was held in Tashkent, on March 4th, 2005. The sides confirmed the significance of the dialogue and follow the five pillars: political dialogue, interregional cooperation, business promotion, intellectual dialogue and cultural, and people to people exchange.¹⁴ These pillars would also maintain peace and stability of the region as well as economic prosperity of the region. Apart from these pillars, the participants also discussed other important issues such as poverty, drugs, health, environment, water, energy and others.

The second senior officials meeting was held in Astana, on February 2006. The representatives from the Central Asian states and Japan attended the meeting and discussed important issues related to interregional cooperation.

¹⁴ For more details about “five pillars” and Tashkent meeting please see Japanese MOFA website. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2005/3/0304-2.html> Accessed: 2014, November 10.

On 13 December 2007, the third meeting of "Central Asia plus Japan" which took place with the participation of senior officials from participant states, was held in Dushanbe (Tajikistan). The sides reviewed the implementation of action plans, exchanged views on further cooperation and confirmed the importance of the third foreign ministers meeting, agreeing to coordinate its schedule and venue.

Within the period of independence, the central aspects of the development directions are not the same in Central Asia. Also, there is a tendency to widen the gap between the political and economic spheres. On the other hand, as environmental problems expanding through boundaries affect the region as a whole, it is vital to promote and coordinate the regional cooperation. Particularly, in all the countries of Central Asia, there is a serious impact of environmental destruction, which is associated with soils.

In such circumstances, the exchange of experience and knowledge between Central Asian states and Japan, with regard to the protection and improvement of soil is important, as is the need to consider the possibility of interregional cooperation with the participation of Japan.

Moreover, despite the interest of Central Asians towards climate change which may induce global warming, it is difficult to say that the interstate exchange of

information on this regard is at the right level. Consequently, during the Tokyo dialogue, the sides tried to define or create opportunities to discuss the influence exerted by climate change, as well as policies and exchanges of experience and knowledge gained by each country.

Since the problems of soil degradation, glacial crackdowns and climate change are not confined to one country but may influence the Central Asian region as a whole, interregional cooperation including the exchange of information is an essential to challenge the problems.

Japanese experience in the field of environment, including pollution control, scientific approach, activities toward sustainable society based on the recycling of raw materials, can be useful for the Central Asians and could be an example of effectiveness of the use of mutual knowledge to tackle this issue in the region.

In addition, it is important to conduct research using advanced technologies in order to address environmental problems and to refine such research as well as to maintain cooperation that will allow sufficient use of the results of monitoring and research conducted by Japan in Central Asia.

In order to effectively address the problems of soil degradation and climate change, it is necessary to train personnel and staff, particularly young researchers. In the

Third Tokyo dialogue both sides achieved understanding on environmental issues, relating to climate change as well as their significant impact on the development of the Central Asian region as a whole.

The fourth and fifth meetings were held in Tashkent in 2008 and 2010 accordingly. Participants discussed the success of the previous meetings and proposed relevant issues for enhancing the regional cooperation.

The sixth senior officials meeting was held on December 1st, 2011 in Tokyo. In the process of the dialogue, the Japanese parliamentary senior vice minister for foreign affairs, Dr. Tsuyoshi Yamaguchi, made an opening speech and, together with other participants, highlighted the importance of concrete measures based on the shared recognition that interregional cooperation is important for the stability and development of this region as a whole.¹⁵

The “Central Asia + Japan” achieved common understanding on regional cooperation to maintain the stability and development of Central Asia. Despite its slow steps, the sides started to discuss concrete projects as with the agricultural sector. The Japanese side shared their own views on the proposed projects by Central Asians.

¹⁵ See more details of the Sixth Senior Officials’ Meeting (SOM) of the “Central Asia plus Japan” Dialogue on Japanese MOFA website
http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/2011/12/1201_07.html Accessed: 2014, November 8.

2.2.5 Analyses of the meetings

Within ten years of its history, Dialogue has been able to significantly strengthen its position in terms of mutual understanding between Japan-Central Asia. It has assigned a new dimension to the relationship with the states of the region. Herewith, the format of dialogue is not considered as a replacement of bilateral cooperation. Cooperation still plays a significant role in discussion of the most important issues to Tokyo, such as access to the natural resources of the region.

Dialogue could be more efficient if its meetings of Head of States or Head of Governments would be formalized. In 2006 the parties agreed to discuss the arrangement of such meetings, but this idea has yet to be implemented. In addition, ministerial meetings, the highest level meetings of Dialogue are not regularly held. The meeting scheduled in 2008 did not take place, for example, creating an undesirable pause in the relationship.

Moreover, there is a lack of improvement of Dialogue's legal framework perhaps related to geographical distance, absence of common security problems and weakness of economic ties. Furthermore, in cooperation with the Central Asians, Japan recognizes Russian and Chinese dominance over the region. In this regard, the Japanese initiatives in the region are distinctive with its flexibility. That is why Dialogue

characterizes as a discussion format.

Relations with Central Asia could be considered as an optimal example of the implementation of the Japanese strategy of “soft power”. Tokyo’s socio-economic and humanitarian cooperation, the willingness to use its strong financial capacity to the various areas of development, as well as non-interference into the countries’ internal affairs certainly have impressed the countries of the region (Dobrinskaya, 2012).

The idea of creating a multilateral structure of cooperation was intended to qualitative change the status of Japan in Central Asia, to make it a full participant in the discussion of regional issues, as well as ways of further development of Central Asia. The long-term interest of Tokyo is to form a common economic space in Central Asia, facilitated by the activities of dialogue. Thus, this multilateral structure plays a central role implementing the strategy of Japan in the region.

“Central Asia + Japan” from the point of international relations has been considered as forthright challenge to the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Adopted Action Plan is very similar to the program of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. Even some of the meetings, such as in Tokyo on June 5-6, 2012, was several days before the SCO summit in China. Japan, considering its close relationship with the U.S., may persuade them to make a commitment toward the SCO, reshaping the Eurasian

security system. As a historic gateway to Asia “Japan has an incentive to invite other western countries to back up this mission” (Iwashita, 2008).

In addition, the Russo-Japanese relationship also affects Japanese policy toward the Central Asians. The Action plan of Dialogue is a result of the new geopolitical rivalry with Russia, compiled in Japanese and Russian. Russia still remains a common language for most of the Uzbeks, Tajiks, Kazakhs and Kyrgyz. Central Asia in general is considered a zone of Russian influence.

In this regard, the Dialogue is the most effective mechanism to maintain Japanese activity in the region. Japan should arrange various events within a Dialogue and intensify its activities in the region. Thus, within the framework of Dialogue, participant-states held four intellectual meeting, six senior officials’ dialogue and one Economic Forum.

2.3 The General direction of Japanese participation in transition of Central Asia

The transitional period in Central Asia, and all political games within and around the region, are widely discussed by scholars. Experts correlate the Japanese and Central Asian cooperation with Chinese activities and Russian dominance in the region. Geopolitical battles of the new century will not be ideological or related to abstract

principles but rather cover the specific interests; firstly, energy resources (Sarkisov, 2012). China has great interests in Central Asia. Japan is not yet powered in Central Asian "well", rather it is the largest consumer of gold. It seems that Tokyo is more concerned with ideology; because confrontation with China is based on ideological contradictions, the visits of Japanese politicians to the Yasukuni Shrine and its the attitude to the past are ideology. Thus, the Yasukuni Shrine, just the tip of the iceberg of ideological confrontation is based on the struggle for leadership in the region (Sarkisov, 2012)

The British newspaper, "The Guardian", stressed that the meeting in Tokyo (Central Asia + Japan) is coordinated with the US response to Japan on the formation of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization. The newspaper is convinced that this is where "rivalry germinates and the outcome of which can largely determine the fate of the new century." According to the publication, the SCO significantly surpasses NATO and the European Union with total population, occupied area and disposable resources. It continues that the organization does not apply for a mutual defense treaty yet but deepening Sino-Russian military ties may be directed to that.

The Japanese policy towards Central Asian states has passed several stages; Japan was one of the first states that that recognized the republics' independence from

the Soviet Union. In the next stage it established diplomatic relationship with each of five states of the region. In addition, it gradually opened its embassy and diplomatic missions in each state. Initially, the regional political course of Tokyo toward Central Asian countries was so called Eurasian diplomacy, proclaimed by Prime Minister Ryutaro Hashimoto in 1997. At that time one of the most important tasks of Japan was to establish new relationships with post-Soviet states and to strengthen its position in the region.

It is important to emphasize that Japan considered Central Asia as part of a wider space of the Eurasian continent. That is why there was no specific strategy for Central Asia as a specific region. Objectives of the Eurasian diplomacy were widely defined. Certainly, there is no doubt that Prime Minister Hashimoto's Eurasian diplomacy made a significant contribution to the strengthening of relationship and contacts between Japan and Central Asian countries. However, over time, the previous Tokyo's approach to the states of the region has begun to change.

The Dialogue's decade of activities has become a forum in which Japan got well introduced with the region, including problems among them. Previously this was through understanding of the Eastern bloc. All the five Central Asian states are in the middle of Eurasian continent. After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991 all these

states have gained their independence.

Unequal distribution of the Soviet's inheritance, as well as imbalance of the economic situation among the states of the region, created problems to the stability of development which become one of the important global issue.

Japan has initiated assistance to maintain the interregional cooperation, democracy and market economy, and these tasks, according to Japan, should be achieved via the development of the electro-energy projects, transport and infrastructure in the region, as well as the development of the business environment. Japan has examined its relationship with each state of the region according to their social and economic reality.

Kazakhstan has the biggest territory in region and has enormous natural resources, including the second biggest uranium reserves in the world. In order to increase its economy, it is vital to diversify its industrial sector, in which Japan and Kazakhstan are collaborating. Japanese assistance also refers to human development by organizing several training programs for Kazakh specialists within Japan and private institutions and companies. Japan and Kazakhstan also ready to cooperate on nuclear power plant construction in Kazakhstan and many other related projects.

Kyrgyzstan is considered as a mountainous state, rich with various important

natural reserves, including gold. However, its economy is weak and stagnated which is why Japanese projects there are mostly targeting the economy recovery projects in order to stabilize its socio-economic condition, as well as to decrease the level of indigence. Thus, in order to develop its economy and to link it to the market economy, Japan conducts projects in areas of infrastructure, agriculture and human development. In October 2015 visit of Prime Minister Abe to Kyrgyzstan Japan signed an agreement to provide \$120 million development aid with \$107 million is a loan to reconstruct Osh-Batken-Isfana highway (Radio liberty, 2015, October 26).

Tajikistan has experienced long lasting civil war, and the country's reforming policy since 2000 has aimed to transfer it into a market economy. Japan, in relationship to Tajikistan, follows several policies including the development of the social security, agriculture, industry and infrastructure.

Turkmenistan is another regional state with its rich natural resources. Its resources attract many foreign companies including Japanese. Japan organizes training courses for Turkmenistan's public officers as well as an exchange program for the university students within the Japanese institutions. Prime Minister Abe's October 2015 visit to Turkmenistan made sides to sign impressive contract with sum of 2.2 trillion Yen to cooperate on infrastructure development and natural gas plant projects

(Japantimes, 2015 October 23).

In Uzbekistan, Japan contributes into the development of infrastructure, electricity, human development, institutionalization and social support. During his visit to Uzbekistan Prime Minister Abe promised Official Development Assistance of 12 billion yen (\$99 million) in loans and 700 million (\$5.8 million) in grant aid. This financial assistance will be used to build power facilities and enhance medical-related equipment (Pollman, 2015).

Table 5

JICA contribution (million Yen) to Central Asian states in 2011¹⁶

	Loan	Grant	T.A.
Kazakhstan	95149	6177	12308
Kyrgyzstan	25665	14607	11090
Tajikistan	0	15657	4077
Turkmenistan	4505	658	787
Uzbekistan	124975	21463	12960
Total:	250294	58563	41221

¹⁶ Information taken from JICA Representative Office in Tajikistan during author's field work in Tajikistan in January 2014. For more information see "JICA Inclusive and dynamic development: Tajikistan, 2013".

This table shows distribution of JICA contribution to the five Central Asian states. Kazakhstan and Uzbekistan with their increasing economy are receiving more loans, while Tajikistan receives grants and technical assistance. As country challenged the civil war and post-conflict recovery this assistance supports country's ongoing reforms. Kyrgyzstan receives both grants and loans to support the development of its economy. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan, which are major gas and oil exporter states of the region, are receiving the lowest grants from Japan.

In 2011 the Japanese projects in the regions were as follows: In Kazakhstan – 1.372 projects (8, 8%); in Kyrgyzstan: 1.193 (7, 7%); in Tajikistan 3.307 (21, 3%); in Uzbekistan: 1946 (12, 6%) and in Turkmenistan: 26 (0, 2%) (JICA Inclusive and dynamic development: Tajikistan, 2013m, p.8)

Table 6

Japanese assistance (US\$ million) to Central Asian states in 2012¹⁷

Country	Grant	Technical Asst.	Total
Kazakhstan	0.42	3.92	4.34
Kyrgyzstan	8.07	11.90	19.98
Tajikistan	27.71	5.27	32.98
Turkmenistan	0.03	0.49	0.52
Uzbekistan	9.47	11.62	21.10

¹⁷ This information was taken from Japanese MOFA website, indicating the Japanese assistance to the regions of Central Asia and Caucasus. It also briefly explains where and which sectors are the main areas of assistance. Unfortunately it does not have information for years 2013-2015, when we could see some changes on assistance.

Table sixth shows Japanese assistance for 2011, focusing only on grants and technical assistance. Thus, Tajikistan and Uzbekistan received the highest assistance compared to other countries of the region. It shows continuity and activity of Japanese contribution to the region's development and support of the ongoing reforms. The high amount of ODA to Tajikistan at this period was due to agreement on the second phase of the motorway reconstruction Qurgant'yube-Dusti. Kazakhstan and Turkmenistan are continuing to decrease amount of grants and technical assistance accordingly, but in contrast increasing the real investment opportunities.

The Japan-Central Asian cooperation has been improving and recent visit of Prime Minister Abe accompanied with representatives of the fifty Japanese companies was timely to ensure it. Japan plans to invest about \$20 billion to the region and promising to bring Japanese companies up to 30 trillion Yen (\$25 billion) in global infrastructure orders (Kulikov, 2015).

Conclusion

This chapter examined Japan's foreign policy towards the region and the initial stages of Japan and Central Asia's cooperation. Japan has successfully participated in the development of the region's political, social, economic, and cultural reality. Eventually, countries of the region are welcoming cooperation with Japan to diversify their economy and trade.

Japan's relationship toward Central Asia has consisted of three vectors. Firstly,

the importance of the ongoing dialogue between Central Asian states and Japan, which discusses bi-lateral and multi-lateral cooperation.

Secondly, the importance of Japanese cooperation with each regional state. Japan has established technical, as well as economic, partnership with several states of the region.

The third vector is focus on civil society. Japan has the willingness to cooperate not only with government and official institutions but also to establish relationships with civil societies and ordinary citizens of the region. It promotes cultural interaction and mutual understanding. The Japan Centre in Central Asia provides sufficient Japanese business model trainings, language and cultural performance.

Chapter THREE: From “hard” power toward “soft” power construction

Introduction

Japan started its assistance to Tajikistan in the early 1990s. At that time, Tajikistan was involved in an internal conflict. Political confrontation in Tajikistan started at the end of the Soviet period and lasted until 1997, when all parties agreed to sign a peace treaty. Conflict and instability made it almost impossible for international society to establish economic relationships with Tajikistan. Japan has established friendly relationship and supports the country’s development sectors, via grants and technical assistance.

This chapter examines Japanese supported projects in Tajikistan such as agriculture, transport, communication, water and energy. Economic support is also an element of hard power. However, examining them provides a clear understanding of how these projects relate to the soft power policy in the future. Japan, as one of the biggest economies of the world, has an image of rational partners which do not push partners to join any military blocks. Japanese cooperation with the Middle East, and economic partnership with ASEAN states, are among those examples. The significance of such relationships generates soft power to other states that seek partnership with Japan.

3.1 General observations of JICA's activities in Tajikistan

In 2006, JICA opened its representative office in Dushanbe city, which enable it to effectively implement and monitor the projects. JICA's recent project sectors in Tajikistan are: security of maternal and child health; water supply projects, poverty reduction through the development of agriculture and infrastructure/communication development (JICA, 2012).

As of 2011, the total amount of Japanese grants is \$214,340,000 (\$39 million in 2010 and \$18.09 million in 2011) and its total technical assistance is \$55,600,000 (\$4.11 in 2010 and \$4.35 in 2011). JICA conducts most of projects in the Khatlon region which has the lowest GNI in a country, bordering with Afghanistan.¹ In addition to the Khatlon region, Japanese projects have also been conducted in the Gorno, Badakhshan region which also borders with Afghanistan. However, despite its concentration in Khatlon and Badakhshan regions, JICA has conducted projects in other regions as well, in the last five years. Overall, JICA's activities in Tajikistan also consider the four factors:

1. About 70% of the labor population of Tajikistan lives in rural areas and work in the agricultural sector. Despite this, the country has a weak agriculture system.

¹ The rural development in those areas are important, especially considering that those areas are bordered with Afghanistan. For more details of these projects see "Annual Report for year 2014", JICA Representative Office in Tajikistan.

However, Tajikistan has an enormous potential to develop its agriculture: the country has a good climate and is abundant in solar power, water reserves and fertile valleys which makes it able to cultivate fruits and vegetables;

2. There is economical imbalance within Tajikistan. Thus, within the Khtalon region, which is in south of country, the Vaksh valley is considered as the main center of the cotton industry. It also has other economical industrial complexes. People in this area have a higher living standard compared to other areas of the region.

3. Social development, particularly access to clean water and irrigation system in the villages, need to be improved. Tajikistan is the mountainous country with 93% of its territory occupied by mountains. It is the center of the Central Asian water reserves. Water supply systems in the Vaksh valley have already depleted its capability and have to be reformed. In the southern region, apart from Norak Dam, no other applicable water system has remained. In some villages, people drink unsanitary water: during the rain seasons the river waters flood villages, destroy agriculture and damage the irrigation system.

4. Finally, in the 1990s, Tajikistan did not have to limit electricity supply to the population. However, since 2000s, the government have had to limit electricity supply to its citizens, especially in the autumn and winter seasons. Villages have four to eight

hours electricity shortage daily. Most of the available gas goes to support industrial sectors. In order to challenge the electricity limit, government supports the construction of various small and medium sized hydro power stations. Another policy is to complete construction of the Roghun dam which can solve the electricity problem of Tajikistan and neighboring states.

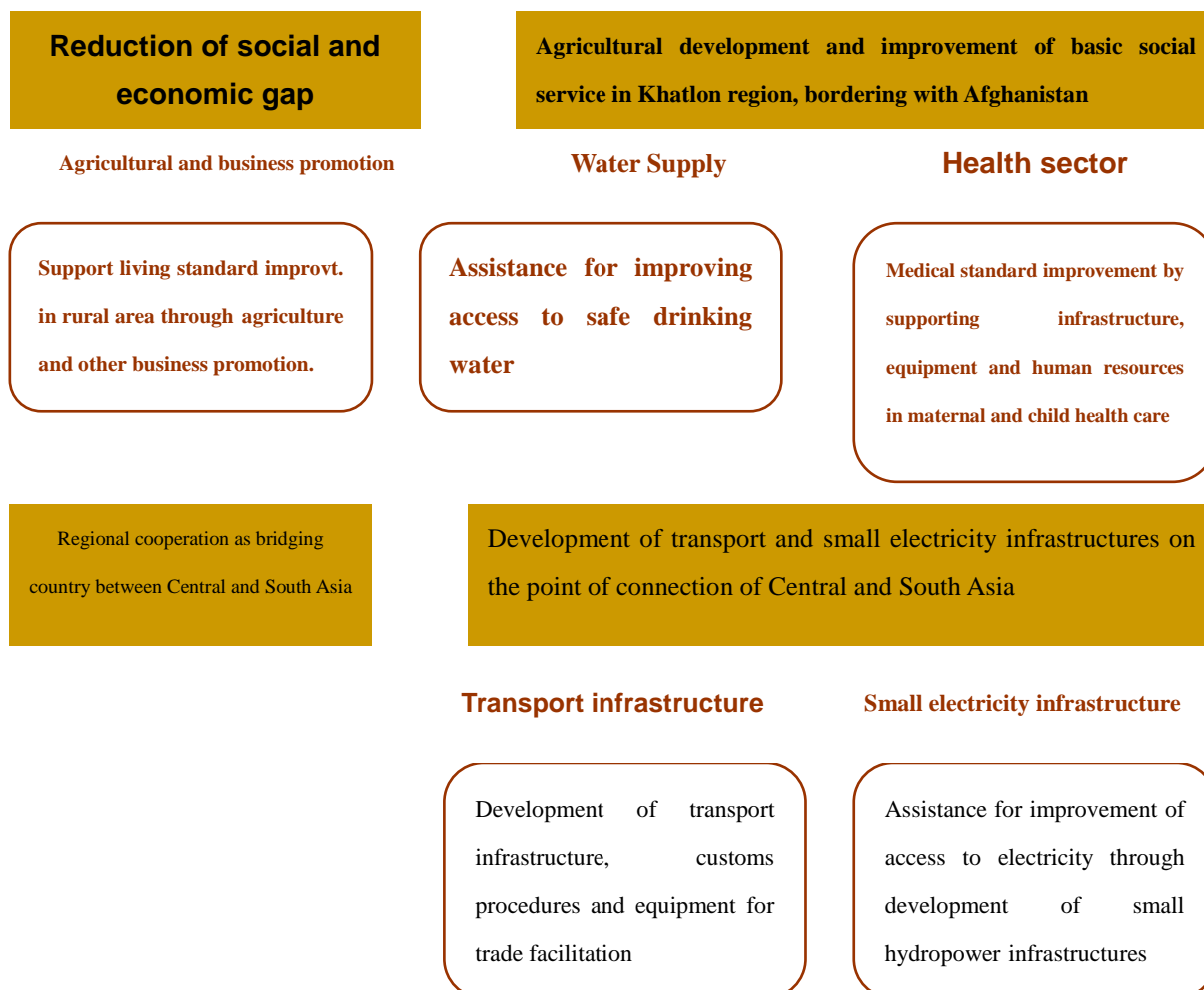
JICA and other development organizations have been participating in the reconstruction of the country's major economic sectors. For JICA, at the initial stages it was important to define the size of grants and technical assistance because Tajikistan did not have the stable economy to receive interstate loans. Japanese policy toward Tajikistan is as follows:

- Poverty reduction assistance and life improvement of the citizens;
- The stabilization of people's inequality within a country;
- To assist the reconstruction and development of infrastructure in order to improve the country's economy;
- To support society in Tajikistan for development of its social security: health, science, culture etc.

The diagram below clearly explains JICA's main projects:

Diagram

Development Priorities in Tajikistan – JICA’s assistance program²



It is clear that most Japanese projects have been conducted by JICA. In order to clarify necessity of these projects it is also important to define areas and sources of these projects: loans, grants or technical assistance.

1. Productivity: the aim is to define cooperation of industry, transportation and

² See more details on priority development projects of JICA in Tajikistan on “JICA’s Inclusive and Dynamic Development for 2013”.

agriculture;

2. Water supply and energy: this sector started from the reconstruction of the water supply system in the small village and expanded toward the discussions of the global issues like clean water for the world's society. Tajikistan has enormous hydropower capacity and it is estimated to "527 billion kW/hour of annual power generation."³ However only 6% of the resources have been exploited.

3. Human capacity development;

4. Cooperation at the social (health, science and education, culture) sector

5. Participation at other various projects of civil society.

Other direction of Japanese cooperation with Tajikistan are defined in its plan of action for 2013-2015. This documents highlights the importance of the geopolitical location of Tajikistan, connecting with Asia, Europe, Russia and the Middle East. Its stability is vital for the entire Central Asia and Eurasian region. Moreover, development of Tajikistan is important for the stability of Afghanistan.

The civil war (1992-1997) in Tajikistan weakened its economy and infrastructure and created a flow of human resources. However, after signing a peace treaty in 1997, Tajikistan has moved forward to redevelop its socio economic condition.

³ For more details of all priority sectors see "Living standards improving strategy of Tajikistan for 2013-2015".

Its economy has been recovering but there are several factors causing its deceleration such as the lack of energy resources like oil and gas, as well as outcomes of civil war that severely damaged most of its infrastructure. However, Tajikistan has been calling for international investments especially in the areas of energy (exploitation of petroleum and gas reserves) and the construction of hydropower stations. Recently, giants companies like Gazprom, Total, China Petroleum and other regional and international companies are operating in Tajikistan.

The wages in Tajikistan remain the lowest among the CIS states. There are other problems such as low levels of social and health services. In addition, the issue of poverty reduction still remains an issue.

Japanese ODA projects in Tajikistan also consider human security as an important segment for maintaining stability in Tajikistan and the region, including Afghanistan. The government of Tajikistan, on the basis of National Strategy of Improvement for 2015, and its strategy of poverty reduction of the country in 2010-2012, took the relevant measures to reduce the level of poverty through the implementation of its Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) and effectively improves the country's socio economic development.

In this regard, the government of Japan assists Tajikistan to direct its effort to

reach sustainable development, especially in rural areas, including the modernization of an economic infrastructure. In addition, in several regions of Tajikistan the issue of citizens' access to clean drinkable water and the improvement of basic social services, such as health sectors, are still remaining unsolved.

The governments of Japan and Tajikistan cooperate on issues of improvement of the quality of health systems such as maternal and child security. Another issue is the water supply system and the enabling of citizens to access clean drinkable water. In addition, they cooperate within the agricultural sector, industrial developments, targeting to create new jobs and supporting the basic economy.

The Japanese projects in Tajikistan also target the improvement of the regional cooperation. Thus, in order to boost Central Asian-Afghanistan cooperation, Japan and Tajikistan have been developing the country's transport communication. The Japanese government supported improvement of the transport infrastructure, especially reconstructing the main motorways connecting Tajikistan (Central Asia) and Afghanistan (South Asia). In addition, Japan has been supporting the country's electricity sectors to normalize the electricity supply within the territory of Tajikistan.

Considering these basic issues, the plan of action has these main purposes:

1. To improve the weak socio economic infrastructure and to assist the

strengthening of the border control at the same time as giving attention to the stability of Afghanistan, as well as personnel development and mine delousing for speeding up the reconstruction. The priority is the Khatlon region which borders with Afghanistan;

2. To continue cooperation between Japan and the Central Asian region through the “Central Asia plus Japan” dialogue. The basis for such cooperation is the common range of regional issues especially poverty reduction, environmental protection, disaster prevention, the fight against terrorism and drug trafficking and, within this framework, to promote regional cooperation to resolve the situation in Afghanistan,

3. To increase activity on the implementation of effective and efficient assistance to Tajikistan in cooperation with international organizations and donor agencies, including ADB which also, supports the Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation (CAREC) and

4. To pay sufficient attention to the safety of the participants, and strive for a better understanding and assessment of the situation on security issues.⁴

3.2 The Productivity and agriculture

Japan plays an important role in improving the productivity sector in Tajikistan.

It is worthy to mention that the initiatives of cooperation within the production sector

⁴ For more details of the plan of action please visit the website of the Embassy of Japan in Tajikistan and refer to “Rolling Plan for Tajikistan”.

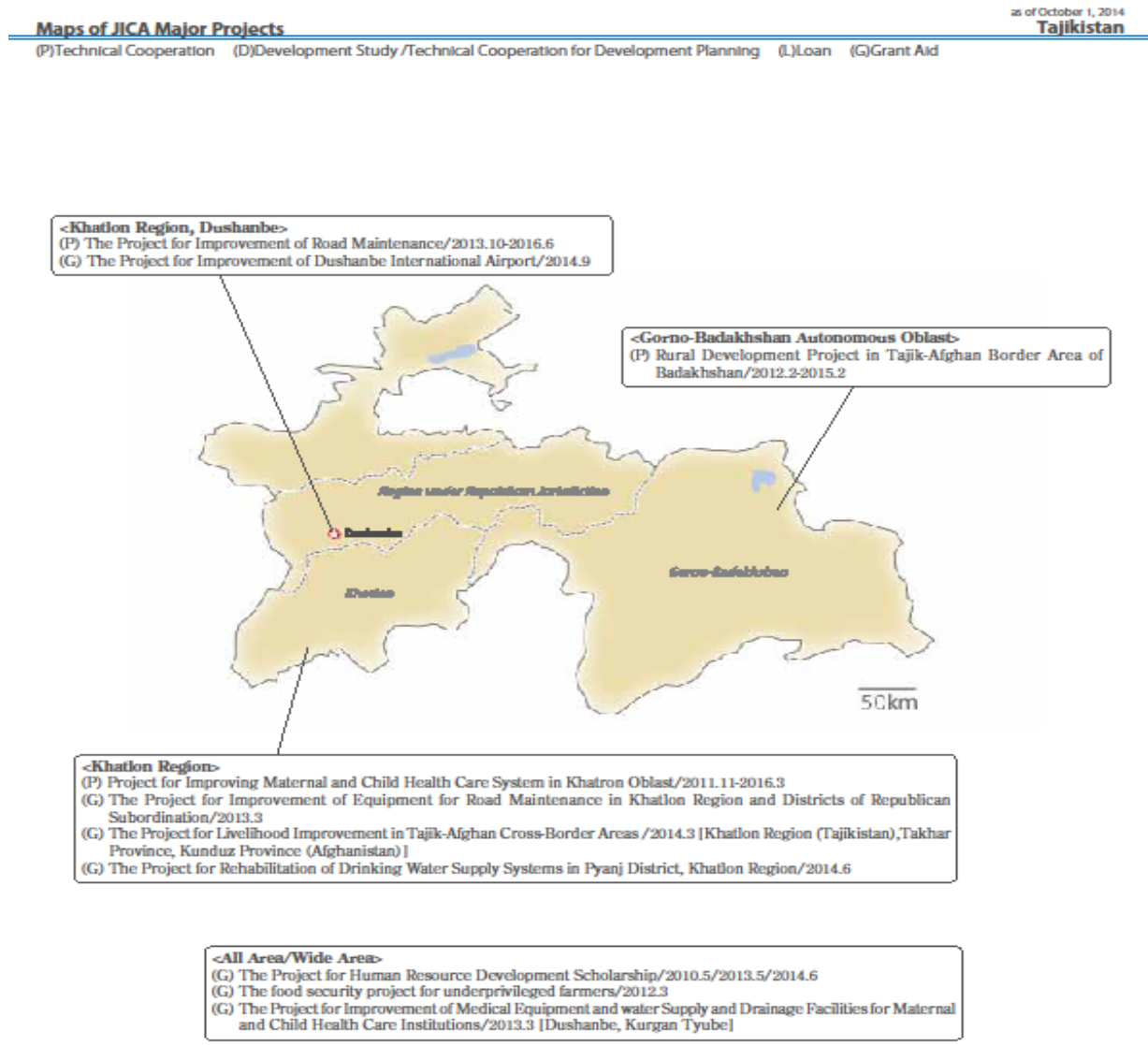
started during the Soviet period. Thus, in one of the farms of the Kuybishev region of Qurghon-teppa (the name has changed to Jomi rayon of the Khatlon region) Japanese specialists were working on the production of the modern way of cocooning. Unfortunately, due to objective reasons, further development of this production was stopped. After independence from the Soviet Union, the cooperation with Japan has improved in the spheres of transportation, especially road construction and reconstruction. Japanese assistance in this sector started in 2010 to 2011 and continues up to the present day. There are projects that have impacted upon productivity in Tajikistan. Some of them are completed and others are still in progress.

The majority of Japanese projects, including rural development projects have been conducted in the Khatlon and the Gorno-Badakhshan regions of the country. These regions border with Afghanistan, which is also considered as a priority for Japanese assistance. Moreover, people in these areas have lower living standards compared to other regions.⁵

In addition to rural development there are projects, such as maternal and child health improvement, rehabilitation of the drinking water supply and others. Also, there

⁵ For more information about statistics provided by State Statistic Agency of Tajikistan see website: <http://www.dialog.tj/news/gosstatagentstvo-tadzhikistana-chislo-bednykh-bolshe-v-khatlone-i-badakhshane> Accessed : 2015, June 26.

are projects in Dushanbe city: the improvement of Dushanbe’s airport service and road maintenance, and the map below clearly shows the main areas of the Japanese projects.⁶



Technical Cooperation : Ongoing and planned (P/D signed) projects, *Technical Assistance Project related to ODA Loan
Development Study : Ongoing projects
Loan : Ongoing and planned (L/A signed) projects
Grant Aid : Ongoing projects (G/A or E/N signed)

⁶ Map, which was inscribed by the Embassy of Japan in Tajikistan evidently display main areas of Japanese projects in Tajikistan.

Japanese assistance to agricultural sector of Tajikistan has covered three issues: the improvement of agricultural knowledge, improvement of quality and brand making, and the development of management projects. Since the 1990s, many specialists have been trained at the Japanese institutions and these programs were within the framework of the development management project. However JICA, in cooperation with the ministry of agriculture of Tajikistan, drafted the project for 2010 to 2013, targeting the improvement of the knowledge of farmers in regions such as Rudaki, Fayzobod and Danghara. This project enabled farmers to enhance their knowledge in the sectors of agriculture, the development of agrarian administrative capabilities and national dehqon farmer associations.

In the working process, about eight hundred farmer associations and sixteen thousand local citizens were involved. In addition, around twenty study books and one information booklet have been published. Within the process of the project, fifty seven courses were provided to participants. In addition, pilot association of farmers have rented agricultural equipment, machineries and vehicles and have improved their skills of usage. The cost of this project was \$1.95 million.

Another Japanese grant was dedicated to food security for the underprivileged farmers within the period of 2010 to 2012. It targeted the improvement of the agrarian

sector. As a result, about sixty hectares of wheat crop fields have been increased (JICA, 2012).

In 2012, the government of Tajikistan and JICA signed the Grant Agreement for commencement of the Food Security for Underprivileged Farmers. The project's grant amount was about \$2.3 million, which was for the procurement of machineries like tractors, combiners and other agricultural facilities and equipment. Authorized state institutions in Tajikistan, through rent, sale or lease, will provide the aforementioned equipment to underprivileged farmers. This project will be a continuation of the previous project that provides better opportunities for underprivileged farmers to increase their crop productions (JICA, 2013).

The other priority projects are to develop the regions and areas of the GBAO region. These are the technical assistance projects with a budget of \$2.8 million. Its purpose is to develop the areas of the Tajik and Afghan border of Badakhshan, with a project period from 2012 to 2015. Other supporting institutions of the project are the Badakhshan regional Administration and Agakhan Foundation.

According to JICA's project description, the geopolitical location of Tajikistan is important for maintaining the peace and stability of the Central Asia and Eurasian region, and that is why political and economic stability of Tajikistan is vital for

international society. The agenda of stability of Afghanistan is very important to Tajikistan and other neighboring states. An economic development of Tajikistan closely links to the accelerating sustainable reconstruction of northern Afghanistan. In the National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2015, the government pointed to the importance of the development of regional cooperation and expansion of collaboration with Afghanistan, including the public and private partnership.

The Badakhshan region has divided into two, belonging to both Afghanistan and Tajikistan. Unfortunately, both parts of the region are home to some of the vulnerable people. In this regard, some extremist and political groups can use it and enlist their citizens to radical and criminal groups, which in turn may affect the international community. In order to challenge the poverty in the country, the realization of projects targeting to increase the income of citizens, the infrastructure development and improving the access to basic social services are needed. In this regard, the government of Tajikistan requested Japan to realize and implement the Rural Development Project in the Tajik and Afghan border of the Badakhshan region.

This project commenced with the signing of an agreement between JICA and the Aga Khan Foundation (AKF) on February 29, 2012. The Mountain Societies

Development Support Programme (MSDSP), a project of the AKF, was chosen as a partner for the implementation of the project because of its extensive experience and interaction with civil society organization (CSOs) in the country.

Specifically, the project aims to improve access to services, and subnational good governance, through the implementation of community prioritized essential infrastructure and capacity development. Simultaneously, the project will build the capacity of the fledgling district level development decision making institutions.

Project activities are as follows:

- A. Install infrastructures based on priorities identified by local institutions;
- B. Train local institutions to identify, prioritize, implement and manage development of the infrastructure project,
- C. Train local institutions to facilitate discussions, and collaboration among the local stakeholders, for identifying and addressing priority needs and
- D. Establish and promote collaborative relationships between Tajik and Afghan institutions in the border area.

The number of beneficiaries of this project is one hundred and forty five thousand seven hundred people (JICA, 2014). Project outcomes are for the basic development infrastructure to cover common services and increase livelihood. In

addition, the capacity of local governance institutions to identify, plan and implement demand given services, will be enhanced. Also, collaboration between Afghan and Tajik governance institutions will be strengthened.

Additionally, during official visit of Prime Minister Abe to Tajikistan on October 24th, 2015 sides signed an Agreement on the exchange of memoranda between the Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations (FAO) and the Government of Japan for a project to improve management of locust control.

3.3 Transport and communication

The Japanese government reconstructed the motorway Qurghonteppa-Dusti-Panji Poyon, which is part of motorway connecting Dushanbe city to the border of Afghanistan.

Tajikistan is a mountainous state and mountains are located mostly in the western and eastern regions. The country is, therefore, divided in to south and north, creating difficulties for the transportation of goods as well as of passengers. 90% of the state territory is occupied by the mountains. For Tajikistan, it is important to improve the roads that connect several states for import and export purposes, as well as to develop the domestic road networks. In addition, in the long-term transport

development plan, the government of Tajikistan plans to connect the capital cities of Tajikistan and Afghanistan through the reconstruction of the main motorways to start in one city and reach the other. Also, these motorways might be used for regional and interregional cooperation.

For this purpose, the reconstruction of the section between Dushanbe and Qurghon-teppa has been completed with the support of the Asian Development Bank (ADB), and the construction of a new bridge at the border with Afghanistan, with the support of the government of the USA. The reconstruction of the section between Qurghon-teppa and the border of Afghanistan (Panji Poyon) was supported by the government of Japan.

The importance of the aforementioned projects is that they could enable the transportation of various goods including those for humanitarian aid purposes to Afghanistan, and the development of local agriculture and tourism. In addition, these roads may increase interstate cooperation, develop agricultural production and increase people's transportation as well as product transportation. It may positively contribute to the economy of Tajikistan. In addition, these constructed and reconstructed roads could reduce the time required to reach the Indian Ocean via Afghanistan and Pakistan.

The project to reconstruct the motorway Dusti-Panji Poyon consisted of two

phases with a total cost of \$24 million dollars, and targeted the reconstruction of 23,7 km of road connecting Dusti and the border of Afghanistan (JICA, 2013). The project's period was 2008 to 2010. The purpose of the project was to maximize the effectiveness of the road usage, shorten travel time, and stimulate economy and trade between the Republic of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. The citizens of Khatlon region are the direct beneficiaries of the project, whilst indirect beneficiaries are the citizens of Tajikistan and Afghanistan. In addition, the projects targeted the reduction of the required time to reach the Indian Ocean. The traffic performance has improved, increasing the traffic speed from 30 km/h to 70 km/h (JICA, 2013). As a result, the cost of cargo transportation reduced which has in turn affected the cost of agricultural products. Thus, business relationships have been established between Tajikistan, Afghanistan and Pakistan entrepreneurs. The enhancement of such business and trade exchanges may enhance the stability of Tajikistan as well as the region. This road was improved by Japanese grant support and it is a continuation of the Dushanbe to Panji Poyon road which was funded by the Asian Development Bank.

The second stage is the rehabilitation of Qurghon-teppa to Dusti Road which is a 59,9 km road and is funded by the government of Japan. The total cost is \$61 million dollars. Tajikistan has difficulties with goods transportation as well as passenger

transportation. In order to develop its economy the country needs to improve domestic road networks and to have access to international roads which will ensure its export and import activity. This aim of the project is to reconstruct 59.9 km (first phase: 42 km and second: 17, 9 km) of the road. This road starts from Dushanbe to Panji Poyon and then connects to Afghanistan.

The main road from Dushanbe to Qurghon-teppa was reconstructed in 2005 with ADB assistance, and from Dusti to Panji Poyon with support of the Japanese government in 2010. In addition, the Qurghon-teppa to Dusti road, which is part of International Trunk Road №11, (Asian highway №7 - AN-7) is very important for the development of Tajikistan because it gives opportunity to enhance trade and gain access to the ports of Indian Ocean through Afghanistan.

For this reason, reconstruction of 59, 9 km of the Qurghon-teppa to Dusti road will ensure enhancement of the road's productivity, reducing time and increasing trade between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. The direct beneficiaries of the project are the citizens residing in the Khatlon region, whilst indirect beneficiaries are the people of Tajikistan and Afghanistan.

The main outcomes of the project are that traffic speed has increased from 30 km/h to 70 km/h, and the transportation cost of cargo and other agricultural products has

reduced due to the reduction of the time of traveling. In addition, the numbers of cargo coming from or going to Afghanistan and other regional states like Pakistan will likely be increased and that will contribute positively to the socio-economic development of the Republic of Tajikistan.

Japanese grants were important to Tajikistan which experienced almost ten years of internal conflict and, even in the first five years of the twenty first century its budget did not exceed \$500 million. It also had a very weak civil society system. Tajikistan was determined to improve its transport system including air transportation. This area has quickly improved after establishment of peace in the country and that is why Tajikistan has welcomed any contribution from international companies and foreign states. Considering that, the government of Japan, via JICA, signed a contract with Tajikistan and Dushanbe International Airport. This protocol ensures Tajikistan to receive a \$20 million grant from Japan for the construction of the cargo terminal at Dushanbe International Airport.

According to the Asian Plus newspaper, Dushanbe International Airport has stressed that, aside from the cargo terminal, the grant also covers delivery of the instrument landing system (ILS) and the precision approach lighting system (PALS) for the airport's runway lane. Thus "together with Airport specialists the JICA experts

implemented technical analysis, prepared preliminary calculations and draft, which include all necessary items for construction of the cargo terminal” (Asia-Plus.TJ, 2014).

This draft project was approved by the government of Japan, and later signed by the Japanese and Tajikistan’s authorities. The construction of the cargo terminal and the setting up of the modern landing equipment will increase the quantity of cargo, attract global cargo companies to Tajikistan, create transport network for transit flights and ensure the country finds ways out of the transportation deadlock of cargo transporting. Implementation of this project will definitely modernize one of the important sectors of Tajikistan.

3.4 Water and Energetic

In Tajikistan the issues of clean drinking water, water supply for the irrigation fields, and usage of the rivers for electricity production are very important. Tajikistan’s water reserves rank the highest in Central Asia. There are nine hundred and forty seven rivers and thirteen hundred lakes with almost six percent of the country’s territory covers by glacials. Tajikistan is the country that initiated to attract the world’s attention on difficulties of the global water issue.

3.4.1 Water conferences initiated by Tajikistan

The rational usage of water is one of the important issues in the world. Tajikistan, through the United Nations and other international organizations, would like to attract the world's attention toward this issue. Thus, on December 23, 2003 the UN General Assembly with the initiative of the President of Tajikistan, Emomali Rakhmon, declared the years 2005 to 2015 as an international decade of the "Water for Life". Water is an important source for human beings and special attention to it is necessary. This initiative is important because growing world populations increases water demand and if we do not regulate it then by 2025 two thirds of the world's population could be living under water stressed conditions. Almost 1.6 billion people, or almost one quarter of the world's population, face water shortage (where countries lack the necessary infrastructure to take water from rivers and aquifers) (UNDESA, 2006).

Water scarcity, according to the United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (UNDESA), is among the major problems which many societies in the twenty first century will face. Water usage has been growing at more than twice the rate of population increase in the last century. Although there is no global water scarcity as such, an increasing number of regions are chronically short of water:

"Water scarcity is both a natural and a human-made phenomenon, so there is

*enough freshwater on the planet for seven billion people but it is distributed unevenly and too much of it is wasted, polluted and unsustainably managed”.*⁷

The UN Deputy Secretary General Asha-Rose Migiro mentioned that:

*“the sustainable management of water resources was vital for economic growth and achieving all the Millennium Development Goals and it was also central to public health, food security and stable societies”.*⁸

On December 20, 2000 the General Assembly of the UN approved the President of Tajikistan Emomali Rakhmon’s initiative on clean and safety water, which was supported by one hundred and forty nine states, and declared the year 2013 as an “International year of Fresh Water”(Jumhuriyat, 2010 August 17). Japan was one of the first countries that supported this initiative. Thus, on March 18, 2003 a third world’s water forum was held in Kyoto where the president of Tajikistan shared his country’s view on solving this issue. On April 29, 2003 the delegation of Tajikistan, within the framework of the UN Commission on sustainable development, organized the special event “Water for all people” at the UN Headquarter. On April 30, 2003 Dushanbe hosted

⁷ For more information regarding of UN on water issue see UNDESA website:

<http://www.un.org/waterforlifedecade/scarcity.shtml> Accessed: 2015, January 10

⁸ See more details on vitality of global water resource on speech of Asha-Rose Migiro and other panelist during Sixty Fourth General Assembly of high-Level Event on Water, which was held March 22, 2010.

the International Forum of Fresh Water, where representatives of the fifty three states, ninety one international organizations, eleven UN special departments and other local and international NGOs participated.

At this forum, the president of Tajikistan stated that within a single year it is impossible to solve the water issue. He proposed to declare the International Decade for Action “Water for Life” from 2005 to 2015.

On October 16, 2003, the permanent representative of Tajikistan to the UN organized an international conference entitled “Water for Life: fresh view to the world’s water crisis”.

On 23 December, 2003, after one hundred and forty one states confirmed the importance of this initiative, the UN adopted a resolution named A/RES/58/217 proclaiming 2005 to 2015 International Decade for Action “Water for Life”.

From 16th to 22nd March, 2009, Istanbul hosted the fifth world water forum, where the president of Tajikistan shared his concern about the major problems such as climate change, melting major glaciers, lack of water management and misuse of water. In the region itself, according to him, about 40% of the region’s water is misused at the process of irrigation.

The Republic of Tajikistan hosted the high level international conference, on

the midterm comprehensive review of the implementation of the international decade for action “Water for Life” 2005-2015, in Dushanbe on the 8th and 9th June 2010. The presidents, ministers and representatives of governments and international organizations from seventy five states participated in the conference. The following issues were on the agenda: (a) accelerating progress towards water related, internationally agreed development goals, including the millennium development goals, ensuring the involvement of women; (b) trans-boundary water cooperation; (c) water quality; (d) water resources, adaptation to climate change and disaster risk reduction, (e) sustainable financing and (f) integrated water resources management, energy, agriculture and food security.⁹

The conference's achievements were due to the adoption of the Dushanbe declaration, highlighting the importance of water as central to achieving the Millennium Development Goals. The declaration also pointed out that ensuring sustainable and equitable access to water requires the addressing of extremes of water availability through proper water management, as well as providing adequate sanitation and

⁹ Ambassador Aslov Sirojiddin, permanent representative of Tajikistan to the United Nations, conveyed in a letter to the UN Secretary General his concerns regarding “Dushanbe declaration of water”, which was an outcome of the high level international conference on the midterm comprehensive review of the implementation of the International Decade for Action, “Water for Life”, 2005-2015, which was held in Dushanbe on 8 and 9 June 2010.

wastewater services:

“Commensurate policies and action on water and sanitation are essential for lifting people out of poverty, ensuring food and energy security, promoting a healthy society and contributing to sustainable development” (Dushanbe declaration, 2010).

Tajikistan also hosted the high level international conference on August 20, 2013 with the participation of heads of states, ministers and other representatives of forty states. In his speech, President Rakhmon pointed to achievements and failures which international society challenged within the given period of time. In 2013, the MDG report pointed out that the water supply to 2.1 billion people, and sanitary conditions for almost 1.9 billion people, had improved. However, seven hundred and sixty eight million people still hardly have access to water and 2.5 billion people do not have basic sanitary access to it.

In Tajikistan, about 58.5% of the population has access to clean water and more than 30% have better sanitary conditions. Within the last five years, the government of Tajikistan, in order to improve the country's water access conditions, implemented fifteen strategies and programs, spending about \$500 million (Jumhuriyat, 2013, August 22).

The world's attention to the region of Central Asia increased due to the

disappearance of the Aral Lake, the glaciers melting and the possibility of water usage at the Sarez Lake in Tajikistan. The population in Central Asia has increased from twenty million in 1956 to sixty three million in 2010. This has also raised the water demand (Jumhuriyat, 2013 August 22).

Tajikistan's rivers in average have sixty four cubic km of water per year but the country uses only ten to eleven cubic km. Tajikistan, from the first days of independence has been involved in cooperation for the best of the region.

3.4.2 Japanese support for the water management in Tajikistan

The water initiative of Tajikistan has local, as well as global characteristics. That is one reason why it tries to involve more countries and international organizations to challenge this problem. In the above paragraph, the author pointed out the main global challenges of water scarcity. As for this local case, the water issue has several challenges for Tajikistan.

In the rural areas of Tajikistan, there are villages and regions having difficulties with the water irrigation and supply system left unreformed since the end of the Soviet Union. The governments of Japan and Tajikistan have been cooperating together to solve this issue. Recently, three projects for the improvements of the water supply

system have been conducted:

- In Hamadoni district of Khatlon region (Phase I);
- In Hamadoni district (Phase II);
- In Panj district of Khatlon region.

The total cost of the Hamadoni project is \$1.734 million, lasting for the period 2008-2011.¹⁰

The main purpose is to improve a water supply system in the rural areas. According to JICA (2013), about 59% of the population in Tajikistan has access to safe drinking water. In the major cities and towns 93% of the population has access to it. However, in rural areas it does not exceed 49%. In rural areas, a centralized drinking water system is available only to 20% of the population; the rest fetch water from various sources (springs, wells with hand pumps, channels, precipitations etc.) that do not have a sufficient level of hygiene. The existing water supply systems were established in the Soviet period and suitable maintenance has not been completed for the facilities since 1991. In this regard, the Committee of Emergency Situations and Civil Defense under the government of Tajikistan, made a request the Japanese government to support the improvement of conditions of drinking water supply in the

¹⁰ For more details on JICA project in Hamadoni district of Tajikistan see JICA's country report for 2013.

Hamadoni district.

About twenty thousand people in the Hamadoni district are beneficiaries of the project. The project also aims to reduce infection risks and other water borne diseases in the communities. It also aims to efficiently execute the groundwater development. The project's activities are to construct the boreholes, water supply network system (submersible pump facilities, high-elevated water tank, well pump control house, piping and appurtenance facilities, water distribution facilities and etc.) and capacity enhancement of the operation and maintenance of the water supply facility in Vodokanal, and in two villages of Mehnatobod jamoat. In addition, it makes the provision of equipment for the drilling boreholes and the technical transfer of the drilling technique to the engineers in Tajikistan.

On October 24th 2015 Government of Tajikistan and the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) signed a grant Agreement on the implementation of the project rehabilitation of the drinking water to Panj district, Khatlon region that is a second Phase of this project.

There are other projects that boost the energy supply in the country. These are relatively small projects however they can be further and wider developed. One of these are the solar electricity generation system to produce clean energy. The grand aid

contract was signed between the ministry of health in Tajikistan and the government of Japan in 2010. The amount of the grant is four hundred and fifty million yen, and the implementation period started in 2011 and continues to date (JICA, 2013).

According to JICA, the proportion of hydraulic power generation in Tajikistan counts as 95% of the total electricity supply. In the summer, the country has sufficient water reserves that provide opportunity for the country to generate a lot of electricity and export it to its neighboring states at the same time. In the winter, particularly in the period from October to March, the power supply shortage occurs and is lower than 60% of that in the summer. This is due to water levels decreasing in winter. The reason for water level decreases is that most of the rivers in Tajikistan are freezing and the ice on the mountains is not melting. In addition, the power supply system, the transformation equipment, and the transmission and distribution of the power supply system have not yet been completely renewed. These cause the loss, instability and stoppage of the power supply. In order to supply the country with electricity in the winter season, Tajikistan used to import electricity from its neighboring countries. However, this trade has now ceased. Meanwhile, in winter the country generates the electricity through fossil fuel combustion. However, this leads to gas emissions into the atmosphere.

The project aims to reduce the generation of electricity power that the country

receives through fossil fuels, and reduce gas emissions which cause the greenhouse effect. It aims to achieve this through the provision and adoption of equipment for the photovoltaic system in Tajikistan (JICA, 2012). This is because hydroelectricity generation is not enough for the winter season when the thermal power station has been fully exploited. The project also promotes clean energy utilization and the achievement of emissions reduction by installing the photovoltaic system.

In this regard, the sides agreed to cooperate on the installation of the photovoltaic systems to the National Medical Centre (one hundred and twenty kilowatts) and the Institute of Obstetrics, Gynecology and Perinatology (forty kilowatts):

- I. One set of forty kilowatts to the National Medical Centre's department of pediatrics (#11);
- II. One set of forty kilowatts to the National Medical Centre's department of first medical aid for pediatrics (#9),
- III. One set of forty kilowatts to the National Medical Centre's department of surgery (#4) and
- IV. One set of forty kilowatts to the Institute of Obstetrics, Gynecology and

Perinatology, the Department of Obstetrics.¹¹

The issues of energy and water management, as well as their linkage to the reconstruction of Afghanistan are always on the agenda during most of the meetings among Tajik-Japanese negotiation. Thus during Tajik-Japanese official talk that happened in the process of the official visit of Prime Minister Abe in Tajikistan, sides discussed the situation in Afghanistan, the possibility of joint participation of Tajikistan and Japan in the implementation of regional infrastructure projects such as energy project CASA-1000, road construction projects and other issues aimed at socio-economic development of the country and the region (NIAT Khovar, 2015).

3.3 Analysis

Japanese development projects partially supported reconstruction of distinct areas in Tajikistan. In addition, one of the important sectors of Tajikistan's concern - clean and safe water usage was supported by Japan. Notably, on the President's initiative 2005-2015 was declared as the decade of clean water. This initiative was supported by the UN General Assembly and other member-states, including Japan. In

¹¹ For more details on health project in Tajikistan please see: JICA: Inclusive and Dynamic Development for 2013.

addition to global projects, Japan, through JICA, conducted projects to improve water sanitation and irrigation systems in rural areas. At the same time these projects maintain accuracy of using water and at the same time keeping the environment clean and protected. However most of these projects target only one or two regions of the country, Khatlon and Gorno-Badakhshan. These two regions have a lower GNI within the country. Most importantly they border Afghanistan. Japan continues its reconstruction assistance in Afghanistan. Projects such as transport and communication development in Tajikistan directly relate to the development of Afghanistan. Another reason for conducting projects in Khatlon is to create employment opportunities for the local people, reducing their international migration and joining regional extremists groups.

Technical and grant based assistance of Japan are only to fulfill the process of transitional period. It's is important to encourage Tajikistan to improve its economy. For this reason, it is necessary to establish economic and trade partnership between Japan and Tajikistan. Thus, since the middle of the first decade of 21st century the Japanese business community initiated partnership with governmental and non-governmental institutions of Tajikistan.

The first Japan-Tajikistan joint company "Avvalin" said to be an example of the new stage of cooperation between the two states. The company produces and

processes the licorice root to extract glycyrrhizin acid as a raw material “for making costly drugs to treat the liver” (Avesta.TJ, 2011). The pharmaceutical herb was planted in Khatlon region, particularly in Qubodiyon and Jomi rayons, A Japanese company, “Koki”, invested \$3 million as a first step. The company has a plan to harvest up to three tons of licorice root in order to produce the raw materials for medical drug production. The joint company opened its factory in Shahrituz rayon of Khatlon region and has more than 150 local employees.¹²

The company has successfully developed its activity and exports widely to various states. The advantage of this cooperation is to see a stable cooperation, perhaps attracting more investment from Japan. It’s insufficient to rely on examples of positive images of single joint companies to attract Japanese investment but what is important is the country’s investment climate: the taxation system, infrastructure, legal framework, security and others. In this regard the government of Tajikistan jointly works with international society, including Japan in order to reform business and investment sectors. Japan and Tajikistan agreed that in order to develop cooperation there is a need to sign of agreements on trade and economic cooperation, encouragement and mutual protection of investments (NIAT Khovar, 2015).

¹² The “Avvalin” means “first” or “beginning”, symbolizing the starting stage of Japan-Tajikistan trade and business relationship.

Conclusion

Considering the long lasting civil war, and weakened economy of Tajikistan, most of the Japanese projects were grant based assistance. Infrastructure projects, particularly road reconstruction and communication development have been implemented and funded by the Japanese government. These projects were jointly conducted with third parties, such as The Asian Development Bank, and the US government, which funded the reconstruction of Dushanbe-Qurghon-teppa and the “Dusti” bridge on the Tajik and Afghan border. The Qurghon-teppa-Dusti and Dusti-Panji Poyon motorways connect Tajikistan to Afghanistan, and Central Asia to South Asia, and are very important for the reconstruction of Afghanistan.

Health projects have funded almost all of the areas of maternal and child health improvement, infectious diseases, the supply of medicines and drugs, modern technologies and equipment, solar energy and others. The outcomes of these projects are to improve MDGs and the government’s special focus on the health sector by modernizing health centers and hospitals in Tajikistan.

The water and energy sectors are important areas that both sides have been working together to improve. In the global context, Japan supported Tajikistan’s “Water for Life” initiative that urged careful usage of water in the entire world. Within

Tajikistan, particularly in several districts of the Khatlon region, Japan supported sanitation of drinkable water and the development of the irrigation system. It also co-relate the rural development of Tajikistan to reconstruction of Afghanistan. The issue of Afghanistan's reconstruction and role of Tajikistan and Japan is always on the agenda of discussions between sides.

CHAPTER FOUR: Japan's Role in Conflict Resolution and Effective Governance in Tajikistan

Introduction

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

Japan did not directly participate in the peace-negotiation process, however it had differently contributed on peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Such endowment have been observed through the various projects. Initiatives of the projects were well-implemented and directed into the positive development of the social stability and security.

Japan, did not take any side during conflict and peace negotiation process in Tajikistan, considering this important factor, the Tajikistani side accepted Japanese

proposal to hold additional meeting, with participation of both sides of NRC as well as experts of region and members of international organizations (UN) and NGOs. For Japan, hosting and success of such meeting might be considered as construction of its soft power in Tajikistan.

In addition, considering achievements of post-war Japan in reconstruction of country and establishment of democratic principles, government of Tajikistan showed interest to develop, educate and train its public officers, youth and young leaders in Japanese institutions. After completing their education, participants could share obtained experience back in their home-state.

4.1 Peace process

Japan has played a special role in conflict resolution of Tajikistan. Japanese missionaries and experts, who were part of the UN agencies on Peace-building, UNDP, UN Commissioner on Refugees, had positively accomplished their mission in Tajikistan. It is especially important to emphasize their peculiar field mission in the conflict area of the country. Japan's dispatched officers to help such UN efforts to be beneficial to the strengthening of peace and stability of not only Tajikistan but also the whole area along

the Silk Road.¹

Japan conducted several social and economic related projects in order to assist government of Tajikistan to implement social stability and human security in a country. Japan, for the purpose of peace enhancement in Tajikistan, has directed its projects on personnel development, targeting public officers from different institutions to participate in several conferences and seminars where they could obtain experience of post-conflict peace enhancement process. In addition, grantees obtain valuable experience from visiting different public and private institutions in Japan, which might be elicited and well operated back to their country. According to NIAT Khovar agency (2015) within two decades of cooperation more than 1500 specialists of the various spheres had been educated in Japan.² JICA's projects were usually miscellaneous and the candidates were selected only on the relevant areas accordingly.

Experts stressed that Japan's foreign policy is passive, nor does Japan have its own vision of security in the regions far from Japan, including Central Asia (Macfarlane, 2003, p.166). However former Prime Minister Hashimoto's "Eurasian Diplomacy" in 1997 opened the gates for diversifying and strengthening cooperation between Japan

¹ Japanese MoFA announced the dispatch of Japanese civil affairs officer to the United Nations Mission of observers in Tajikistan. Information retrieved from MOFA website: <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/1998/4/0270-05.html> Accessed: 2014, July 15.

² This number was confirmed by the various related ministries in Tajikistan.

and the region. Just following that, Japan invited big number of experts and organized seminar and provided additional international platform for Tajikistani participants to review and overview their failure and success before forthcoming Parliamentary election in the year 2000.

4.1.1 Overview of conflict in Tajikistan

For the citizens of Tajikistan, the civil war and its consequences will not be easy to forget. One of the main tragedies is that the country lost 60.000 to 100.000 people in this war, mainly youth and intelligentsia, at the same time lesion its economy as well as damaged whole country's infrastructure.³ The total cost of the war is estimated at seven billion US dollars (ICG, 2001). One of the main reasons of the Tajik tragedy was the increment of the religious and regional problems.

In addition, both conflicting sides, especially opposition forces were armed and supported by other states. After getting its independence, Tajikistan had not only focused to restructure and reform its political institutions, but also found ways to solve its internal conflict. "The future existence of country, including its political well-being

³ International Crisis Group in 2001 wrote a summary and recommendation on conflict outcome in Tajikistan. Calling its title as "Tajikistan: An uncertain peace", this group was still doubted about future of peace in Tajikistan.

and economy development were totally depended on conflict regulation. Only after that, people can enhance stability on socio-political order in a society” (Rakhmonov, 2006). Tajikistan, which managed to cease civil war and integrate opposition into the government structure, witnessed to the world the excellent model of solving the military conflict through negotiation and compromises, where national interests exceeded regional, clans, groups and private’s (Shoazimov, 2006, p.24).

Recently Tajikistan has reached immense success in the areas of security, and the socio-political situation has been stabilized. Now, “the experience of peace process in Tajikistan, which was the result of military conflict, has become the object of the research for local and international researchers in order to find positive ways of the given experience to further adaption in the similar conflict in various areas of the world” (Ashurov, 2008, p.16).

Various countries and international institutions contributed to the peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Japan decided its own way to cooperate and contribute into the peace enhancement. One of the ways was to invite participants to Tokyo, and organize seminars to the members of the National Reconciliation Commission in order to make participants listen to various experts on conflict management and to compare the Tajik peace model with other regions. This seminar was more important considering

next year's forthcoming parliamentary election, which both parties, ruling party and opposition, were planning to run for. The seminar on "Democracy and Good Governance for Tajikistan", which was held from March 7-20, 1999 in Japan, was an event, dedicated to the Tajik Peace Process and invitees were members of the Government and National Reconciliation Commission (NRC), both representatives from the government and opposition. "This Seminar is intended to give the opportunity for the government side and the former opposition side to meet and discuss rehabilitation and nation building after reconciliation. It is also intended to support the democratization process as well as social and economic rehabilitation by introducing the experiences in modernization and democratization of Japan and peace process in some other countries".⁵

In fact, holding meetings in a country like Japan was welcomed by participants, that in order to learn more about the post-war situation of Japan, its transition from militarism to democracy, from the collapse of its economy after the Second World War toward one of the advanced economy of the World. In total there were 10 participants from an opposition and government of Tajikistan with high ranking officials, such as

⁵ Japanese MOFA uploaded introductory information on their website, which can be found on the link below. Not many academic materials are available regarding this event. Author of this study interviewed several participants of this seminar during his field work in Tajikistan, in January 2014. <http://www.mofa.go.jp/announce/announce/1999/3/312-1.html> Accessed: 2014 June 26.

State-Adviser of the President, Chair of the Parliamentary Committee, members of the Commission of the National Reconciliation representing the conflict sides.

The National Reconciliation Commission was established soon after signing the Peace Treaty in June 27, 1997, and targeted to implement the provision of the signed agreement, which was the cause of ceasing a civil war. It was planned to cease its operation after parliamentary election in 2000, in which most of the unclear issues had to be solved. The representatives of opposition and official government were part of the Commission and leader of opposition Mr. Abdullo Nuri was a Chairman of the CSR. In the period of the Commission's operations the country's security situation remained precarious and part of the country still remained under the violence.

Despite of intricacy both parties made progress in solving the issues of repatriation of refugees, exchange of prisoners of war, disarmament of several military groups, registration of United Tajik Opposition security personnels and others. By the time of visiting Japan, both parties did a lot to decrease tension and better prepare for the forthcoming parliamentary election, which scheduled to be in February (Lower House) and March (Upper House) in the year of 2000. Of course not everything was perfect, and according to Commission's Chairman "while the commission has fulfilled its mandate, some problems remain unresolved" ("Tajikistan's National Reconciliation

Commission dissolved”, 2000).

Visit of Tajik delegation to Japan and additional platform provided by the Japanese side helped visitors to overlook once again the existing situation in a country, and exchange their view with third parties - the international experts, including Japanese.

Strengthening of peace, institutional reform and process of establishment of democratic system in Tajikistan were topics of the thesis between Tajik delegation and Minister Masahiko Komura, State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Keizo Takemi, President of JICA, deputy Mayor of the Sapporo city and other officials.⁶ The precise topics of the Meeting were importance of the moral, financial and technical assistance of Japan on reconstruction of the country. According to representative of the Secretary General of the UN Gerd D. Merrem the organizers of the seminar payed special attention to the Tokyo event because of followings:

Both sides after signing a Peace Treaty in 1997, in the next year in November successfully collaborated to destroy insurgents in the north – Khujand city lead by former pro-government military commander, who was dismissed by the official

⁶ Author of this study interviewed Prof. Ibragim Usmonov, who was at that time an adviser of President of Tajikistan and Chair of political commission in the NRC. He was one of the participants at mentioned meetings in Japan. See Appendix A.

Government. Considering several reprieves preceding the period of the transitional parliamentary election which in the beginning was planned to be complete in the mid of 1998, might be finalized only by the end of the year. However, in order to achieve that both sides have to face various obstacles. For the present moment, solving the following issues are very important: disarmament and effective procedure of integration of the about 600 registered soldiers of the Tajik Opposition; further integration of the opposition into all level of the Government, especially in so called powerful ministries; full accomplishment of the Law on amnesty; to change the constitution and further economic and social rehabilitation of the reverted side.⁷

Unfortunately, some of the opposition's implacable military commanders insubstantially were raising the issue of the effective control of government by their own leaders, at the same time they were creating imminence to security in the several regions, especially in *rayons* of capital city Dushanbe. The government itself also faced challenges from the military leaders, who were government oriented but independent commanders. To solve these matters, including issues related to human rights, it

⁷ The statement of I. Usmonov at the meeting in Tokyo on March 1999. This statement together with other presentation made by participants, such as Qiyomiddini Ghozi a member of CNR, Gerd Merrem a Representative of UN Secretary General, Prof. Imagawa, Prof. Nakamura, Prof. Muramatsu, Prof. Matsuo, Mr. Takahashi a MOFA representative, Mr. Kobayashi NHK journalist and others were taken from personal archive of Prof. Usmonov. Some information retrieved from Japan's MOFA.

determined through mutual collaboration of the both sides.

The paradox is that the military antagonism between the Government and UTO accompanied with lack of clear target of the future. Economic and social conditions were desperate and the country was in indispensable to the national program of renaissance to resist recession, which lasted in almost in all sectors. In order to create perspectives to the peace process it was necessary to articulate the view on situations and to promote pragmatic solutions. According to Merrem (1999), in this case, besides peace process provision and to provide humanitarian aids, the institutions belong to the United Nations together with other aids departments could positively contribute to the above-mentioned sectors.

He stressed that the UN and its agencies have to be active in those sectors. Just with promising manipulation to the key issues impossible to substitute the veracity strategic program orientation. (I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014).

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

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

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

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

presentation role of central government to dissolve clan system.

4.1.2 Conflict similarities in the region

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

Basically, complete cease fire was accomplished soon after the agreement of the Paris Conference. The Agreement itself was signed in Paris in October 1991, which was the last and the most important meeting of the Conference on Cambodia. There was culmination of more than a decade of negotiations in which the United Nations had been closely involved from the outset.⁸

Japan was one of the 19 countries which participated in the signing the Paris

⁸ Since the introduction of Cambodian peace process was in agenda of seminar, author of this study thought it important to include reports on Cambodia peace procedure, particularly peace keeping operation in Cambodia by UNAMIC.

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

According to Yasushi Akashi (1999), UN representative, UNTAC’s one and half year activities on peace keeping operation in Cambodia were based on necessities of accomplishment of the given task in the exact period of time. Despite of fail in the full disarmament of the oppugnant sides, which was result of the Red Khmer’s resistance, their office managed to successfully and on given period of time, organize the election and ensure the process of adoption of new Constitution up to structuralization of it.

In the second half of 1979 in the region of the Cambodia-Thailand border, the refugee camps were occupied by almost 360,000 Cambodian refugees. Considering this, at the third commission of the Paris Conference sides came to agreement on returning the refugees back to their home and help them to participate in the process of solving the conflicts in Cambodia. However they faced very severe resistance by Red Khmers (I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014). In 1993 with strict support of UNTAC Cambodia held its successful election, which as followed by adoption of the

constitution and new government came to rule. In that period UNTAC completed its mission (Cambodia-UNAMIC, n.p.).

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

Cambodia successfully achieved its peace after long lasting conflict, and has maintained peace after on. According to Prof. Usmonov (personal communication, January 4, 2014), members of the CNR kept in mind lectures and experiences obtained in the process of Tokyo meetings during further internal debates within work of Commission. The Tajik side tried to cooperate with the UN and OSCE offices as long as possible in order to maintain peace and stability in the country. In addition, within a year after the Tokyo visit, they successfully accomplished disarmament of the most military bands. As a result in the year 2000 Tajikistan successfully held its parliamentary election, after which representatives of opposition parties won several seats.

4.1.3 Japanese solution of clan system

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

tender spot of Tajikistan was on the intricacy of the structural relationship between regional clans.

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

Clans in Japan, according to presenters were abolished in the end of XIX century. However, before that *Daimyos*, who were land-lords, owned areas and lands and control it themselves, basically ignoring central government. In Tokugawa period the “Shogunate became the successfully weaker, relative to the lower social classes” (Berholz & Vaubel, 2004, p.122). After defeat of the Tokugawa shogunate in 1868, the newly established Meiji government impounded all controlled lands of the Shogunate as well as daimyo, remaining loyal to the Tokugawa. All confiscated lands, which were approximately a quarter of the Japan’s area were reformed into prefectures.

The two main domains that contributed to the overthrow of the Tokugawa, Choshu and Satsuma, ceded their domains to the Meiji Emperor. Within few month in order to show their loyalty to the Emperor, other daimyos followed suit. The remaining daimyos, who refused to obey to the central government were then ordered to do so by the threat of the military action. In return the daimyo were re-appointed as inherent

rulers or governors of their previous domains, which later changed into the prefecture. New aristocracy was formed in 1869 by unifying the former daimyos and court of nobility (kuge). The former daimyo were granted a generous stipend and the domain's debts were absorbed by the state, thus formally ending the era and established of a new central authority under which Japan was to embark upon an era of unprecedented national development (Sakata & Hall, 1956, p.38).

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

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

- a) Relatives;
- b) Parochial moods;

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

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

4.1.4 Maintaining of Peace

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

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

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

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

1. Tajikistan finished re-integration of the armed groups of opposition. The re-integrated amount of armed persons were about five thousand;
2. Around 30 road-blocks were discharged;
3. Accomplishment of the process of changes and additions to the current constitution;
4. Attestation of the state army and armed group of opposition almost completed;

5. Appearance with guns in the public places prohibited;
6. Amnesty to the civil war insurgents was declared;
7. Announcement for the referendum to change and addition to the constitution, which scheduled to be in summer of the coming year;
8. The pavement for the organizing the parliamentary election was created.

Another session was related to the “structure and historical roots of the Tajik problems”, in which Japanese scholar Dr. Tamohiko Uyama, European researcher Stephan Dyuduanyon, Russian expert A.Niazi presented their political research and highlighted main points of the existed problems in Tajikistan. Dr. Uyama described his view on the existing situation in Tajikistan stating that with misconception of Tajikistan’s tradition its difficult to blame them on assassination of Dr. Akino.⁹ In his presentation, Dr. Uyama provided insights on the situation in Central Asia in the XIX-XX centuries. He mentioned that after being the Autonomous Socialist Republic of Tajikistan and later the Socialist Republic of Tajikistan, the main and bigger portion of the territories had remained in Uzbekistan. Northern regions had relations with Ferghana and south-west with Surkhandarya.

⁹ Dr. Yutaka Akino a former Professor of University of Tsukuba. He was working as the UN political officer in mid 1990s. During his mission in Tajikistan in 1998 he was assassinated by the conflicting group.

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

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

In May 1993 the Government officially banned activities of the Islamic Party and most of their leaders left the country. Thus, Tajikistan was involved in local conflict, where almost each region was under rebellion. The central government had less authority to control the entire country. However, the Government of Tajikistan, the United Tajik Opposition with buttress of the international society had established peace in their country. The first step toward peace achievement started earlier in 1994, when both parties agreed to sit on the table and negotiate.

The process started in 1994 and lasted almost four years to achieve long awaited peace. In the process, even some insignificant agreement required great efforts,

but very often it was unrealized because of disagreements inside the belligerents. Several times the negotiations were on the verge of breakdown and continued due to foreign pressure. The situation in neighboring Afghanistan influenced the negotiation process very much (Sharafieva, 2013, p.87).

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

Several internal and external military groups were planning to disrupt the peace process in Tajikistan. Even some of the government and UTO’s supportive groups were militants who opposed peace in Tajikistan. Other parties were unhappy as well, thus representatives of Sughd and Gissar regions were none or very limited to the Government. Despite of appointing a Sughd representative as a Primer Minister, their

representatives were few in the central government, while holding about 30% of country's population. These and others became a reason to several events in the North – the May 1996 anti-government demonstration in Khujand and Ura-Tyube cities and the April 30, 1997 assassination attempt to President Rakhmon in city of Khujand (Martin, 1997). The government accused former Prime Minister Abdulojonov of the impingement. Thus, participants of the Tokyo Conference stated that “strong government may be the case of strong confrontation” (personal communication, January 2014); that's why, according to them, it is necessary to democratize and reform the Government.

4.1.5 Proposed prospective to maintain peace

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

Professor Ibragim Usmonov, who participated in almost all rounds of the inter-Tajik negotiation, stated to respect signed military protocol and spank the implementation of the gun-retrieve, which was the problem of the post-conflict period. Thus, he stressed that, parties had to understand that even if single citizen has a weapon then the danger of being killed will still remain, which is why sides have to put effort to collect all the weapons. That is not an easy process and it may take several months, he warned however, parties do not have any choice but to implement it as soon as possible and complete it by given period of time. In addition, he emphasized if each side tries to hide weapons it may cause the mistrust and may add problems to solve issue, which again may harm our society. That is why, “military protocol”, which obliged leaders of opposition to dissolve their various military groups, was crucial for post-conflict period in Tajikistan. The presenter proposed several options, that parties may consider to establish complete peace in a country, such as to dispose weapons to the power divisions, whereby militant may be reintegrated; leaders of the UTO have to make complete weapon capturing; to transfer all weapons to the Government; compulsory disarmament; to consider possibilities of purchasing weapons from the citizens.

According to the government representatives the international organizations together with states of guarantors were insisting on establishing reintegration of the

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

In addition to consultative and advisory assistance, IOs and donor-states materially supported the peace process in Tajikistan. Thus, in May 27, 1998 the US State Department announced that donor-states agreed to financially contribute into the Tajikistan peace process. "Consultative group of the World Bank's donor-states promised to support peace process" (I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014).

However, "in November 1997 at the Vienna Conference donor states agreed to grant \$56 million and year after in Paris Conference they promised additional \$70 million. But none of the state resolved to be a donor, and until now Tajikistan has not received any financial support" stated Paolo Lembo, the UN expert (I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014).

Meeting and conferences in Japan were part of the peace process in Tajikistan, where most of the speakers shared their views on peace perspective in country. Thus,

according to Japanese expert Imagawa, “it’s good that Tajiks initiated such conferences. It’s positive to see their willingness to cooperate with international society, so that to strengthen and guarantee their assistance, and what is important to respect history, culture and tradition of Tajikistan”(I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014).

According to Paolo Lembo (1999), without peace it is impossible to reconstruct and recover any country. There is necessity to correctly understand history of Tajikistan, so that regionalism can’t be a reason of the war. Some regions in Tajikistan were not involved in an internal conflict and it is important to associate them into reintegration process. Lembo pointed that, International society behaves as they have low interest, even donor-state conferences related to assistance were not always successful. Donor-states promised a \$63 million grant which partially implemented. The UN called for medical assistance because Tajikistan did not receive any general assistance as other Central Asian states did. According to him, Tajikistan is a model of peace and stability. According to other experts the UN refugee office was criticized by refugees, “unfortunately, the UN refugee office had limited resources and reconstruction of the shambles may need the profuse contribution” (I.Usmonov, personal communication, January 4, 2014). However, according to him, there is a progress on life improvement

and country's reconstruction, which started from scratch.

4.2 Human resource development

The human resource development has been considered as very important area of country's post-conflict progress. Tajikistan in early 90s faced difficulties in this sector, because most of the professionals left country due to internal conflict. However, from late 90s of XX century government of Tajikistan raised the concern about lack of professionals in various government sectors. In this regard, in the end of 90s Government set up new position in the President administration, which is position of State Adviser of President of Tajikistan, who coordinates the country's personnel reserves and the development of professional public officers. In this regard within its authority the center of personnel reserves has been established. There are various training programs for public officers within Tajikistan and outside of it. Some of the training courses funded by the government of Tajikistan, while others by support of international institutions. Japan has also supported various training programs:

- a) The Human Resource Development scholarship to five civil servants to obtain Master degree at the Japanese universities.
- b) The support for training of young administrative officials. About 100 public servants

annually participate at the training courses.

Thus, In May 2010 Government of Tajikistan and Japan signed a grant aid with amount of 119 Million Yen to support education of Tajikistani students and public officer at Japanese institutions (Avesta.tj, 2010, May 17).

Also, in this regard earlier Government of Japan signed other grant aid for 2008-2016 years with amount of \$1.1 million to cooperate with Civil Service Department under the President of Tajikistan. Government of Tajikistan has adopted the long-term National Development Strategy (NDS) for the period to 2015, the midterm Poverty Reduction Strategy (PRS) for 2010-2012 and Living Standard Improvement Strategy (LSIS) for 2013-2015. In this regard, activities of PRS and LSIS are mostly based on NDS goals and priorities, in which public administration considered as important sector to be reformed. According to NDS, the system of government agencies and the human resources within this system do not meet the demand of market economy. The PRS stress, that the goal of public administration reform is to raise the effectiveness of central and local branches of government, accompanied by the establishment of the professional civil service, an optimal system to the elaboration and implementation of development policies and programmes with enhanced management and clear distribution of the functions and authorities, financial resources and poverty, which will

promote the effectiveness delivery of high-quality services to the public.

For the purpose of the human resource development the CSD prioritize to send the young and talented civil servants abroad. In this regard, Government of Tajikistan requested Japanese government to provide grant aid for Human Resource Development Scholarship (JDS). It supports young government officials to study at the best Japanese universities and to engage in formulating and implementing the social and economic development plans as well as to become the leaders in their own countries.

The purpose of this grant project is to develop the human resources in various fields, by affiliating the Tajikistan's public employees to the Japanese universities, especially to study the master courses. In addition, the aim of human resource enhancement is to develop and strengthen the relationship between Tajikistan and Japan. According to this grant aid, annually five civil servants enroll into the master courses at the Japanese universities. JDS participants acquire expert knowledge, conduct research and build human networks at the Japanese universities. Obtained knowledge they can use for social and economic development of their own countries.

The officers of the most public institutions of Tajikistan participated in the various training projects organized by JICA. Annually officers from Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ministry of economy and trade of Tajikistan participate in the several training

programs in Japan, including the two years master programs, the short-term courses and others.

Parliamentary staff from Upper and Lower House of Parliament of Tajikistan also participated in the several training programmes, particularly at the Seminar on “Democratic parliamentary management for Tajikistan”, which was held on June 2003.¹⁰ Thus, according to participant, these projects introduced staff of parliament on how Japanese Diet operates, what is function of secretariat and how adopted laws and policies are implemented (Personal communication, January 7, 2014). Participants were satisfied with these seminars, because they have been introduced with activities of the Parliament of the state that has Parliamentary system, while Tajikistan belong to the Presidential system.

In the same years group of officers from Dushanbe city municipality with support of JICA visited Japan and had been introduced with the way of activities of local city administration of several cities and town within Japan. In this training program, the representatives of Tajikistan highlighted the volunteering system in the

¹⁰ Author interviewed officers, who attended seminar in Japan. According to provided materials Japanese side shared experience and knowledge on process of democratic legislation, election system, market economy and democratization. Participants found those courses as educative, productive and proficient. Also see Appendix A.

various towns in order to keep them clean, safe and always aware of citizens' requests.¹¹

Volunteers are always engaging into the city/town's social activities and report city/town's administration the issues of the public's concern. This system enable to save time and it is convenient for administrations of the cities, because most of the volunteers are members of local communities and neighborhoods and may be aware of situation better than others. In addition, the administration of the cities may save money from the budget by not hiring the additional staff.

Thus, after the training program participants proposed to the Dushanbe city administration to address this issue in the various communities of Dushanbe city. Thus, on August 16, 2011 the Resolution of Dushanbe Mayor City under the number of 396-2 approved Program of Action to the better city residing and common action in order to enhance it. According to this program, administration has to hire about hundred volunteers from the city activists, and set up the closer relations with the local communities. In this regard, citizens may take active participation in the process by informing about the problems in their own community or districts, to propose the best ways to improve conditions of the streets and areas, which in general may keep city

¹¹ Author interviewed a staff of Dushanbe city Administration. Interviewee stressed the essence of such projects and how participants shared the lessons-learned back in home-state. See also Appendix A.

clean, secure and improve citizen-administration cooperation. In addition to that, the volunteer group opened Facebook account in which citizens of the city may be in touch with volunteer group and the Mayor of city. (Personal communication, January 7, 2014).

There are other projects sponsored by the Government of Japan that relates to the personnel trainings and internship of public officers of Tajikistan. In total, from the 1993 until 2015 the number of Tajikistani trainees, internships and university students in Japan reached to about 1800 (Dialog.tj, October 2015), which makes it in average about hundred trainees per year.¹² As the result shows, most of them were useful not only to the officers and their career but also to the state's well-being. Returned trainees have brought knowledge to share and obtained experience have been used for community development in Tajikistan.

4.3 Education

Japan initiated its first technical assistance in 1993, when twenty one public officers had been sent to Japan for education purpose. According to provided data, 1400 Tajikistanis had been educated in Japan from 1993 to April 2012. Only within the year 2011 the number of participants were up to hundred (Tajikistan MOFA, 2013).

¹² According to information from Ministry of foreign affairs of Tajikistan the number of trainees in Japan annually has been increasing.

The number of students and trainees from Tajikistan, studying at the Japanese institutions are increasing. They attend program at the Japanese institutions through various programs, including JDS, Manbukagakusho (Ministry of education, culture, sports, science and technology of Japan), JICA and others. Annually about hundred Tajikistanis are participating in Japanese programs.

In addition to that, there are inter-institutional agreements among universities of Japan and Tajikistan. Thus, University of Tsukuba has partnership with Academic of Science of Tajikistan, Tajik State University of Languages and Russian-Tajik Slavonic University.¹³

Annually University of Tsukuba accepts several exchange students from above-mentioned universities. Tajikistani students have been educating at this University starting from the beginning of 2000s. Some of these graduates are currently working at the diplomatic mission of country, Foreign affairs Ministry, the Ministry of economy and trade and so on. As an example, the graduates of the University of Tsukuba have been working at the Embassy of Tajikistan in Japan.

In addition, on October 17-18 2014 the University of Tsukuba organized

¹³ University of Tsukuba has Special Program of Central Eurasian Studies (SPCEA), attracting graduate students from Central Asia to join the program. The number of applicants is annually increasing. It also established a partnership with one or more academic institutions of almost all Central Asian states.

“Tajikistan-Japan Student Forum”, in which Rector of Russian-Tajik Slavonic University had been invited (SPCEA, 2014).

Moreover, on April 17th, 2015 Tsukuba University’s Special Program for Central Eurasia organized open seminar “The Years of Independence in Tajikistan: War and Peace” lectured by Prof. Dr. Ibragim Usmonov, who was a member of Inter-Tajik Peace Process negotiation.¹⁴

Activities, organized by the University of Tsukuba, are the examples of cooperation on education between Japan and Tajikistan. During official visit of Prime Minister Abe to Tajikistan on October 24th, sides, discussed many other aspects, stressed the importance of cooperation on science and education spheres. Thus, the Tajikistan’s Institute of Languages signed an agreement with University of Tsukuba on cooperation and scientific exchange (NIAT Khovar, 2015).

In addition to that, there are other grant based programs and projects supported by the Government of Japan. These projects are with lower budget and mostly target the reconstruction of the schools or colleges and supports youth in the rural areas:

¹⁴ University of Tsukuba’s SPCEA program organized an open seminar for its student, who were interested on peace process in Tajikistan. In addition, there were discussion on relationship between Tajikistan and other states of region. For summary of this seminar see a link below <http://www.chiiki.tsukuba.ac.jp/spca/2015/04/08/open-seminar-on-the-years-of-independence-in-tajikistan-war-and-peace-by-ibragim-usmonov/> Accessed:2015, May 20.

- I. Grant aid (\$86.837) to NGO “Sapeda” for construction of the additional building to School №55 of Guliston village of Kolkhozobod rayon;
- II. Grant aid (\$80.610) to NGO “Bilol” to reconstruct the School №59 of Farkhor rayon;
- III. Grant aid (\$87.773) to Panjakent city administration office for reconstruction of School №27 of Panjrud village of Radaki jamoat;
- IV. Grant aid (\$86.445) to reconstruction of the boarding school for orphan kids №4 of Dushanbe city;
- V. Grant aid (\$65.150) to NGO “Sodruzhestvo” for opening the education center to women from Rudaki rayon.¹⁶

4.4. Analysis

Japanese contribution to peace enhancement in Tajikistan was different to the peace process negotiation among parties between 1994-1997. Firstly it was in different period, particularly from 1999 onward, some years after signing the Peace Treaty. Secondly, it was a period when the Commission of National Reconciliation had been established with participation of all divergent parties.

This made it convenient for Japan to invite members of this commission and

¹⁶ More information about small grant projects in rural Tajikistan can be found on Embassy’s Website: http://www.tj.emb-japan.go.jp/kusanone_undou.htm Accessed: 2015, August 18.

other actors who had participated in Tajik Peace Process, such as UN representatives, political experts, NGOs and others. Importance of this meeting was that parties were preparing for Parliamentary elections in year 2000, which was to be first election with participation of all parties. The Tajiks had other offers to hold their meeting, like Moscow and Tehran, however Japanese neutral position during the conflict period impacted the decision for holding it in Tokyo. This process or influence on the decision of the Government of Tajikistan could be considered as an element of Japanese soft power.

Participants had a chance to discuss the achievements and failures of the Treaty obligations. They have learned of experiences in other post-conflict states, including dissolution of the clan system in Japan. The outcome of this meeting was positive and parties have maintained peace after the results of parliamentary elections in 2000, 2005, 2010 and 2015.

Peace enhancement would be ineffective if a country ignores human resource development. The Government of Tajikistan has been interested in strengthening the professionalism of its public officers. Most young officers participated in training and internship programs organized by Japan. Some of these program were Japanese sponsored, others funded by the Government of Tajikistan.

The Japanese education system was an important part of the country's recovery and economic growth. The achievements of Japan attract other states in the region, including Tajikistan to study its model.

In the case of training at Japanese institutions, some of the participants are facing challenges. During the training process in Japan most equipment and facilities are modern and high-tech. However, after returning to their home-states participants can't practice their obtained knowledge on proper and equivalent-level equipment. As a result, over the years they forget their learned experience and could be considered as an inefficient investment of the country. These specialists won't be able to contribute to the country's development.

This study also examined the level of cooperation in education between universities and among students. For the younger generation of Tajikistan there are many opportunities to study abroad. Every individual has the right to choose the best university for his/her future career. In this sector Japanese institutions have to face competition with European, American, Russian, Chinese and other institutions. In Tajikistan, universities of first three states are very popular among the youth.

The Japanese scholarship program encourages youth to apply for admission, however they don't create booms. This section defined that if at the same period there is

opportunity to receive European and Japanese university admission, a majority of youth will go to Europe. They people have more information about Europe compared to Japan. In this respect, Japan has to maintain the promotion of its culture, language and education, in order to attract more students from Tajikistan.

If at the initial stage most Tajikistani students in Japan were admitted through various Japanese scholarship programs. Recently the number of self-funded students has increased, especially to study medicine, IT, computer science, software engineering and other related programs.

That is result of Japanese image of advanced country on computer and technology. Most of these students are not planning to return to home-state but aim to work on international or global companies in Japan or in other developed states. However, as it was mentioned above, the number of self-funded students in Japan is comparatively lower than in European, American or Russian universities.

Conclusion

This chapter examined role of Japan on peace enhancement in Tajikistan. Japanese neutrality during conflict period in Tajikistan played key role to hold this meeting in Tokyo. Members of Commission on National Reconciliation of Tajikistan,

international partners and NGO members were participated at this meeting. It was ideal opportunity for all conflict parties to discuss achievements and failure of peace Treaty obligations. They also learned experience of other post-conflict states, including solvation of clan system in Japan.

In addition, this visit enacted new paradigms of the relationship between Japan and Tajikistan, which agreed to cooperate on various level in order to maintain peace and democracy in the country.

This volume also examined human resource development and improvement of the level of education, which are the center to maintain peace and ensure effective governance. Japanese educational program for the young leaders, public officers and university students are welcomed by the Tajikistan. Annually, about hundred Tajikistanis participate in the programs organized by Japanese institutions.

They attend programs through JDS, JICA, Monbukagakusho Scholarship as well as inter-institutional agreements. Most of them after graduation return to their home-state and share obtained experience and knowledge for the best of their country. However, there are trainees, who faced challenges after being trained with high-tech equipment in Japan and its absence at home-state.

In addition to grant-receiving students, there is increase on number of self-fund

students from Tajikistan, particularly to the area of medicine, IT, computer and software engineering. Their choice to study in Japan is due to image of being high-tech country.

CHAPTER FIVE: Social sphere of Tajikistan in the eyesight of Japan

Introduction

Development of the social sphere is a central aim of international society to expunge poverty and achieve sustainable development. Issues which relate to the social sector consist of demography, economics, gender, religion, migration, food nutrition, human rights, health and other related aspects of society.

Japan is the first non-western state to improve its population issue. Considering its success and regional affinity, many Asian states have been following the Japanese model of population development. Tajikistan has also shown interest in the Japanese model. Government institutions and members of parliament in Tajikistan participate in various projects and meetings including study visits in Japan and other Asian states, to understand policies and programs related to the population development.

In addition, this chapter focuses on the Japan-Tajikistan cultural relationship. Japan has been supporting cultural and art programs in Tajikistan and, in exchange, it introduces and promotes its own culture and tradition. The Japanese Embassy in Tajikistan regularly organizes cultural events that attract local citizens' interest in learning more about Japanese tradition.

5.1 Population and Development

There are several sensitive topics within the terminology of population and development, such as family planning, where an interest of society clashes with norms and values.

Population and development focuses on the regulation of the aforementioned issues to control population growth and, in exchange, to enhance qualitative population. Many countries and international organizations are seeking assistance to strengthen population policy worldwide.

The United Nations globalized an idea of population development by establishing the Population Commission on October 1946. Later, in December 1994, it renamed it as the Commission on Population and Development, which played a primary role in implementing the Program of Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD) and the Millennium Development Goals. The purpose of the Commission was to monitor, review and define the efforts of implementation of the Program of Action at the various regional, national and global levels.

In 1967, the United Nations Trust Fund for Population was established and in 1969 it was reorganized into the United Nations Fund (UNFPA). The UNFPA is one of

the biggest funds, which precisely dedicates itself to the population issue. Despite the worldwide economic challenges and competitive aid environment, the “total revenue for UNFPA in 2012 reached a record \$981.4 million that includes \$437.5 million in voluntary donor contributions, \$503.1 million in earmarked funds and \$40.8 million in other revenue.”¹ Many countries, including Japan, contribute to the UN Fund. As stated by the UNFPA Report on Contribution of the Member States, 2013 Japan, as a donor state, ranks number eight with annual contribution of almost \$25 million. Previously, in the period from 1986 to 1999, Japan’s contribution to the UNFPA made it the top donor state.

Japan closely cooperates with the UNFPA; Japanese local-based NGOs are among the project-implementing partners of the UNFPA. They are conducting events and implement related projects in order to maintain awareness of population development.

Japan adopted several policies to achieve the UNFPA’s MDGs (Millennium Development Goal). As mentioned earlier, Japan is one of the top funding countries of the United Nation’s Fund (UNFPA) and in favor of promoting population and

¹ The role of UNFPA on global population development is a special. This fund supports various programs to tackle the population challenge worldwide. See UNFPA website for more information on their activities: <http://www.unfpa.org/public/about> Accessed: 2014. December 20.

development worldwide. In addition, Japanese population supporting programs are not limited within the UNFPA; it also cooperates within the inter-state relationship.

The government of Tajikistan is also concerned about the fast growing population. Despite cultural and religious values it has adopted and implemented the various policies to control the birth rates and strengthen the population development.

The government of Japan supported several projects in Tajikistan, such as school constructions and reconstructions, to supply modern technologies and facilities to the rural and urban hospitals, develop the infrastructure including the reconstruction of the roads, communication, agriculture developments and others. All these projects relate to the population development of Tajikistan.

In order to achieve population stability, Japan encourages parliamentarians' activities to promote the population issue in Asia and Pacific. Thus, the Japan Trust Fund (JTF) supports the several projects of the Asian Population and Development Association (APDA) as well as the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD). These two organizations are amongst the biggest institutions in Asia that are promoting parliamentary activity on population and development.

Parliamentarians from Tajikistan are also amongst the active participants of these events, with the parliamentarians gathering to share experience and knowledge of

successes and failures of the population development policies.

Tajikistan could learn a lot from population advanced states, such as Japan, to provide relevant policies to sustain population development.

The world's population is more than seven billion; therefore, the importance of the population issue becomes more and more serious and critical. The developed states with their low birth rates are facing aging societies, whereas most of the developing countries have high rates of population. Each country practices its own way of challenging the population issue. Tajikistan and Japan are part of the international community, maintaining the population development around the world.

Tajikistan is interested in learning the Japanese model dealing with the population issue. This chapter also examines the Japanese trend on population development, its ODA policy and the parliamentarians' role in this regard.

5.1.1 Japanese trend of population development

After World War II Japan had to reconstruct its infrastructure. Along with that, there were many other issues, which needed to be covered. In post-war Japan the issue of demographic transition became an important subject. Demographic transition of Japan is unique because it was the first nation outside the Western cultural society to

successfully accomplish it. All of the previous demographic transitions had taken place in nations of Western culture. At the initial stage “people viewed the remarkable postwar demographic transition in Japan with doubt – a drastic reduction in the fertility and mortality rates in such a short period of time, something that had never been experienced by Western nations” (Population and development in Japan, 1991, p.23).

The success of Japan encouraged other Asian states to promote population development. Indeed, the Japanese modernization, under the Meiji restoration government, imported and introduced the industrial revolution of the West. Japan put in an effort to be a bridge between the west and Asia. Thus, Japan proved that the phenomenon of demographic transition occurring during the process of modernization, that is, economic and social change, are not unique to western culture but are a universal phenomenon (Population & Development in Japan, 1991, p.24). Today, we can see the demographic transition in several ASEAN countries and other regional states such as Singapore, Korea and China. Many of these countries and other regional states adopted laws and national policies related to the population stability, following the Japanese model.

Japan itself faced the several stages of fertility transitions: from 1945 to 1949 there was a sudden drop in birth followed by a baby boom and then a drastic decline.

During 1950 to 1957, stability in 1957-1969 and the slight increase in than second declining period from 1974 until present (Population & Development in Japan, 1991).

The reason for population decline was partly due to the loss of population in World War II, as well as the resultant delays in couples getting married, extended years of education and an increase in the numbers of working women.

In the case of mortality rates, Japan had high infant and maternal mortality rates. However, Japan was able to overcome them due to the creation of the health service network, policy-making and implementation based on the population statistics and research on health services. Based on their results, Japan developed the maternal and child health handbook, policymaking as well as creating the universal health insurance system.

In the 1950s, the Japanese government introduced and promoted family planning, bringing recovery of the pre-war living standard and stability of life, as well as improvements in education.

However, Japanese society has recently faced other challenges. The Japanese population has been decreasing since the late 1970s. In 1975 the average birthrate was less than two children per family. In 1978 the average rate had dropped to 1.7. In 2009 it

was -0.1% and in 2013 it changed to -0.2%.² As result Japanese society is facing another problem: aging.

Aging has become an issue in many developed countries, including Japan. It is important to deal with this issue because low birthrate and aging society have become a major issue of Japan in recent years (Noke, 2011). Getting out of this low birthrate will slow the progress of the aging society in the future: this will; not only alleviate social security burdens but it will also lead to the revitalization of our society.³ In the area of aging, Japan is once again “taking a leading role in shaping new social, economic and political models for the increasing numbers of nations with aging populations” (Vogt, 2013).

Issues of population, including aging, brought together all parties in Japan to deal with that. At the time of the Democratic Party (DPJ), the administration of Prime Minister Noda was also concerned about the population issue, including aging. In his speech, Prime Minister Noda stressed:

Today, population issues have become even more diversified and

² For more information on World’s Population Growth see World Bank data for 2010-2014.

³ Noke’s opening Address was addressed during APDA organized Parliamentarians’ Capacity Building Project on Accountability and Aid Implementation for Population and Development Issues- Part III, which was held in Tokyo on October 25, 2011. Author of this study attended the conference.

complicated. Aging population is one of such problems. Japan's population has been decreasing since 2005 and it is rapidly aging. The Japanese government has been focusing on health care and welfare measures for the elderly. However, because of the accelerated pace of declining birth rate and aging population and economic slowdown, conventional measures are no longer effective. Therefore, the Japanese government is now trying to pursue a new development model. The comprehensive reform on social security and taxation system which I take my political career in is one of such undertakings.

Population issues are closely linked to the global issues such as food, energy, environment, and has a major impact on human security. Efforts to deal with population issues are indispensable for sustainable future. It is such wisdom that will pave the way for survival of humankind.⁴

Japan has experience to share with developing countries. Areas such as health and population could be an option for developing states to learn from the Japanese population policy. In 2010 at the UN MDGs Summit, Japan announced its new Global

⁴ The speech of Yoshihisa Noda were addressed at the 28th Asian Parliamentarians' Meeting on Population and Development: Countdown to the ICPD PoA and MDGs. This population related meeting was held in Tokyo, 2-3- October 2012. Author of this study attended the meeting.

Health Policy including assistance of US\$5 billion over five years, beginning in 2011.

This means Japan will continue to carry out such commitments and, in order to lower the maternal and infant mortality rates, it will extend assistance with focus on strengthening the health systems.

Migration is another issue related to the population development. Currently, global world migration is very crucial and has brought many problems, whereas developing and developed countries are struggling to solve it.

Japan as a developed country is not in the list of top “migrant country”, however, it has accepted numbers of migrants from South East Asia and Latin America. It also has a history of sending migrants overseas, starting in 1868 after the Meiji restoration and the beginning of the modern state. Japanese migration and immigration started by sending workers to Hawaii and Guam to work on sugar plantations. Later, it spread to Brazil, Peru, the Philippines Australia, the US and other countries. Japan was able to stop migration and immigration by adopting various policies.

Currently, Japan plays a key role in dealing with migration domestically and internationally, especially in Asia. It also supports UNFPA, IMO, ILO and other organizations in order to control migration and also provide opportunities for local workers to find better jobs within their own states.

The population issue has also become a matter of international cooperation for Japan. Thus, in 2011 the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan established a Global Health Policy Office in the International Cooperation Bureau of MOFA, highlighting Japanese foreign policy, focusing on the importance of the health program as well as population development.

5.1.2 Japanese ODA and Role of Parliamentarians in population issue

One of the sources of the Japanese promotion of population development is through ODA. Its technical cooperation with the UN through ODA started in 1954, and after 1970 it strengthened and expanded it to areas, such as human resources development in the region of Africa, Latin America, Middle East and Oceania. Later, the Overseas Technical Cooperation Agency (OTCA) and Japan Emigration Service (JEMIS) merged to form the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) in August 1974.⁵

ODA strategy changed in 1992 and again in 2003. The world has changed since the end of the Cold War, so priorities of cooperation and assistance have been moved

⁵ For more information about population trend and role of Japan in this procedure please see JICA's website:

http://jica-ri.jica.go.jp/IFIC_and_JBICI-Studies/english/publications/reports/study/topical/ssic/pdf/sic_04.pdf Accessed: 2015, August 22.

toward the other areas: fight against terrorism, preventing ethnic conflicts, democracy promotion, human rights, hunger, the environment and others. Japan, as one of the key actors of the international society, also prioritized the above-mentioned issue in its ODA strategy. The ODA Charter highlighted that:

*“humanitarian problems, such as extreme poverty, famine, refugee crises, and natural disasters, as well as global issues such as those related to the environment and water, are important issues that need to be addressed in order for the international community as a whole to achieve sustainable development.”*⁶

Human security is one of the main targets of the Japanese ODA, addressing direct threats to individuals such as conflicts, disaster and diseases:

*“In Japan we are seeking that country in which human security is one of the major pillars of Japan’s foreign policy, which aims at building a society and a country where each human being can realize their rich potential.”*⁷

The Japanese ODA mainly targets the Asian region, especially ASEAN states and some of the East Asian states. In Central Asia, the Japanese ODA Charter

⁶ For more details please refer to Japan ODA Charter (2003).

⁷ Noke’s opening speech at APDA organized Parliamentarians’ capacity building project on accountability and aid implementation for population and development issues- part III, which was held in Tokyo, October 25, 2011. Author of this study attended the meeting.

highlighted the importance to promote democratization and transition to the market economy.

Recently the amount of Japanese ODA in the world has been decreased. There are several reasons for the country's economy recession including the 2011 Great East Japan earthquake, resulting in Japan spending many resources in order to reconstruct the disaster areas. Considering the above-mentioned problems, the government of Japan had to explain to its citizens their reasons for ODA to developing countries while their own country was in need of funds to mobilize resources to recover from its long running recession, as well as the reconstruction of areas damaged by the earthquake including resolving the Fukushima Nuclear Plant.

The ODA accountability of the receiving states is another concern of Japan. ODA comes from Japanese taxpayers and it requires full responsibility in terms of accountability for the successful examples of ODA. The Japanese ODA "is all taxpayers' money and if they are to contribute to the democratization, health and other various issues of the developing countries, we should be able to explain how much successful fruit they are bearing."⁸ Parliamentarians could also take a responsibility for

⁸ Aizawa Ichiro's address at APDA organized parliamentarians' capacity building project on accountability and aid implementation for population and development issues- part III, which was held in Tokyo, October 25, 2011. Author of this study attended the meeting.

accountability of ODA funds.

The Japanese parliament established the Japan Parliamentarians Federation on Population (JPFP) to involve parliamentarians in population matters. JPFP itself is the first non-partisan group in Japan. As a result of long lasting discussions the parties formed an understanding and, based on mutuality, they have supported policies related to population issues and ODA.

As for accountability, this issue is relevant to each side; donor and recipient countries. The effectiveness of the ODA has to be transparent so that both societies will be informed of its success and failures. For that reason, some amounts of the Japan Trust Fund were spent through various NGOs in order to define and introduce parliamentarians of Asia and Africa (mostly ODA recipients) to the concern about the accountability of ODA in their home-states. For example, NGOs like the Asian Population and Development Association (APDA) which is based in Tokyo and serves as a Secretariat for JPFP, and the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD) based in Bangkok, Thailand are such organizations that conduct annual regional projects, including conferences and study visits for Asian and African parliamentarians. This enables them to learn the Japanese experience of population and development, including the accountability of the ODA in its various population areas.

Yasuo Fukuda, former Prime Minister of Japan, Chair of APDA and Honorary Chair of JPFP, highlighted the roles of the APDA and AFPPD on parliamentarians' engagements into abovementioned issues:

Thirty years ago, AFPPD was established by APDA and at that time, the understanding of population was very different among various countries. There was no unified understanding about population issues. Therefore, our parliamentarians' activities were centered on educating the public about the population issue and its impact on the future of the planet. Later on, it is becoming more evident how human activities affect climate changes and sustainable supplies of natural resources, which are the problems that we had to take upon ourselves.⁹

Japanese funds, via the APDA and AFPPD, support and bring together parliamentarians who have political influence on the decision-making processes including law adoption in their own country. Japan accepts that, until and unless, the policymakers from countries across the economic, political and geographic divides get together to understand what's happening across the world, there is no way that success

⁹ The speech of Yasuo Fukuda, APDA Chair, was addressed at the 28th Asian parliamentarians' meeting on population and development: Countdown to the ICPD PoA and MDGs, Tokyo, 2-3-October 2012. Author of this study attended the meeting.

might happen soon. In addition, JPFP members participate in study mission in other countries with the purpose of inspecting field activities of organizations such as UNFPA, IPPF and JICA in order to review their progress and find incentives to achieve population and development projects. Such visits encourage sides to improve cooperation and the revitalization of the parliamentarians' activities.

5.1.3 Population concerns in Tajikistan

Recently, the population issue has become the foundation of global issues and common awareness. The changes are taking place over the year. Also, the focus of the states and international organizations are changing from the global to the specific action.

Almost all related sectors are entirely involved in solving the population issue in Tajikistan. Parliamentarians in Tajikistan play a key role in advocating for stronger commitment and investment in population and development, sexual and reproductive health (SRH) and the gender issues. The great work for them is to review, revise, discuss and approve the laws, leading to the greater advocacy, awareness creation, and sustainability of action through more collaboration with civil society's organizations.

Furthermore, networking among the parliamentarians of the different states is

important for the experience sharing. Networking with donor states, such as Japan, is very important to effectively and carefully deal with the population development, reproductive health and family planning. It can be done through promotion of the issue, and attraction for the donor fund by establishing the transparency and accountability of the funds to increase the national budget for population issues.

Such activities are welcomed by the international society. Tajikistan has a high percentage of birthrate (2.5% in 2013), and with its country's transitional economy it aims to solve this issue.

Its high birthrate may challenge Tajikistan to meet the basic needs of its population and ensure environmental sustainability. The high growth of the population rate became even more challenging due to the most developing states. In its neighboring country, Afghanistan, the total fertility rate is, on average, seven pregnancies per woman.

The government of Tajikistan is concerned about birthrate. President Rakhmon urged citizens to control birthrate and focus instead on the quality of the family. Increase in the size of the population may increase the need of extra expenses like fuel, water, food and other resources. Lack of access to drinkable water and irrigation water is already putting pressure, not only on Tajikistan, but also on 30% of the world's

population. In many places the climate change is expected to make the problem even worse.

Climate and environmental changes, as well as food scarcity are very crucial threats to human security, and the government of Tajikistan has been strengthening cooperation with international society, including Japan, to tackle these issues. Such cooperation, according to Japanese Foreign Minister Gamba, may be called as “full cast diplomacy”¹⁰, whereby all the stakeholders must make the utmost efforts to resolve these issues.

The decrease of birthrate will not resolve the whole issue. On the other hand, family planning, and guaranteeing people the right to reproductive health, may possibly stabilize Tajikistan’s fast growing population rates and moderate environmental impact. In many countries, pregnancy and childbirth is the biggest killer of women. In Tajikistan maternal health has improved since the early 1990s. According to the UNFPA report, in 2010 maternal mortality rate (per 100.000 live birth) was 64 compare to 1995’s 170 and it goes down to 30 by 2015 (UNFPA, 2014).

The MDG 5, which targets to protect maternal mortality is another important

¹⁰ The Speech of Japanese Minister of foreign affairs Gamba was addressed at the 28th Asian Parliamentarians Meeting on population and development: Countdown to the ICPD PoA and MDGs, Tokyo, 2-3 October, 2012. Author of this study attended the meeting.

global issue. Women's contribution to the national economic development is significant. The death and disability of a mother raises death and illness rates for children, destroys families, takes children out of school and lowers household and community economic productivity. Tajikistan acknowledges the importance of women's roles in their countries' development. If more girls are educated and more women are employed, it may affect to family planning. In his speech at the UN's 55th Session of the Commission on Status of Women, the Tajikistan Ambassador to the UN, Sirojiddin Aslov, clearly pointed out the policy of the Government of Tajikistan toward the strengthening role of women in society:

Access and participation of women and girls to education, training, science and technology are among the priorities of the government policy of Tajikistan. Much has been accomplished in the field of education. In particular, the reforms are aimed at increased integration into the world education system: the pattern of financing are being changed; On the basis of the State Committee on Women and Family Affairs there has been set up a system of training of emerging leaders among women involved in the system of government management; the mandatory subject entitled "Basics of demography and gender policy" has been included into the curriculum of

higher educational establishment; there has been created and continues to operate the mechanism of “President quota” for girls from remote regions, which enables them to receive high education; the NGO’s dealing with educational issues are increasingly enhancing their activities, in particular with regard to education of women.¹¹

In many developing countries, providing full access to voluntary family planning would be far less costly in the long run than the environmental, social and economic consequences of the rapid population growth.

An important factor of improvement of the reproductive health services is to strengthen the national health systems. These systems should protect women, especially when women are ready to deliver. Without strong and responsive health systems, developing countries might continue to be disproportionately affected by changes in climate and availability of food, as well as access to the health services.

In order to implement effective health systems it is essential to the parliamentarians to get the following messages and understand them in depth, to advocate, create and enforce new laws, working with civil societies and the government.

¹¹ In his Statement at UN 55th Session of the Commission on the status of women in New York on February 28, 2011 Ambassador Sirojiddin Aslov ensured the special role of women in Tajikistan society and the government’s initiative to strengthen their role.

Tajikistan is a developing country and, unlike developed states, its taxpayers alone do not generate adequate domestic revenues for the implementation of poverty reduction plans. For this and many other reasons Tajikistan possibly depends on ODA support to supplement its budget, especially for reproductive health (RH) and family planning. This calls for greater transparency and accountability, which are powerful drivers of progress.

Lack of accountability undermines poverty reduction and hinders economic growth by discouraging investment and reducing confidence in the public institutions and systems. Needs are increasingly being met financially by Japan, although recent economic developments have limited its ODA.

Some experts agreed that donors are not naturally philanthropic givers of gifts, so they are subject to the national and international political interests that can influence decisions of governments and other institutions on programs and service support to the detriment of the local needs.

Globally, despite repeatedly calling for the establishment of an international tracking system, it has become extremely difficult to find the accurate figures on donor financing. Although donors have their own policies, governments must exhibit the political will necessary to effectively implement ODA-funded projects and reforms.

Political will is the greatest obstacle to civil society in holding the government accountable for its ODA use.

In Tajikistan, the civil society also demands government to be accountable for all its received ODA, including Japanese. Parliamentarians from Tajikistan have enormous experience on this issue by participating in various international conferences, whereby their colleagues from other countries share and exchange experience. Japan also invites parliamentarians to learn the Japanese model. To Japan it is reasonable to hold such meetings because if receiving states would be accountable to ODA funds, it could maintain the Japanese intention to continue providing ODA.

In this regard, the parliamentarians of Tajikistan, through parliamentary networking, can share good practices of ODA being instrumental in contributing to the states and so can identify the needs of it to alleviate the population issues.

In recent years, the countries have interconnected well so that any impact or any occurrence in any country will have an impact on the economy and on the living standards of other people of other countries.

The importance of the accountability of ODA has been recognized by many states. Parliamentarians of Asia, for example, suggested that all the parliaments of the recipient countries should have oversight committees on ODA to monitor and assess the

policies on this negotiation, including loan or grant. However, in some cases ODA supported initiatives do not go through parliament as indicated by the author earlier. There is a poor mechanism for accountability and monitoring. There is non-compliance with loan or grant agreements, mostly by the recipient countries, creating the problem of delays as a result.

In the case of Tajikistan, it is interesting to follow the activities of the particular NGOs or civil society organizations that are the watchdogs for human rights abuses and issues of accountability. They have to be specifically targeted so that parliament is not the only one that would provide the needed oversight and monitoring, but other organizations which are interested in these things would also have to be strengthened.

Participation in the several programs organized by the Japanese side, as well as events supported by the JTF, brought forth positive outcomes. Thus, in 2014 the National Council on Population and Development was established in Tajikistan. That is a very important step considering the implementation of the major issues of the Program Action of the International Conference on Population and Development (ICPD). The aim of the Council is to establish and enhance cooperation on the issues of population and development, especially between members of parliament, government institutions, civil society and non-governmental organizations. In addition, the Council will also

focus on the implementation of legislations in order to promote and boost issues of population and development in Tajikistan. Previously, members of parliament on social, health and other related committees were the only active actors of the population issues, and had limited time to engage in correspondence with civil society and related NGOs.

Another important demographic trend in Asia, including in Tajikistan, is urbanization. According to the UNFPA, urban population in the whole of Asia is expected to almost double from 1.8 billion in 2010 to 3.3 billion in 2050, including the soon to be four biggest cities in the world (Tokyo, Delhi, Shanghai and Mumbai), from 2020 on. Much of the future urban growth here, as in other developing regions, will be made up of poor people. An important issue for consideration is how countries in the region will go about preparing for this inevitable urban future, which presents challenges but also development opportunities.

In Tajikistan, urbanization is also a part of the social threat, whereby many people migrate to urban areas because of the unfortunate lack of income, employment opportunities and low productivity in rural areas. Sometimes they do not find jobs in the urban areas so they commit social crimes or they migrate to other countries.

International migration is also a major feature of population dynamics in Tajikistan and it is mostly driven by economic motivations and the prospect of better

living standards. As migration is becoming more and more prevalent, and having a large impact on all aspects of life, it should be incorporated as a part of national policy frameworks based on good data and evidence, and ensuring that the rights of migrants are upheld, protected and respected.

5.1.4 Japan-Tajikistan cooperation on population

Tajikistan has a fast growing population and ranks as number three in the Central Asia region regarding the size of population. In order to control its birthrate, its government adopted several programs, conducts various projects and cooperates with several organizations like JICA, UNFPA and IPPF, to which the Japanese government annually remits funds.

JICA supports several projects related to the population development in Tajikistan. One of the crucial problems of post-conflict Tajikistan was the health issue. The country, during the Soviet period, had an outstanding number of qualified doctors and nurses. Its medical university was one of the top universities in the region and its graduates were professionally working in Tajikistan, other Soviet republics and abroad.

However, after the civil war the country faced a lack of specialists and it needed time to attract newly qualified specialists. Partially, in some areas of the health

sector, the government has succeeded. Several specialists who studied and practiced medicine abroad have returned to Tajikistan and are contributing to the country's health sector. Several doctors also studied at the advanced Japanese medical schools in Japan in various specializations, including heart surgery. Thus, JICA, through its project on preventing maternal and child mortality in the years from 2007 to 2010 has trained about forty Tajikistani doctors within Tajikistan and in Japanese hospitals. The purpose of this project is to improve the maternal and health care services for newborns and infants, which would bring Tajikistan closer to achieving the MDG. As a result, Tajikistan made significant progress on reducing maternal and child mortality.

Moreover, JICA and the Ministry of Health of Tajikistan signed an additional contract for the years 2012-2016 to further strengthen maternal and child health, the total cost of the project being \$3.3 million. This new project will target the Khatlon region with the purpose to improve maternal and child health care services as a priority development issue (JICA, 2013). According to JICA, the direct beneficiaries of this project are approximately four hundred people who are mostly health workers and officials plus indirect beneficiaries: approximately one hundred and thirty thousand women of reproductive age and approximately fourteen thousand infants. Another project which aims to improve hospitals is setting up a clean energy project that targets

the electricity shortage through the Solar Electricity Generation System. In chapter two we mentioned this project's target. The cost of the project is \$4.5 million and its purpose is to set up a solar system in the hospitals of Dushanbe city, including the National Medical Center (120 kWt) and the Institute of Obstetrics, Gynecology and Perinatology (40 kWt) (JICA, 2013). The aim of the project is to reduce the generation of electricity power, by using fossil fuel and the reduction of gas emissions. This project will supply clean solar energy and may reduce electricity shortage in winter periods, when the country has a limited supply of energy for its citizens, especially in the rural areas. This project targets particular departments of the hospitals which need permanent electricity usage. The solar system project is considered as an important step towards the establishment of the complete cleaner energy system in the country's main hospitals, whereby the government will continue to set up solar systems and provide independent energy systems. The Clean Energy Project's beneficiaries are approximately seven hundred thousand people.

Despite being attractive, such projects have their own chronic problems in most of the developing countries. One of the reasons for this is the lack of relevant technologies and facilities that are limiting the performance of the doctors. Thus, according to one of the interviewees, during their education in Japan and internship in

Japanese clinics they obtain enormous experience from working with modern technologies. However back in their hometowns they have to work with old equipment. The public hospitals in Tajikistan are still facing challenges with shortages of modern technologies with most inherited from Soviet period. Qualified doctors seek better opportunities in private clinics, whereby the remaining population have limited access. Ordinary people mostly visit public hospitals because their services are cheaper due to the government's free health system policy.

The government of Tajikistan is aware of this problem and, through various projects and programs, encourages doctors to work at public rather than private hospitals.

JICA's Clean Solar System project also faces various challenges. One of the problem is batteries, which have to be changed at least once a year and each of them cost approximately \$100 per panel. As a result, neither the project's grant, nor hospitals can afford those batteries to be changed so regularly. For them, it is cheaper to receive electricity through diesel machines rather than changing batteries and accumulators once a year. As the result, the Institute of Obstetrics, Gynecology and Perinatology saves only 5% of the total energy by providing 67.8 kWt energy since the beginning of project.

In the central clinic, the system is bigger because it is targeted to supply 120 kWt energy. The situation in this clinic is better because it saves about 50% energy however, the issue of batteries and accumulators remains the same. But the project has not been completed yet.

Japanese grants and technical assistance also reach other areas of health protection. In order to decrease mortality rates of children under the age of five, JICA's technical assistance with amounts of \$1.8 million provided essential drugs (gentamicin, penicillin, paracetamol and others) and equipment that are necessary for the implementation and conduct of IMCI to the Republic Center for Integrated Management of Childhood Illness. This project was conducted from 2004 to 2008 and from 2009 to 2013 and aimed to promote early care and development of children.

Results of research have shown that this project achieved its target and the mortality rate among infants under the age of 5 has reduced with health improvement because of early care.

Most of JICA's health project is presently focused on the Khatlon region which most suffered from civil war and has numbers of damaged hospitals with poorer health service.

The Japanese health projects have successfully been conducted in Tajikistan.

Despite the major success there are some areas in which the receiving country would like to make some changes. Some of them, like expensive equipment, I already mentioned above. In addition to that, ODA receiving countries including Tajikistan are concerned about the cost of Japanese consultants and specialists who coordinate and participate in the projects, and to whom at least 10-15% of the fund/grant is dedicated. According to local experts, 10-15% of the total cost of grant or aid is a big amount for developing countries, and it would be cheaper if they paid salary to the local consultants and save money for the implementation of the projects. This is a matter of concern not only in Tajikistan but also in other grant-receiving countries. Tajikistan believes that local experts have substantial experience and knowledge to provide the same level of consultation, and the cost of their service is comparatively cheaper than those from Japan. However, according to Japanese parliamentarian Takahashi (2011), Japanese ODA comes from local tax payers and they have the right to offer services and pay salaries to Japanese consultants. Nevertheless, unlike some other grant or loan giving countries, Japan does not fully involve its own workforce to conduct projects abroad.

It is difficult to achieve sustainable development unless countries adopt relevant policies. That is why the roles of parliament and parliamentarians are very significant in terms of P&D. Parliamentarians, through different projects and meetings

could be introduced to various national and international policies related to population development in selected countries and regions. In this sense, the Japanese government through the Japanese Trust Fund (JTF), also supports parliamentarians' activities. Thus, members of Majlisi Oli (both houses), the parliament of Tajikistan, regularly participate into JTF population development projects organized by AFPPD and APDA in various Asian countries, including Japan. As a result of cooperation with APDA and AFPPD, which are JTF implemented parliamentarians' organizations, the parliament of Tajikistan has established the National Council on Population and Development which targets its activities to strengthen the population issue. It calls to cooperate with various institutions including NGOs and International Organizations to unite for population improvements.

The National Council, parliament and government of Tajikistan, in order to boost population development, works thoroughly with youths in order for them to get the correct information about reproductive health and the provision of necessary services, nutritious food and information necessary to nurture lives and live a healthy life. In addition, they focus on education and vocational training to soundly develop the youth who can contribute to society as well as to redevelop youths' mentality to help and care about each other, no matter of gender, religious and nationality.

Japan continues conducting projects for the sake of population development in Tajikistan. It also supports Tajikistan's intention to progress on population issue. Thus in October 2015 during the AFPPD General Assembly, with propose of Hon Keizo Takemi, Chair of AFPPD and Member of Parliament from Japan the Parliament of Tajikistan was elected as Chair of the Standing Committee of the AFPPD on the Investing on Youth. This responsibility may enhance the role of the Parliament and Government of Tajikistan to strengthen the process of population development in Tajikistan and in the region.

5.2 Health

In addition to the abovementioned areas, there are other projects related to health. Thus, recent and ongoing projects are as follows:

- Project for Equipment provision for Infectious Diseases Control (EPI), 2005 to 2014 (Phase I: 2005 to 2009, Phase II: 2010 to 2014) with an annual budget of \$0.4 million;
- MCI drugs: 2004 to 2013 with annual budget of \$0.2 million;
- Medical herb research expedition: 2012 to 2014;
- Two KR projects: 2009 to 2016 with budget of \$4.75 million;

- Improvement of maternal and child health care system: 2012-2016 with budget of \$3.3 million;
- Annually ninety five people are trained in Japan including health sector specialists;
- Annually five JDS (HRD scholarship) for period of 2008 to 2016 for five Tajikistan citizens to study at the Japanese institutions including medical and health institutions, and
- Clean energy by solar electricity generation system installed at the two hospitals with budget of \$4.5 million¹²

There are some on-going health projects in Tajikistan:

- i. Maternal and Child health care system project;
- ii. Equipment provision for Infectious Diseases Control (EPI) - Phase II;
- iii. Procurement of medicines on federated directing of child diseases - Phase -II;
- iv. Improving maternal and child health care system in Khatlon region;
- v. Improvement of medical equipment, water supply and drainage facilities for maternal and child health institutions; (JICA, 2013)

Despite several progresses in reducing infant mortality rates, the under-five

¹² Most of these projects target to achieve the Millennium Development Goal in Tajikistan. More information about Japanese conducted health projects in Tajikistan can be found on JICA's website.

mortality rate and maternal mortality rate still need to be improved. The MDG program is one of country's national initiatives to resolve the issues in the health care sector. The priorities are the reduction of the infant mortality rate and, maternal mortality rate as well as combating infectious diseases.

The project's purpose is to support the Expanded Program on Immunization (EPI) in Tajikistan, reduce the mortality rate among infants and children under five years old and improvement of their health.

Considering the project's activity, it has supplied BCG, DPT, oral polio, and measles vaccines from 2005 to 2008 and then Hepatitis B vaccines instead of measles from 2009 to 2014 to the Republican Center of Immunoprophylactics of Tajikistan.

There are a big number of project beneficiaries. Thus, annually more than two hundred thousand infants and children receive free vaccination against bacillus calmette guerin, diphtheria, tetanus, polio and other serious diseases. In addition, the accomplishment of the vaccination project has definitely improved health conditions and mortality rates for children under five years old. That is why JICA implemented two projects in this sphere: "Equipment provision for infectious diseases control (EPI)" and "Procurement of medicines on federated directing of child diseases" with a budget of \$1.88 million. (JICA, 2013)

Another health related project has been conducted in Khatlon region: improving maternal and child health care. The amount of technical assistance is JPY 268.361.000, providing new medical equipment and the replacement of obsolete equipment. Also, training in maternal and neonatal health care has been implemented. In addition, this project has enabled the establishment of the social awareness activity committee to disseminate the knowledge about maternal and child health care. Almost four hundred people, mostly health workers and officials, in four aimed districts are direct beneficiaries whilst approximately hundred and thirty reproductive age women and approximately fourteen thousand infants are indirect beneficiaries of the project (JICA, 2013).

The characteristics of the main projects in the field of health care are clearly stated in a letter by the Ministry of Health of Tajikistan, written to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Tajikistan in late 2013. Within this letter the Ministry clearly described the health projects conducted by Japan side, and their outcome. The projects, like alternative energy systems to supply electricity to the health institutions in the future, could encourage the country to progress to a clean energy system in the entire country. One of these projects is the aforementioned Clean Energy, by the solar electricity generation system. The ministry also clearly mentioned other health projects,

particularly reproductive health, combating maternal and infant mortality, immunization and vaccination projects.¹³

The text of this letter and its timely implemented projects verify Japanese intentions to improve the health sector in Tajikistan.

In addition to the aforementioned projects, there are several small grant projects which are related to the health sector, for example:

I. Grant aid (\$84.500) to IO “Caritas” to reconstruct sanitary rooms at five schools

in Dushanbe city;

II. Grant aid (\$85.365) to children’s surgery hospital in Dushanbe for its reconstruction;

(JICA, 2012).

5.3 Culture and Art

Culture and art belong to the social sector projects of Japan. The total expenditure of the technical assistance is relatively lower in this sector. However, for post-conflict Tajikistan, the re-development of these sectors were very vital. It was important to attract people to participate in the cultural events as well as improve traditional arts of the nation. The Japanese Embassy in Tajikistan, in its press conference

¹³ Letter of the Ministry of health of Tajikistan, written to the Ministry of foreign affairs of Tajikistan in late 2013, as a response to a letter dated April 11, 2013 for №4 / 8 - 6 (7356).

on December 6th, 2005, listed projects which related to the cultural sector and arts division. There were four relatively small projects related to the cultural sector:

- I. Grant assistance to the National choreography college of \$85.078 for reconstruction of college;
- II. Grant for the reconstruction of the republican boarding music school named after Malika Sobirova of \$84.650;
- III. Grant to purchase sport facilities and equipment for the State Olympic Committee of \$84.989;
- IV. Grant to the Union of Cinematography of Tajikistan of \$84.989 to improve equipment and facilities.¹⁴

There are also many other small grants which have been related to these sectors. Japan and Tajikistan plan to strengthen cultural relationship. Thus, during Tajik-Japanese official talk in an expanded format sides had a constructive exchange on expanding technological and cultural relations.¹⁵

There are also small-grat projects to support the cultural development. These small grant projects that on average cost \$85.000 per project, were funded by the Japanese

¹⁴ Information was retrieved from the related Ministries during author's field work on January 2014.

¹⁵ Tajik-Japanese official talks happened during official visit of Japanese Prime Minister Shinzo Abe on October 24th, 2015.

government to support cultural and social sectors.

The Japanese grant aid supported about “five projects in cultural sector with total amount of \$375.825. As for all small grant projects since 1996 Japan implemented 163 projects to support local administration, NGO and international organizations based in Tajikistan with total amount of \$9.355.273”(Personal communication, 2014).

In addition to the aforementioned grants, Japan bought and provided music instruments costing \$450.000 for the State Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet, named after Sadriddin Ayni and the same amount to the National Conservatory. For this purpose, both countries had signed in agreement on March 8, 2006 and it was verified by the Japanese government on March 30, 2006.¹⁶ Most of these instruments were hand-made and prepared individually. The process started in 2004 when Tajikistan announced the open tender for this purpose and Japan had won the right to implement it. The contract between the two countries stated that this amendment of contract, from March 31, 2006 by and between the Ministry of Culture of Tajikistan and Mitsubishi Corporation of Japan for the Improvement of Musical Instruments of the Tajik National Conservatoire made on March 8, 2006.(Ministry of Culture RT, 2006).

¹⁶ The information about cultural relationship was shared by interviewees on January 2014. Author interviewed the officials from the State Academic Theater of Opera and Ballet and the National Conservatory. See also Appendix A.

The Ministry of culture of Tajikistan forwarded this letter to JICA's office in Dushanbe for further implementation of the agreement.

Japan had timely supplied all instruments to the institutions in Tajikistan and, in his speech, the Ambassador of Japan highlighted the contribution and role of the President of Tajikistan in this process and hoped "provided instruments will be useful for the people's goodwill and improve theater activity in Tajikistan"(personal communication, January 4, 2014).

Moreover, it is important to mention that the group of Tajikistan's performers (troupe) "Zebo" and "Somon" visited Japan on August 2008 in order to introduce Tajik culture to the Japanese public. They held concerts in twenty two Japanese cities, met with officials and administration of cities and were, introduced to Japanese culture and dance performances. The Tajikistan's art and dance groups visited Japan by invitation of Japanese side. Their booklets were published in Japanese and were distributed in advance. Tajikistan not only introduced Tajik culture but also learned Japanese culture. Such activities enhanced inter-national cooperation because, according to visitors from Tajikistan, "the Japanese who we met and spoke to did not have any information about Tajikistan"(Ministry of culture, 2006). That is why the activities of cultural exchange are important to introduce one's culture to other nations.

5.4 Analysis

The Japanese population development model has been considered as the best example to follow for most of Asian states. Tajikistan, which belong to Asia also has an interest to learn more on success of the Japanese model. This volume co-relates this interest to the element of soft power, where examples of the Japanese model co-opts other states to follow it. Most of the meetings and conferences on the population issue were organized by organizations, such as the UNFPA, where the development models of several states were examined. There are many other Western states which have succeeded with this approach, however the case of Japan has been considered more relevant to Tajikistan. First of all, Japan belongs to Asia so its concept considers culture and tradition. Moreover, it had high birth rate during the post-conflict period, as does Tajikistan. Parliamentarians of Tajikistan as a result of examining these approaches decided to establish the National Council on Population and Development in 2014, aiming to enhance cooperation on the issues of population and development, especially between members of parliament, government institutions, civil society and Non-Governmental Organizations.

Japanese health projects, such as installing solar power systems at two hospitals, were examples of that relationship. It ensures Japanese interest in developing

all sectors, including health and the development of solar power systems. On the other hand, such systems incur additional expenses to the hospitals who rely on Japanese parts. There are 120 batteries each costing \$100 and all recommended to be changed annually. As a result neither grant project nor can't hospitals afford to maintain this system. For hospitals it's much cheaper to rely on diesel and other fuel to warm hospitals in the winter season.

Culture, which is an element of soft power, has been promoted by Japan but still at its initial stage in Tajikistan. In addition to many local projects supported by Japan there are also Japanese culture promotions for the people of Tajikistan. There are two ways of Japanese culture promotion in Tajikistan. First is through direct programs supported by the Japanese Government, and second is indirect impact from other state.

The direct promotion of Japanese culture and tradition in Tajikistan is via various program supported by Japanese government. One of the main institutions that promote mutual understanding, including cultural interactions is the Japan Center. There are 10 Japan Centers worldwide, three of them in Central Asia. It promotes the Japanese business model and management as well as teach language courses. There is not a Japan Center in Tajikistan. Considering the importance of culture in soft power policy and the absence of a Japan Center in Tajikistan, its outcome is also limited. The Embassy of

Japan, of course, has been organizing various cultural events in Tajikistan. With the support of the Embassy in recent years there were various cultural programs, such as the Japanese Movie Festival (2014), Budo Festival (2014, 2015), Night of Traditional Japanese Music (2015), Orator Skill of Japanese Language (2015) and others.¹⁷ However, these events are few compared to other Asian states, even compared to other Central Asian states. In other neighboring-states, like Uzbekistan and Kyrgyzstan, local citizens have an opportunity to learn the Japanese model of business and management by attending local-based Japan Centers. They have a much better understanding of Japanese tradition, including the business-creation model, providing them opportunity to join Japanese companies and entrepreneurs.

The “Cool Japan” policy, the soft power promotion outside of Japan, has minimal, if no, impact in Tajikistan. Facebook polls within Tajikistan society show that very few people know what *Manga* is. They are more aware of Korean series but not Japanese. Korean pop-singers, such as PSY are more well-known than Japanese brand-band AKB-48 or SMAP. Japanese fashion is not even recognized in Tajikistan, where the most of influence comes from Russia, Europe and U.S.

The second way of popularity of Japanese culture came to Tajikistan via third

¹⁷ For more information about traditional and cultural events organized by Embassy of Japan in Tajikistan see <http://www.tj.emb-japan.go.jp/cultureandeducation.htm> Accessed: 2015, April 10.

state, such as Russia and Europe. There is high interest to Japanese food, especially *sushi*. The number of Japanese restaurants is increasing in the capital city, Dushanbe. However, the trend for Japanese food, including *sushi*, is not a result of direct Japanese cultural program, rather a result of the influence of Russia and Europe. People in Tajikistan recognized the popularity of Japanese food in Europe and Russia, where healthy food demands have increased and adopted a similar image in Tajikistan.

There is a tendency of popularity for Japanese martial arts, such as Judo, Kendo, Sumo and others. After each festival in Tajikistan, the numbers of interested citizens have been increasing. However popularity of some of them reached Tajikistan again through third states. That's why most of the citizens consider them not as art but as sport.

As culture is an important element of soft power, Japanese cultural promotion is at its initial stage in Tajikistan even if we compare it with the cultural promotion of other East-Asian states in Tajikistan. However, recent interest in Japanese culture in Tajikistan is higher than ten years ago, meaning people in Tajikistan have a desire to learn more about Japanese culture and tradition.

Conclusion

Social issues cover a vast array of problems such as gender equality, the environment, health, migration, poverty and other issues related to human security. It is an overarching factor in the cause of many of the world's concerns that it must be comprehensively tackled by country. Needless to say, Japan has been trying to attract the world's attention on population issues from very beginning of the global campaign and their intention have been strengthened after the establishment of the JPFP. JPFP cooperates with many national committees, including with the parliament of Tajikistan, and shares its experience and learns from other countries. It has been expanding the area and scope of work and implementing various activities within and outside of Japan.

Tajikistan receives enormous experience from its cooperation with Japan on the population issue. Thus construction and reconstruction of health departments and clinics in rural areas, reproductive health, targeting MDGs, hospital facilitation and other projects are segments of health population development.

These projects benefit people in Tajikistan, particularly citizens of rural areas. Such development improves people's health, especially women's and children's. Implementing health projects has constantly improved the health condition of women of reproductive age and children below the age of five. Japanese health projects also

supported the education and training of local doctors and nurses. Some of them shifted to the private clinics but others continue working at the public hospitals. In order to achieve MDGs, the government of Tajikistan continues collaboration with JICA, UNFPA and other national and international organizations. Japanese grants are also dedicated to provide solar energy to two hospitals in Dushanbe city. Although the project still continues, positive outcome is important because it may encourage the country to shift toward the solarization of hospitals in the future. Tajikistan has a shortage of electricity in the winter period, and the development of clean energy may decrease the burden of, and reliability on the central system.

In order to fulfill all the aforementioned goals, the roles of parliamentarians are unique. In Tajikistan, legislation related to the population issues has been promoted and budget allocation for these issues will make a long term difference to sustainable development. Japan supports parliamentarians' activities of the population issue.

The outcome of such activities is that public opinion on population issues in Tajikistan have been improved. Government, parliament and NGOs in Tajikistan collaborate in order to promote population issues widely. Another achievement is the establishment of the National Council of Tajikistan on Population and Development in 2014.

Cultural art development projects have been necessary for post-conflict Tajikistan. Several institutions, with the support of Japan, have renewed their necessary instruments and art equipment. Even smaller grant supports were on time and useful. Musicians and artists improve their performance enabling the public to continue visiting cultural and art events.

Japanese culture promotion in Tajikistan comes directly from the Japanese cultural promotion program and indirectly via third party states. Japan, through JICA and its Embassy, has been organizing various cultural events and increasing the interest of the citizens of Tajikistan in its culture and tradition. However, such efforts are still considered as limited in their strengthening the impact of Japanese culture in Tajikistan.

CONCLUSION

This research aimed to examine the Japan-Tajikistan relationship and Japanese soft power development in Tajikistan. Tajikistan challenged civil war and post conflict reconstruction. In this process Japan actively participated. The pattern of Japanese participation in Tajikistan, compared to other Central Asian states, was multiple and diverse.

This study aimed and attempted to develop the concept of soft power. If Joseph Nye, who coined the concept, focused on the US policy, this study examined the soft power concept in case of Japan foreign policy. In addition, it contributed to the knowledge of soft power policy in post-Soviet state.

Hard power, which is the use of various economic and military strength of one state against other, was not relevant for Japan-Tajikistan relationship. Japan, after the World War II, was banned to use its military capability outside of country. It has very limited economic and investment projects in Tajikistan, which questions its influence over country's choice. Unlike English which has been accepted as international language the Japanese language has not such power. However, in many Asian countries, including Tajikistan the tendency to learn Japanese has been growing. The tendency is the same toward Japanese culture and tradition. In Tajikistan pro-Japanese attitude is

high when compared to limited trade and investment involvement. Such development made this study to consider the soft power concept.

Robert Nye, who coined the soft power concept, defined it as use of culture, political values, and foreign policies to attract or influence, rather than coerce or induce, the behavior of others. Nye's concept dedicated to US and its cultural popularity abroad. This study further explored the concept as ability to persuade and to use power of ideas. With growing use of soft power policy by several countries, it is important to create enticing ideas. Thus, with seductive ideas and ability to persuade it is possible to attract the choice of other states.

Second, this study pursued to define the Japanese soft power policy. Thus, the soft power policy is part of Japanese foreign policy. Japanese soft power policy has been practiced through cultural diplomacy for several years. In fact, Japan has been able to use its soft-power assets by increasing economic, educational, and cultural interactions with other countries. It has been working effectively in some Asian states, particularly with ASEAN states. Japanese culture through projects such as "Cool Japan" has been promoted in most of the Asian states. In Central Asia, on the other hand, these programs have comparatively limited impact. However, Japan maintains its presence in the region through political, economic and social programs. The official visit of Prime

Minister Shinzo Abe to each of Central Asian states in October 2015 and signing the multibillion contracts are the best example of intention to boost cooperation with region. One of the main reasons of such activity is growing impact of China - the main rival of Japan in Asian and Pacific region. Other reason is an alternative source of energy for its market and economy. Japan considers Asian-Pacific as a priority region for its foreign policy.

Third, this study aimed to examine the Japanese soft power policy in Tajikistan. Japan uses various tools to implement the soft power policy in Central Asia region, including Tajikistan. In political level it established “Central Asia + Japan” dialogue, which aims to explore the existing potential of multilateral cooperation between Japan and the region. Reasons for establishing “dialogue” could be seen in the changes of geopolitical realities of the early 2000s, including fight against terrorism, reconstruction of Afghanistan and alternative source for energy. An equally important factor is an establishment of Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in June 2001. The emergence of this new center of power has highlighted the need to strengthen the Japanese position in the region. For Central Asians this Dialogue is an opportunity to receive political and economic support from Japan to diversify their market, strengthen regional and bi-lateral cooperation and attraction of Japanese investment.

In the social level, Japan implements soft power through various programs. One of them is JICA supported projects called “Japan Center”, which operates in the nine countries, including three in Central Asia. The main purposes of its activities are to promote Japanese language, culture and tradition. Japan has not yet opened its “center” in Tajikistan however, other institutions, such as Embassy and JICA are very active in this sphere.

In Tajikistan, pro-Japanese attitude of public is high when compared to modest Japanese involvement and ODA. Japanese assistance to agriculture, transport and communication, water and energy sectors has been considered auspicious. Japanese development projects in Tajikistan have bi-valued intentions. First, it reinforces the country’s post-conflict development and secondly, the development of Tajikistan could strengthen the reconstruction of Afghanistan. Most of Japanese development projects in Tajikistan have been conducted in the bordering areas with Afghanistan, such as Khatlon and Gorno-Badakhshan regions. These projects considered as grants and technical assistance. If in the early years of independence these grants were considered timely and predominant, in the recent years Tajikistan has been calling for real investment. The *tables 5 & 6* show that Japanese grants and technical assistance to Tajikistan is one of the highest among the region, however it’s modest in sense of real

investment. Tajikistan's investment attraction policy are giving results. Many international giant companies, such as Gazprom, Total, ZTE, Tethys Petroleum are among the investors. However Japanese companies are not rushing to invest in Tajikistan, which could negatively affect its soft power policy in Tajikistan.

In Tajikistan the tendency of attractiveness toward Japan is growing. The reasons could be the regional commonality, which is part of strategy of government of Japan. In addition, a friendly attitude, healthy food, high technology and innovation progress, economy and business capacity, sport and art are elements of Japanese soft power in Tajikistan.

Tajikistan has been interested to learn the post-war recovery and maintaining peaceful society of Japan, as well as model of its social development, including the population progress. That is why this study focused on two case studies where Japanese soft power policies were examined.

The role of Japan to maintain a peaceful society in Tajikistan was important. In 1999 Japan proposed holding a meeting in Tokyo for all disputing parties of Tajikistan with the participation of international agencies and experts. It is important to stress that the main purposes of accepting Japanese proposal was its objectivity and neutrality in the inter-Tajik conflict. Unlike major superpowers and regional powers,

Japan did not support any conflicting side. It rather called for peaceful negotiation and continued supporting the development and transition process of Tajikistan. This was a main factor for government of Tajikistan to consider not other states but Japan to hold this meeting. Japanese neutrality, in this case, considered as an element of soft power, influencing the government's decision to meet in Japan.

The meeting brought positive outcome to the country's peace enhancement. Participants were introduced with post-conflict development of other states. Tajikistan peacefully held parliamentary election in 2000 with participation of all conflicting parties.

This study examined Japanese population development experience and its impact. Japan is the first non-Western state achieving population development. For many South East Asian states the Japanese model of demographic dividend and population issue had become an ideal model of implementing population policies. For Tajikistan which faces high population growth the issue of population development is also an agenda. Japan proposes its model to the regional states, which also characterizes its ODA policies.

This study examined the progress of Tajikistan on population and health sectors, where the segment of Japanese model has been detected. Members of Parliament from

Tajikistan participated in the various related projects, study visits, learning the theoretical basis of Japanese model. As an outcome of these activities in 2014 Parliament of Tajikistan voted for the establishment of the National Council on Population and Development, which aims to strengthen population issue.

Human capital development is another example of Japanese soft power policy in Tajikistan. Japanese achievement in areas of nano-technology, IT, agriculture and medicine makes it to attract foreign students to study in Japan. If in early years most of the Tajikistani students had studied in Japan only with support of JICA or MEXT, and self-funded students were choosing the European and American universities, recently this tendency has been changing. Self-funded students from Tajikistan are also considering Asian universities, including Japanese.

As youth's subject priorities are reorienting from humanitarian to technical studies, it also affects their choice of education. Japan, on the other side, benefits from such tendency. From one side, it may employ the best students, on the other hand those who return back home may bring Japanese model of management, entrepreneurship as well as tradition and culture in their home-state.

This study debated with some of criticism on Japan's "passiveness" in foreign policy. Japanese policy of non-intervention in domestic affairs of any country as well as

staying neutral in conflicting process of countries is an advantage to its soft power policy. Also, Japanese passiveness in the region of Central Asia, including Tajikistan where high concentration of other actors, such as US, Russia, EU and China is an agenda could be an asset. Too much activity and concentration in the region may alarm Central Asian governments and could distance themselves from Japan. Joseph Nye's statement that Japan's "serious demographic challenge" negatively affects its soft power policy is debatable. This study defined that many countries in Asia, including Tajikistan are interested to learn Japanese model of demographic policy, both its success and failure. Therefore, soft-power potential of Japan is clearly demonstrated by little input in "physical" "material" resources but rather a model of development for the society that Tajikistan would like to learn from.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A: List of Interviewees

Name of interviewee	Position	Relationship to topic	Date of interview
Prof. Ibragim Usmonov	Former Chair of political committee of CNR;	Participated in Tokyo and Hokkaido seminars on democracy and good governance	4 January 2014
Mr. Dilovar Hamroev	Head of foreign affairs department, Dushanbe municipality	Participated in 2003 JICA arranged project in Japan	7 January 2014
Mr. Imomov	Former opposition party member	Participated in 1999 Tokyo and Hokkaido seminars on democracy and good governance	7 January 2014
Ms. Azizova	Rector of National Conservatory of Tajikistan	Briefed about Japanese contribution to the National Conservatory	8 January 2014
Mr. Olim Saliev	Deputy Director of Opera and Ballet Theater	Briefed about Japanese contribution to the theater	8 January 2014
Mr. Kazuya Sueta	Head of JICA Representative Office in Tajikistan	Briefed about JICA projects and achievements in Tajikistan	8 January 2014
Mr. A	Officer of Ministry (Tajikistan)	Provided an overview about youth activities, including education in Japan	6 January 2014
Mr. B	Officer of Administration of the President of Tajikistan	Briefed his vision on Japan-Tajikistan relationship progress	6 January 2014
Mr.C	Officer of Center of Strategic Research, Tajikistan	Political expert on Tajikistan's foreign policy	6 January 2014
Mr.D	Officer of Parliament of Tajikistan	Participated in JICA arranged project in Japan	7 January 2014
Mr.E	Officer of Dushanbe municipality	Participated in 2004 JICA arranged project	7 January 2014

Mr. F	Farmer from Abdurahmoni Jomi rayon, Khatlon region	Was assigned to cooperate with Japanese volunteers in late 1980s	18 March 2014
Mr. H	Member of Parliament (Japan)	Attended Tokyo Seminar on democracy and good governance for Tajikistan.	18 November 2014
Mr. I	Member of Parliament (Tajikistan)	Briefed about the population policies in Tajikistan	20 November 2014
Ms.J	Officer of UNFPA	Briefed and shared about the recent population progress of Tajikistan	25 November 2014

Appendix B: Questions of Interview:

How can you characterize Tajikistan-Japan relationship?

How much are you aware of Japanese culture and tradition?

How does Japanese cultural program attract local citizens?

What did you learn from visiting Japan?

What challenges did you have from adapting Japanese model in your country?

How effective is a Japanese development model in Tajik society?

What is the Japanese role in peace enhancement in Tajikistan?

How useful was Tokyo meetings in 1999?

What lessons were learned out of this Meeting?

Does Tajikistan need to concern about population issue?

Why Japanese population issue considered to be learned?

Each interviewee belongs to the specific areas of Japan-Tajikistan relationship. That is why questions were related to each related person. Overall the result of interview shows the positive attitude toward Japan and its culture. Tajik side welcomes Japanese activity in Tajikistan and calls for deepening relationship. People's interest on learning Japanese language and culture are increasing. Author ensures that if number of interviewee was more its result would not be radically changed.