



Tajikistan and Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia & Eurasia

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Tajikistan and Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia GCRF COMPASS Conference 2019 Conference Proceedings

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Preface

The National Development Strategy (NDS) of the Republic of Tajikistan up to the period of 2030 is based on three pillars for future development. (1) prevention diplomacy in reducing vulnerability, (2) industrialisation (effective use of national resources) and (3) innovativeness in activity. However, the underlying premise for the above doubtlessly rests with **Cultural Diplomacy**, to draw on national capacity and traditions in shaping the future of international relations and diplomacy of the region and beyond.

What is the role of Cultural Diplomacy in all diversity of its forms in the country and beyond? Where are the cognitive points of meeting of that diversification? If political hierarchy of the past as the rigid order of subordination, namely, that of "developing" states dominated by the "developed", is gradually facing the past, what is the role of Cultural Diplomacy in creation of the new balance in the region and wider, in Eurasia? What is the ethics of Cultural Diplomacy of the New Silk Road with its 'one economy, one belt', as a new statement?

Cultural Diplomacy in Tajikistan, in Central Asia and the Caucasus as well as Eurasia, was a theme of the GCRF COMPASS conference, organised by the Tajik National University, in cooperation with the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan; the Ministry of Education and Science; the Ministry of Industry and New Technologies; and the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan. The conference was supported by the participation of the COMPASS consortium including the University of Kent (UK) as the principal investigator, in partnership with University of Cambridge (UK), ADA University (Azerbaijan), Belarusian State University (Belarus) and the University of World Economy and Diplomacy (Uzbekistan). During the two-day conference a wide range of speakers discussed current opportunities and challenges for Tajikistan in the areas of cultural diplomacy, regional security, and sustainable development. Many of the discussions were focused around the Tajik government's NDS 2030 as a key document highlighting the country's priorities for the upcoming decade. These **Conference Proceedings** include papers presented at the conference and are solely the work of the authors. The papers are work in progress, and presented in an alphabetical order.

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The GCRF COMPASS project (ES/P010849/1, 2017-21) is an ambitious UK government capacity-building funding initiative, aiming to extend UK research globally, to address the challenges of growth and sustainability in the developing countries. Notably, the COMPASS project led by the University of Kent, together with the University of Cambridge as its partner, seeks to establish 'the hubs of excellence' at the top-level HEIs in Belarus, Azerbaijan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, to enable them to become the centres of knowledge sharing and transfer for *research integration*, *impact governance*, and *sustainable communities*.

INTRODUCTION – MUNIRA SHAHIDI¹ – Tajikistan's model for Cultural Diplomacy: Original and practical measures

Introduction

Cultural Diplomacy (CD), as an object for study and building a new theory of intercultural communications for global peace, is gradually coming into the center of interests of the academic/educational communities g/locally. Although at the very start of Independence, Tajikistan found itself in the chaos of the civil war (1992-1997), principal paradigms of peaceful coexistence with the neighbourhood and beyond, as a mainstream of the national/soviet policy of the last decades of XX century, has been mastered by the president Emomali Rahmon to put an end for the destructive war in the region, as a whole. Peace as a target of CD and an instrument to build a new type of global community, including renewing natural energy supplying, water supplying and artistic capacity to transform original, organic ideas of poetic of humanisation of communities, as a core of Tajik-Persian literature, however, still marginalised from the common process of the new theory of CD g/locally. That gap in the system of knowledge, as a whole, holds back development of intercultural communication of our own time. Thus, the next workshop of GCRF COMPASS in Dushanbe under the title: 'Tajikistan and Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia' (Dushanbe, 16-17th September 2019), considering new technological era and a challenge for digitalization of the common cultural heritage of Central Asia, made a crucial contribution to bridge that gap.

Taking momentum, I want to extend my gratitude to Principal Investigator of GCRF COMPASS, Prof Elena Korosteleva (University of Kent) and the main partner of the project, Dr Siddharth Saxena (head of the Central Asian Forum of Cambridge University). I am thankful to Dr Artisom Nazaranka (Belarusian State University), Sabina Taghieva (ADA University), Dr Sevara Pulatova (Tashkent University of World Economy and Diplomacy), Dr Jamshed Vazirov (Vice-President of the Association of Renewable Energy in Tajikistan), Peter Fernandes Cardy (Departement for International Development, UK), Dr Troy Sternberg (University of Oxford), Dr Karolina Kluczewska (Tomsk State University/TNU), Dr Nargis Nurullakhodjaeva (MSU/TNU), as well as the leading professors, students, magistrates and doctorates of Tajik National University.

Aims of the conference

The conference has been aimed to discuss National Development Strategy up to 2030, recognizing natural and human potential of Tajikistan within the on-going process of building a new theory of CD globally. A starting point was to discuss important changes, undertaken by the EU policy toward CA, started by E. Korosteleva and F. Bossuyt, critically observed these changes.² Though critical spearheading has been directed toward contradictions in the new EU strategy, conclusion, given by the authors leading to 'a real partnership with local communities', to my mind, frames NDS by social studies, rather, then opens equal partnership within the building of research collaboration, in our case, in building a new theory of cultural diplomacy.

For me, as a person with 40+ years' experience in comparative literature/cultural studies, the global challenge is shifting from out-dated institutions of the strongly hierarchical national state diplomacy

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² Korosteleva, E. and F. Bossuyt (2019). 'The EU and Central Asia: New Opportunities or 'the same old song'?' published on 18 June 2019 at https://www.dahrendorf-forum.eu/the-eu-and-central-asia-new-opportunities

into intercultural diplomacy of building the common space in between 'own' and 'other'. The reason of that challenge is the world 'tradition' of the world, based mainly on power-sharing and militarisation of the minds, established by the two world wars of the last century. Though resilience and resistance toward 'cold war' formed a new anti-military, anti-Europocentric and antiracist movement of Eurasia, common paradigms, highlighted by Tajik academics in collaboration with a number of Asian and European academic schools after the WW2 are totally marginalized from university programs globally. That new aspiration has been formed due to opening the doors of the Russian, Ukrainian, Uzbek and other universities to all diversity of countries of Soviet Union, integrating into Eurasian space via collaborative research. In Tajikistan that crucial change has been marked by opening Tajik National University in 1947, followed by opening Academy of Science of Tajikistan in April, 1951. Cultural security via integration into the wider world was the mainstream of both TNU and AS of RT.

How is that inner dynamic realizing itself now, within the new National Development Strategy (NDS). How communal mind for peace as the core of cultural diplomacy has been encouraged by the President of the country Emomaly Rahmon and visa-versa? How academic diplomacy is impacting building a new CD in the region and beyond? Although some responds for these questions were voiced during the Dushanbe meeting, most of the basic, fundamental aspects remained untouched. The most important achievement of the conference, however, is creation a common platform for 6 universities, involved into the Project of GCRF COMPASS. It opened a new period of building a mutual space of cognitive interconnection between Azerbaijan, Belarus, Tajikistan, Uzbekistan and EU/UK.

Cultural Diplomacy: Imagination and Measuring

Interest of outsiders for CA as a landlock, with the high mountains and vast, greenly values, inhabited by open-minded, hospitable people has been observed and analysed in numerous books, written in different periods of history. Extensive literature, responding for that interest and written mostly in Tajik-Persian literature, however, still has not evaluated globally. Though Tajikistan is the first in CA, presenting National Development Strategy in Brussels, has been highlighted by Ambassador of EU in Central Asia, Mr Peter Burian, that initiation of the country, testifying its openness for dialogue and the further contribution for the newly forming CD globally.3 Tajik-Persian classical literature is a mosaic of imagined picture of discussions and discourses between representatives of diversity of cultures: Greece, Arab countries, Iran, India, China, Turkey and other ethno-national units. However, during colonial times it has been replaced by strongly hierarchical communications of the 'crowned' nations with the 'ordinary' ones. Although after WW2 intellectual solidarity of Eurasia re-evaluated that picture in its generating values, most findings of academic researches, published in Cyrillic, are not available neither for relatively closed cultures, such as Iran and Afghanistan, no for more distant European cultures, despite of the long-lasting European translating schools from Persian. That makes CD even more important for the young researchers, striving to understand and introduce CA in the region and beyond.

Since independence, therefore, Tajikistan undertakes serious political and practical measures to develop principal paradigms of national and regional CD. But it requires serious resources to practically realize historically proven capacity of surviving due to inherited tradition within the new reality. However, no investors will put any budget into what is an unknown income in future. Moreover, intercultural communications depend on the capacity of established statehoods to engage with the

³ Peter Burian. Tajikistan and Cultural diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia. Dushanbe, 16/09/2019; UNIQUE ID:190917_1

new cultural policies of the newly coming nations globally. Synchronically it makes state responsible to solve local problems, counting requirement to do it in a more harmonic way. Obviously that responsibility is more moral, than economic. The presence of a number of different international institutions in Tajikistan shows to them the relevance of understanding local processes of self-organisation. Personal contacts, widening mutual professional capacity to adopt the fast-changing process globally, are, to my mind, even more important, than inter-state negotiations. But, still, what is going on in building the new theory of CD at TNU?

Introducing the new theory of cultural diplomacy at TNU

One of the 'first swallows' in nowadays teaching on CD at TNU is a school book titled 'Cultural diplomacy', published recently by Dr. Farrukh Salimov, the Head of the Chair for external affairs. ⁴ The book observes and analyses development of intercultural contacts after the WW2 in the USSR, as well as existing models of CD in nowadays Russia, China, Japan, UK etc. Salimov discusses the present institutional methods of introducing one's 'own' culture in the 'other' countries. I'd like to develop that statement further, by asking a) what are the main and generating findings of the national academic school in Tajikistan after the WW2 and why they attracted other research schools in Russia, East Europe and further toward West and East during the complicated period of the 'cold war'?; b) what are the basic challenges of the globalising world for CD now and how should Tajikistan and Central Asia as a whole, respond to them?; c) how to harmonise g/local challenges for building 'sulh-i kull' - global peace?

A number of these aspects were discussed at the Dushanbe conference. Provided, however, within the community of enthusiastic researchers, business representatives and actors of cultural integration, it was met by a rather 'expected' policy of decision-making. Generally talking, however, there were some constructive outcomes, which were considered as a start for further inter-university cooperation. Some of these new ideas appeared after the conference, and could be summarised as follows:

- 1.Crucial changes in the policy of EU opened new perspectives for young researchers. However, there is still no a critical approach to what has been done by the previous generations of researches as resilience for dogmatisation of communications.
- 2. Underlining meaning and contributions of NGO sector. Although Tajikistan is ahead in that recognition in Central Asia. It was verified by Tajikistan's Presidential decree in 1996 (establishment of Social Council under Presidential institution) and by declaring 'open doors' policy in 2004. As a results Tajikistan signed out number of important policy agreements with EU since 2010. But significance and worth of all these important initiatives are not impowered by the new theory of globalisation of the national academic policy.
- 3. To create new sense of originally modern concepts through rethinking dialogical and discursive character of Tajik-Persian poetics in postmodern times. For instance, renewing the symbolic meaning of "water cycle", might bring new ideas in nowadays cultural diplomacy. Developing an idea of renewing discursive mosaic of literary thought in nowadays reality will help for building the common space of CD, opening perspectives of mastering historical experience of the silk road within the New Silk Road project in our own days.

⁴ Salimov, F. N. (2019). *Cultural Diplomacy* [Культурная дипломатия]. Dushanbe.

4. Encouraging young researchers to be involved in inter-university communication in Tajikistan and wider, in Eurasia, which is a morally and economically proven way of development.

The institutional hierarchy of the USSR has been reeled after the dissolution of this common system of knowledge in 1/6 part of the world. Paradoxically, the civil war of 1992-1997 in Tajikistan, along with colossal economic disaster, opened up the 'hidden' resilience for open communications globally. Communication with a diversity of institutions such as the UN, EU, SCO, OSCE and other international organisations in the country and beyond, however, were based on personal contacts, rather than institutional ones. That specific feature in peace-building g/locally has been advanced by the President of Tajikistan, Mr Emomali Rahmon. The first Presidential initiative for sustainable community appeared in legalisation of NGOs as the partner of governmental structures. The Pubic Council, established in 1996, consisted mostly of NGOs as self-organised, self-governing communities. This initiative, opening national perspectives for 'face-to-face' international activity has been followed by the decree of 'open doors' in 2004 with the further development of the legal communication in the region and beyond.

Activities of the Z. Shahidi International Foundation

The Z. Shahidi International Foundation (1992), based on the Z.Shahidi Republican Museum of Musical culture (1987) and targeted for peace-building activity, has been organised by the actors of science and culture and followed by signing the Peace Agreement in 1997. In 2001 the Foundation initiated publication of the journal 'Fonus', as a common platform to form a new research community in the region and beyond, financed by the Swiss Agency for Culture and Development. Presentation of the journal has started in 2001 in Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan. In 2004-2005, when I received a scholarship from the Maison des Sciences de L'Homme, in Paris, activity of our national/regional community has been expanded toward France, Sweden, Germany, and the UK, on the one hand, and Iran, Afghanistan, India and China, on the other. As a researcher of comparative Tajik-Persian and English literatures, I was invited by Dr Siddharth Saxena to visit the Central Asia Forum at Cambridge University in 2011. Between 2014-2016, a project on the 'Music (opera) of the New Silk Road, dedicated to centenary of composer Z.Shahidi' was financed by UNESCO. That progject brought together experts on music and dance from countries of Central Asia, Russia, the EU, Iran, Afghanistan and the USA. Sharing ideas on solutions of the problem of modern/contemporary music and the necessity of introducing Tajik music in its inner dynamic from the mono-magam tradition into new symphony forms, raised a lively discussion, opening new aspects of cooperation.⁵ But, again, government officials, who previously declared their willingness to participate, disappeared. Yet, the event brought together hundreds of young people of different national cultures at the Opera House for the Gala concert, with performances of popular Tajik songs by Gergian singer Beriashvili, and the dance of Komde from the opera 'Komde va Madan' of Z. Shahidi by American dancer of Indian origin, Tara Pandera.

⁵ Marina Drojina. Ziedullo Shahidi i formirovanie tadjikskoi kompozitorskoi shkolu // I posvyatili sebq muzyke: kollektivnaq monografiya / M.Drojjina, L.Djumanova, S.Davlatova, T.Lubomirskayia - Moscva: Kompozitor, 2018 Pp. 3-39 (Ziyadullo Shahidi and Tajik Composer Shool //... and devoted themselves to Music: Collective monografy/ M. Drojjina L.Djumanova, S.Davlatova, T.Lubomirskayia: Moscow: Composer, 2018, Pp.3–39). Explaining the value of that transition of the minds from traditional self-expression into modern harmony of sounds, initiated by Z.Shahidi, en expert from Novosibirsk conservatoria expresses her concern about backwardness of that tendency in nowadays Tajikistan.

Contributions of the TNU workshop to the new theory of CD

The lack of the new theory of CD g/locally and outdated hierarchical vision of arts, however, keep the 'traditional' gap between actors and governmental officials in promoting intercultural communication in place. This gap is therefore holding back creativity g/locally. One example where this gap was closed a little, was the training seminars of the GCRF COMPASS project at the EU Parliament in Brussels, in January 2019. The seminars were followed by discussions at the British Parliament and the Foreign and Commonwealth Office in London, making a significant contribution to understand the changing policy of EU/UK regarding Central Asia, including Tajikistan. This training has been widely discussed by both TNU press, as well as academic council of the university.⁶

The Dushanbe conference organised in September 2019 can be considered as a visible development of the discussions of the local principal paradigms of CD g/locally. The plenary session, opened by the Deputy Rector of TNU, Dr. Khayrullo Gafarov, started by outlining the significance of peace-building as a core of CD in light of the celebration of the 30th anniversary of Independent Tajikistan. The further facilitation of that statement has been developed by the participants of the two-days workshop.

Through both formal and informal discussions of contemporary measures of still more imagined, then acting CD g/locally, gave a significant push for building new period of communication at least between 6 universities, involved into the project with the further impact on government and sustainable community g/locally. The seminar especially valuable in giving new ideas for development of official policy in nowadays CD in Central Asia. Although Internet communication has increased the informal character of cross-cultural communication, the personal professional contacts are still more effective for interstate projected development to promote creation of CD in the region and beyond. These speculations were raised in the presentation of Dr Sevara Pulatova (UWED). Comparing intercultural communications with the ever-green tree, Dr Pulatova outlined the necessity of systematic watering of that tree. What was that watering in the near past of Central Asia? Why were they not developed by the current generation of young researchers? Why are many cultural outputs not available any more in the region and beyond, such as mutual intercultural productions of theatre staging, movie production, festivals of folk and modern/contemporary music, translations and discussions of outstanding national and international findings in novels, or bilingual literature ('shiru-shakar' as billingual Tajik/Uzbek poetry) of neighbouring countries, such as Tajikistan and Uzbekistan?

Independent Tajikistan is gaining momentum to re-evaluate its historically formed original model of Cultural Diplomacy within the new period of the globalizing world. The country welcomes concert troops or even spectacles from China, Russia, the UK, Arab countries, Italy, France, Germany etc. However, there are no comparative studies of these cultures within the changing scope of the world. Such studies were, however, the mainstream of humanities studies in Tajikistan in the near past, and could be developed now through research integration of partner universities of GCRF COMPASS. Although the findings of the Tajik academic school in comparative studies of the 1950s-1980s highlighted principal paradigms of intercultural communications, thereby crucially impacting the formation of civil society at that time, this built-up capacity became at risk during the transition period, due to solely economic direction taken by the official policies of the region, as a whole.

⁶ Shahidi, M., Ibid, Dushanbe, University Press, February, 2019

In the Presidential address of 2017 to the Parliament of the country, the first and the most important communal task has been outlined as reducing vulnerability of the Tajik state. But vulnerability is a global problem. Mirroring localisation of universal values as a 'national' property of super-powers, it brings constantly appearing destructive tendencies of the communities, and subsequently, constructive ones. Thus, Prof Elena Korosteleva's proposal for re-imagining 'the local' and 'the person' within the challenges of the new times, is opening perspectives for the further discussions of the current state of the world, as a whole. Sharing these ideas, first in the Dushanbe conference of 2016 and later in Bukhara in 2019, Dr Siddharth Saxena offered more concrete ideas for the science and technology policy for sustainable development in Central Asia. Dr Artsiom Nazaranka raised the problem of insufficient research resources at the Belarusian State University for the development of studies on CD and Tajikistan. And this could be said, also, about TNU. Despite of the presence of the special studies of Belarus at TNU, discussions regarding the internal changes in independent Belarus within the Minsk Dialogue for peace and dialogue, are not presented and discussed among the students. These and other ideas made the Dushanbe conference another valuable step in the process of actualisation of the GCRF COMPASS g/locally.

Conclusion

Tajikistan still is in the process of re-searching its historically formed principal paradigms in the new forms to build the theory of CD. Within the broader understanding of cultural diversity and national capacity for its harmonization in the new technological era, a new theory of CD will engage and empower young researchers, oriented for a carrier as diplomats in a complicated and interconnected globe. This theory will provide peaceful inter-community activity in the wider Central Asia, including Afghanistan. Principal paradigms of intercultural communication of Tajikistan and Afghanistan were discussed in the 'Fonus' journal in 2007 via the prism of the Universal Declaration of UNESCO about cultural diversity. One of the common aspirations was to clarify the problems of Afghanistan, according to Tajik researchers in Afghan studies: Rahmatullo Abdulla, Kosimsho Iskandarov, Namoz Hotamov, Amriyazdom Alimardonov, which are insufficiency addressed in education and in the state Constitution.⁹

By opening the discussion on the creation and development of CD g/locally, the Dushanbe conference has strengthened the contacts between the UK, Azerbaijani, Belarusian, Uzbek and Tajik universities. This Conference Proceedings is a collective work which reflects this cooperation, and will be followed by others.

Professor Munira Shahidi, TNU, National team-leader group of GCRF COMPASS

⁷ Professor Elena Korosteleva (University of Kent). Reimagining 'the local' and 'the person' and why it matters for the new era of diplomacy?. Tajikistan and Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia. Dushanbe, 16-17 September, 2019

⁸ Dr. Sidharth Saxena (University of Cambridge) Science and Technology Policy for Sustainable Development in Central Asian Region. Tajikistan and Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia. Dushanbe, 16-17 September. 2019

⁹ Shahidi, Munira. UNESCO Declaration on Cultural Diversity: Discourses before and after Publication in the j. 'Fonus' N7, 2005. In: Intercultural Dialogue and Cultural Diversity. Almaty, 2007, pp. 262-264

JAKUB CSABAY¹ – Institutional dynamics of state-minority relations

Introduction

The post-1989 era saw a massive rise in the number of states being formed. State entities of various size and contextual settings, ranging from the Soviet Union through Yugoslavia to Czechoslovakia, dissolved and new borders were drawn for numerous nation-states. These states were undergoing a large-scale institutional transformation of the political and economic system as well as society, which coincided with integration into various international frameworks. The successor nation-states, which inherited diverse populations, turned the minority populations from before the end of the Cold War, into majority populations after independence. In addition, these states experienced a significant institutional discontinuity, and needed to re-define the role of various minorities within their national projects and institutional frameworks. In this regard, the relation between state and minority is intrinsically of an institutional character as it shapes the social, political and economic life of these communities. Understanding of such dynamics is, therefore, naturally important for the state and/or international organisations.

The aim then is to investigate the institutional frameworks of state-minority relations in the broader post-Soviet space, using the case studies of Slovakia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan, which constitute diverse states that are sharing certain contextual features, comprising among others historical legacies and multi-ethnic composition. To achieve this, the study will bring together approaches from different disciplines, and apply institutionalist frameworks to trace institutional emergence.

This paper provides an overview of my PhD research on these Institutional Dynamics of State-Minority relations It makes an argument for an institutionalist approach as a comprehensive way to study ethnic minorities, and the role the state and its institutions play vis a vis ethnic minority in this regard.

Concepts and Terminology

There is no clear universal definition of what a minority group means, both in legal and non-legal terms. According to UN High Commissioner for Human Rights, it constitutes a "non-dominant group" that is "based on national or ethnic, religious and linguistic identity", categorisation of whom includes both "objective factors (such as the existence of a shared ethnicity, language or religion)" as well as "subjective" ones, notably self-identification.² Further variations developed across time and space, ranging for example from distinction between Russians and 'inorodci' ("инородци", 'foreigners') - based largely on linguistic and religious lines in the Russian Empire³ to an almost scientific approach to such categorization in the Soviet Union – creating ethno-federal structure of governance based on

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² OHCHR (2010) *Minority Rights: International Standards and Guidance for Implementation*, Geneva and New York: United Nations.

³ Slocum, J.W. (1998) *Who, and When, Were the Inorodtsy? The Evolution of the Category of "Aliens" in Imperial Russia*, The Russian Review, Vol. 57, No. 2 (Apr., 1998), pp. 173-190.

different criteria, and deciding which groups are titular nations and which non-titular nationalities.^{4 5 6} This shows that in different times, various criteria prevailed, which naturally shaped both objective and subjective categorization as well as self-categorization of minorities, and thus also shaped the state-minority relations. One of the aims of this study is to gain understanding of how these criteria for categorisation are decided across the diverse case studies.

The second conceptual issue concerns the definition of institutions, largely due to different approaches taken by different disciplines, more specifically political science, economics, and sociology. The economist Douglas North famously defined institutions as "the humanly devised constraints that structure political, economic and social interaction" which "consist of both informal constraints... and formal rules. In response to North, Hodgson emphasizes the difference with "organizations", meaning institutional structures. In terms of disciplinary divide, economics focuses on market and its functioning and interactions, sociology on society and interactions, whereas political science concentrates on state and decision-making. Based on this, Blondel shows that: economics focuses on "rules and procedures", political science on "organisations", and sociology on both "organisations and procedures". As the focus of this study is on the institutional understanding or institutional dynamics of state-minority relations, its approach must be inclusive and cross-disciplinary.

Analytical Framework and Research Questions

There are several approaches in the academic literature that study minorities across different disciplines, including psychology, sociology¹², and economics¹³, as well as political science and law¹⁴. While many of them stress the importance of institutions and the need to study their role, the role of the state and institutions is acknowledged without further elaboration. Therefore, I combine Berry's model of acculturation strategies¹⁵ with multiple institutionalist traditions, where the latter are to account for the missing role of the state and institutions.

Firstly, one of the dominant analytical frameworks in the literature focusing on minorities is Berry's four-fold acculturation model (see figure 1). It comes from the field of psychology, and its origin is related to the study of immigrant populations.¹⁶ The framework outlines strategies adopted by the

⁴ Hirsch, F. (2005) *Empire of Nations: Ethnographic Knowledge and the Making of the Soviet Union*, Ithaca: Cornell University Press.

⁵ Slezkine, Y. (1994) *The USSR as a Communal Apartment, or How a Socialist State Promoted Ethnic Particularism*, Slavic Review, Vol. 53, No. 2 (Summer, 1994), pp. 414-452.

⁶ Suny, R.G. and Martin, T. (2001) *A State of Nations: Empire and Nation-Making in the Age of Lenin and Stalin*, Oxford: Oxford University Press.

⁷ Blondel, J. (2008) *About Institutions, Mainly, but not Exclusively, Political,* in Binder, S. et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, New York: Oxford University Press.

⁸ North, D. (1990) *Institutions*, The Journal of Economic Perspectives, Vol. 5, No. 1 (Winter, 1991), pp. 97-112.

⁹ Hodgson, G.M. (2006) What are institutions?, Journal of Economic Issues, Vol 40, Issue 1, pp. 1-25.

¹⁰ Blondel (2008)

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² Berry, J. (2005) *Acculturation: Living successfully in two cultures*, International Journal of Intercultural Relations, 29 (2005) 697-712.

¹³ Becker, G. (1971) *The Economics of Discrimination*, 2nd Edition, Chicago: Chicago University Press.

¹⁴ Kymlicka, W. (1996) *Multicultural Citizenship: A Liberal Theory of Minority Rights*, New York: Oxford University Press.

¹⁵ Berry (2005).

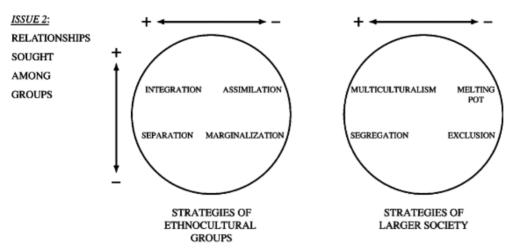
¹⁶ Ibid.

larger society (Multiculturalism, Melting Pot, Segregation, Exclusion) and corresponding to this – strategies adopted by minority groups (Integration, Assimilation, Separation, and Marginalisation).¹⁷

Figure 1. Berry's Four-Fold Model

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Source: Berry (2005) 18

The relevance of this framework can be demonstrated by the common challenge of acculturation among diverse peoples and groups across the globe, be they migrant communities or ethnic groups in multi-ethnic states. Even though the model itself provides a very structured and conceptually clear way to study minorities, it considers the state as a given and focus is on the intergroup rather than state-society relations as a part of broader contextual factors and the larger society. Such approach is, however, clearly problematic for not only the diversity of state institutions matter, but also there are many examples, where a minority group is in power and leading the state policies. Some of these issues are partially acknowledged, for example, by Dimitrova and Lebedeva, who apply various models, including Berry's four-fold model acculturation strategies in the context of Central and Eastern Europe. They suggest that context-specific features, institutions, and historical legacies need to be incorporated in the study of minority groups.

As already highlighted, the fundamental aim of institutionalism is "bringing 'state' and 'institutions' back in" to the analysis of "politics, society and economy". ²⁰ ²¹ The basic distinction is between what is called Old Institutionalism and New Institutionalism. ²² ²³ For the purpose of this project, the main focus will be on the formal legalistic form of Old Institutionalism.

¹⁷ Ibid.

¹⁸ Berry (2005).

¹⁹ Dimitrova, R. and Lebedeva, N. (2016) *Acculturation in Eastern Europe*, in Sam, D. and Berry, J. (eds.) *The Cambridge Handbook of Acculturation Psychology*, 2nd Edition, Cambridge University.

²⁰ Schmidt, V. (2006) *Institutionalism*, in Hay, C. et al. (eds.) *The State: Theories and Issues*, Basingstoke: Palgrave MacMillan.

²¹ Hall, P. and Taylor, S. (1996) *Political Science and the Three New Institutionalisms*, Political Studies (1996), X L I V , 936-957.

²² Schmidt (2006).

²³ Rhodes, R.A.W. (2008) *Old Institutionalisms*, in Binder, S. et al. (eds.) *The Oxford Handbook of Political Institutions*, New York: Oxford University Press.

Old Institutionalism constitutes the initial institutional approach with a focus on "formal institutions of government", and it "defined the state in terms of its political, administrative, and legal arrangements" as well as the relations between themHere it will include different levels of governance, specialised organisations with focus on minorities within the government, the rules of citizenship or rights as legally defined, and therefore it represents an appropriate starting point for the research.

The main research question will be: What is the institutional framework of state-minority relations (in terms of institutions and organisations) in the three case studies?

Building on the Old Institutionalism's findings, Berry's concepts of Acculturation Strategies of the larger society will be used to categorise them into one of the following: Multiculturalism, Melting Pot, Segregation, or Exclusion.²⁴

The second step of building the research rationale is to explain one of the most fundamental questions in the institutional literature, specifically the process of institutional emergence and change, using two research questions:

- What factors have shaped the process of minority institution formation and change in the transition period of the three case studies, and what roles have been played by different actors in this process?
- What has been the discrepancy between philosophical underpinnings, the formal institutional framework and implementation of minority policies?

The subsequent questions aim to explain causal mechanisms and agency, as well as the gap between what is intended, what is formally declared and what and how is implemented. The structure of the analysis of these questions will be provided via different approaches of the four New Institutionalisms, namely historical, rational-choice, sociological and constructivist institutionalism.

This research also entails secondary research questions complementary to the above three.

- How have minority groups perceived and engaged with these institutional processes?
- What role do formal and informal institutions play in this regard?
- What are the differences and similarities in the institutional dynamics of state-minority relations across the case studies?

Contextualisation of the Research: legacies, international integration and multi-ethnic frameworks

This section introduces some of the common yet distinct contextual settings of the three case studies that make Slovakia, Azerbaijan, and Tajikistan worthwhile cases for comparison, i.e. historical trajectory (diversity of pre-Soviet imperial, Soviet, and independence legacies), the nature of the multi-ethnic state, as well as diverse patterns of integration into international frameworks in the post-1989 era.

Firstly, in terms of historical legacies, their institutional forms and trajectories both diverge and overlap. Nation-creation efforts of Slovaks, Azerbaijanis, and Tajiks took shape only in the early 20th century, when they took forms of statehood in the case of a brief period of Azerbaijan Democratic Republic (1918-1920), interwar Czechoslovakia (1918-1939), while Tajiks became part of the Soviet

²⁴ Berry (2005).

Union.²⁵ ²⁶ ²⁷ ²⁸ Prior to that, they were part of larger entities: Slovaks of the Austro-Hungarian Empire, Azerbaijanis of first the Persian and then the Russian Empire from early 19th century, and Tajiks of the Emirate of Bukhara and Khanate of Kokand and subsequently a part of Russian Turkestan.²⁹ ³⁰ ³¹ ³² Azerbaijan and Tajikistan became integral parts of the USSR in 1920s, as the Azerbaijani and Tajik Soviet Socialist Republics, and therefore they were influenced by its internal nationalities policies.³³ ³⁴ Slovakia had a brief period of independence, though under a strong influence of Nazi Germany, during World War II³⁵, after which it became part of Czechoslovakia again, and became Soviet Union's "satellite state" after 1948, which was further confirmed with Warsaw Pact invasion of 1968³⁶. Finally, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan became independent states in 1991, following the dissolution of the Soviet Union, and Slovakia in 1993 as a result of the "Velvet Divorce" of Czechoslovakia.

Secondly, the post-1989 transition process and integration into international frameworks was "Western-influenced" in various degrees in the case of the three states: Slovakia was fully part of the Euro-Atlantic integration process, gaining membership of NATO, EU, Council of Europe (CoE) and OSCE as a participating state³⁷; Azerbaijan, on the other hand, was to a lesser degree, with its CoE membership and OSCE participating state status, while it is also a member of the Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS).³⁸ Tajikistan, given its geographical location, was the least involved in the process – with its OSCE participating state status and membership in the CIS.³⁹ This naturally carries implications regarding which international legal framework based on external influence, be it binding or non-binding, applies to each case study. These may include, for example, CoE's *Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities*⁴⁰ or OSCE's *Handbook on Statelessness in the OSCE Area*⁴¹.

Thirdly, all three case studies contain a diverse multi-ethnic makeup of its populations. Firstly, Slovakia contains numerous minority groups, from which the most significant is the Hungarian diaspora in the south (10 % of Slovakia's population) followed by the Roma.⁴² The two are then followed by several smaller groups. The methodologically most sophisticated estimate of the 'Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013' suggests that Roma population equals more than 400,000

²⁵ Klíma, A. (1993) *The Czechs*, in Teich, M. and Porter, R. (eds.) *The National Question in Europe in Historical Context*, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press.

²⁶ Swietochowski, T. (1985) Russian Azerbaijan 1905-1920, The Shaping of a National Identity in a Muslim Community, Cambridge University Press.

²⁷ Nourzhanov, K. and Bleuer, C. (2013) *Tajikistan: A Political and Social History*, Canberra: Australian National University.

²⁸ Nove, A. and Newth, J.A. (1967) Soviet Middle East, London: George Allen & Unwin.

²⁹ Klíma (1993).

³⁰ Swietochowski (1985).

³¹ Nourzhanov and Bleuer (2013).

³² Nove and Newth (1967).

³³ Ibid.

³⁴ Nourzhanov and Bleuer (2013).

³⁵ Klíma (1993).

³⁶ Cashman, L. (2008) *Remembering 1948 and 1968: Reflections on Two Pivotal Years in Czech and Slovak History*, Europe-Asia Studies, Vol. 60, No. 10, pp. 1645-1658.

³⁷ Bilčík, V. et al. (2005) Slovakia's Euro-Atlantic Integration – a Year After, Bratislava: Institute for Public Affairs.

³⁸ Cornell, S. E. (2011) Azerbaijan Since Independence, New York; M.E. Sharpe.

³⁹ Zarifi, H. (2009) *Tajikistan Diplomacy: The Past and the Present I*, Dushanbe: Irfon.

⁴⁰ Council of Europe (no date) Country-specific monitoring of the implementation of the Framework Convention for the Protection of National Minorities.

⁴¹ OSCE (2017) Handbook on Statelessness in the OSCE Area: International Standards and Good Practices,

⁴² Dimitrova and Lebedeva (2016).

people in Slovakia⁴³, slightly less than 10 % of total population. Secondly, Azerbaijan possesses a diverse ethnic makeup as well. The country encompasses over 80 different ethnic groups.⁴⁴ The largest two are Talysh in the south and Lezgin in the north of Azerbaijan, who according to official statistics constitute only 1.3 % and 2 % respectively⁴⁵, though more realistic estimates suggest that the communities are in fact much larger⁴⁶. Thirdly, similar to Slovakia and Azerbaijan, Tajiks constitute a clear dominant group in the country.⁴⁷ Statistically, the most substantial minority group is of ethnic Uzbeks –roughly 15 %. Russians clearly occupy the second place, with other smaller groups to follow.⁴⁸ The Pamiri people, dominating the Gorno-Badakhshan region of Tajikistan, constitute roughly over 200,000.⁴⁹

Conclusion

All in all, this paper has outlined key dimensions of an ongoing PhD project focusing on Institutional Dynamics of State-Minority Relations. The first part discussed and clarified some of the key concepts, including terminology concerning minority groups and institutions. Subsequently, the rationale of the analytical framework was outlined, including the research questions that will be asked. I combined insights from different frameworks, including Old and New Institutionalisms alongside Berry's fourfold model of acculturation strategies, which was put forward as a comprehensive way to study stateminority relations. Finally, the contextual settings of the case studies of Slovakia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan were briefly discussed, including historical legacies, international integration and ethnic makeup of the states.

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⁴³ Musinka, A. et al. (2013) *Atlas of Roma Communities in Slovakia 2013*, Bratislava: Regional Centre of UN Development Programme for Europe and CIS.

⁴⁴ UNFPA (2015) *Population Situation Analysis: Beyond the Demographic Transition in Azerbaijan*, Baku: UNFPA and UNDP.

⁴⁵ Ibid.

⁴⁶ Kotecha, H. (2006) *Islamic and Ethnic Identities in Azerbaijan: Emerging Trends and Tensions*, OSCE Office in Baku.

⁴⁷ Berdykulov, A. (2015) *Ethnic Minorities' Political Mobilisation: Cases of Uzbek and Pamiris. From the Tajik Civil War to the 2012/2014 Khorog Events*, Norwegian Institute of International Affairs and OSCE Academy.

⁴⁸ Ibid.

⁴⁹ Ibid.

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JONATHAN DEMENGE¹ – Energy efficiency at the crossroad of the environmental crisis and cultural diplomacy

Introduction

In a world in which states' national interests are increasingly shifting away from narrowly defined security concerns towards more globalized environmental issues, this paper asks what type of diplomacy is required, and what the role of cultural diplomacy may be. In particular, by showing the link between diplomacy, the environmental crisis, and energy efficiency, I will show how Geres, a non-governmental organization (NGO) that has worked in 46 countries on issues of energy and climate solidarity, can contribute to this new agenda.

This paper explores the fundamental and historical links between diplomacy and relationships to resources. In particular, the concentration of power required to play a dominant role in international relations – and hence to maximize state's security – allows but also requires a centralized control over resources, particularly coal and oil. If this link is proven true, it leads to the conclusion that the type of security policies and diplomacy largely followed so far bears a large responsibility in today's environmental crisis and will be unable to solve it. By building on the work of the NGO Geres in the field of energy efficiency in Tajikistan, I argue that cultural diplomacy and multilateralism are the best existing solutions to overcome the multiple ecological crises that are currently unfolding.

More than a conventional academic work – partly because it emanates from development practice rather than research – this paper is rather an attempt to link international relations with ecology and energy, bridge across disciplines, scales and continents, link academic concerns with activism, contribute to cultural diplomacy, and provides tracks for reflections, and why not for further investigations. The rest of this article will take the reader on a journey through diplomacy and natural resources; the ecological crisis; and finally the example of energy efficiency and cultural diplomacy in Tajikistan.

Diplomacy and Natural Resources

The fact that cultural diplomacy was the central focus of the international conference held in Dushanbe, is the undeniable proof that international relations, as an academic discipline and a field of practice, has deeply evolved over the last two decades. For many of us, diplomacy is what states do. It is expressed through the game of alliances, war and peace, and analyzed through the prism of *real politik* (or realism), in which (large and powerful) states seen as homogeneous entities use every available means to advance their narrowly defined interests and ensure their security. In order to reach political ends, states have access to a wide variety of tools, including war, often known following Clausewitz's aphorism as "the continuation of politics (or policy) by other means." Although multilateralism can be used insofar as it serves the states' interests, such kind of diplomacy rather leans towards unilateralism, and finds in imperialism and hegemony its ultimate manifestation.

¹ Geres, 'Acting for Climate Solidarity'. Country Representative for Tajikistan. 7 Ak. Rajabov Street, Dushanbe 734003 Tajikistan. Email: jon.demenge@gmail.com or j.demenge@geres.eu.

² Clausewitz, Carl von (1832) *On War*. Cited by many authors. See for instance Kaldor, Mary (2010) 'Inconclusive Wars: Is Clausewitz Still Relevant in these Global Times?' *Global Policy* Volume 1. Issue 3. October 2010: 272.

On the opposite side of the spectrum stands the more recent concept of cultural diplomacy. Without digging deep into it, a short definition is required if we do not want to risk totally missing the point. Moreover, diplomacy being traditionally a state's prerogative, the extent to which an NGO can take part in it is not straightforward. Building on the concepts and approaches of cooptive power or soft power (i.e. the ability to influence others without coercion, coined by Nye³ in the 1990s) and public diplomacy (i.e. "a more citizen-oriented form of diplomacy [...] whose 'targets' are no longer other governments so much as diverse national and global audiences and publics" of cultural diplomacy includes the "exchange of ideas, information, art, language and other aspects of culture among nations and their peoples in order to foster mutual understanding". Moreover, if cultural diplomacy aims at reaching "clearly defined policy objectives under a thought-out strategy" it also includes "transnational processes that can be engaged upon not just by governments [...] but by civil society [or the] private sector" and "a form of intercultural dialogue based on mutuality and reciprocal listening".

From this definition, it seems clear that an international NGO becomes a tool of cultural diplomacy, although it still wants to project itself as non-governmental and independent. This is especially the case when it makes conscious efforts to be aligned with national development and climate change adaptation and mitigation objectives of both origin and host countries as well as international universally agreed instruments such as the Sustainable Development Goals and the Paris Agreement (2015) –But most of all – and this is the main point here – states' diplomacy can be seen as a continuum that consists of a large array of tools and approaches: from the classical tools of *real politik* – unilateralism, imperialism and war – on the one side, to multilateralism, soft power and cultural diplomacy on the opposite side.

Now, can we posit a link between energy/resources and diplomacy? What makes imperialism – understood here as the pursuit of expansionist objectives and the will of one nation to dominate others – possible? Or more generally, what enables a state to exercise its hard power at the expense of others? The most straightforward answer would be military superiority (which may rely on technological and organizational superiority, higher military budgets and effectives), alliances, but more fundamentally on the control of energy and resources. In fact, military might and the centralized and systematic control of resources and energy seem very much connected.

Until the 18th century, military power essentially depended on states' ability to mobilise and tap into renewable resources (which were largely exploited at unsustainable rates): the naval domination and spread of the British Empire which was made possible by the transformation of 300-year-old oak forests into a mighty military and commercial fleet is a case in point. And the ability to control such resources partly explained the rise and decline of empires. The first industrial revolution, which started in Europe during the first half of the 19th century changed this. Based on coal and steel, it gave the possibility for European powers to replace renewable resources with non-renewable ones, and for European powers (soon joined by the United States) to conquer and assert their supremacy over most of the world. The gunboat diplomacy, of which the Opium Wars and the opening of Japan in 1853/4 are good illustrations, exemplifies this. The Second industrial revolution (1880-1915), based on oil and electricity, made this supremacy even clearer at the same time as it nourished new imperialisms, new conquests and new

³ Nye, Joseph (1991). Bound to Lead: The Changing Nature of American Power. (New York: Basic Books).

⁴ Ang, Ien, Yudhishthir Raj Isar and Phillip Mar (2015) 'Cultural diplomacy: beyond the national interest?' *International Journal of Cultural Policy*. Volume 21, Issue 4 (pp. 365-381): 367.

⁵ Cummings, Milton (2003) in Ang et al. (2015): 367.

⁶ Op. cit.: 368

⁷ Ibid.

greed. Since then, access to oil has basically guaranteed military might and power, and as a direct corollary has been fuelling ambitions and conflicts.

Historically, there is even a troubling correlation between states' fossil fuel consumption, measured by carbon emissions, and the military might and rank of states and empires. The correlation may not always hold true in absolute numbers because of the population factor, but is quite obvious in terms of trends. In 1850, the UK is by large the top emitter of CO2, and also a dominant power. By 1890 the UK is overtaken by the US, which has remained the main emitter for more than a century. Between 1912 and for the following three decades (a period that also sees the rise of Japan's power/ emissions), the UK fights for the first place in Europe with Germany, whose emissions abruptly fall with the defeat of 1945. The Cold War sees the US and USSR as respectively first and second biggest emitters, until the collapse of the USSR and the rise of China, which becomes second biggest emitter in 1991 and first in 2006. Unsurprisingly, fast increases into CO2 emissions precede and accompany the rise of powers (and major wars) while sudden decreases in emissions happen with the demise of empires. Through historical rates of CO2 emissions, the world history is unfolding in front of our eyes.

Today, with more than 85 million barrels a year (roughly the equivalent of one day of world production) the US military is the largest institutional consumer of oil in the world. For the last 170 years, military supremacy and hegemony has heavily relied on unconditional access to oil and coal, at the same time as the necessity to secure access to these strategic resources has been fuelling empires expansion and conflicts around the globe.

In terms of diplomacy, a first conclusion is that there is a correlation between imperialism, unilateralism, real politik, and carbon emissions, in the sense that military power requires access to oil and coal, and that access to fossil fuels allows this type of politics and diplomacy. A second conclusion, which leads us to the next part of this paper, is that these types of politics and diplomacy are unadapted to the global challenges and ecological crisis we are facing today, and to which they are contributing.

The environmental crisis

The contemporary period is characterised by an environmental crisis of an unprecedented scale. The crisis is multiple and global, and consists of (1) a crisis of biodiversity, 10 (2) a crisis of soil erosion, 11 (3) large scale pollution and contamination by harmful substances of the soil, air and water, 12 and (4) a climate crisis. 13 The combined effects of these four crises affect each and every country, and shake our

⁸ See Top 15 Country Carbon Dioxide CO2 Emission (1850 - 2019); https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=9Rcs6WALbXo. Accessed on 15 September 2019.

⁹ Office of the Assistant Secretary of Defense for Sustainment, https://www.acq.osd.mil/eie/OE/OE_index.html. Accessed on 15 September 2019.

¹⁰ A crisis of biodiversity: the world is losing species at a rate that is 100 to 1000 times faster than the natural extinction rate, we would have already lost half the animals on the planet since 1970, and several major ecosystems are degraded and threaten.

¹¹ A crisis of soil erosion: half of the topsoil on the planet has been lost in the last 150 years; 1/3 of the soil is severely degraded, decreasing its capacity to retain nutrients, carbon and water and threatening the very conditions of our subsistence.

¹² Large scale pollution and contamination by harmful substances of the soil, air and water: for instance, 800,000 people die prematurely each year in Europe because of dirty air; 1 out of 8 deaths in India is due to air pollution; micro-plastic is polluting every corner of the world, from the poles to ocean floors, and is present in every drop of water, and in alarming concentrations in our bodies. From the 1950s up to 2018, an estimated 6.3 billion tons of plastic has been produced worldwide, largely polluting our soil, fields, air and oceans.

¹³ A climate crisis: Since 2013, CO2 concentrations in the atmosphere are higher than at any time during the last 800,000 years, average global temperatures have increased by more than 1°C since the Industrial Revolution, and

very notion of security, with potentially devastating impacts for humanity as a whole. If civilizations have collapsed in the past due to environmental factors, 14 it is the first time that the world civilization is threatened. Perhaps more than the others, the climate crisis is the one that requires a global and coordinated response to curb our addiction to a resource that is so central to our societies. But can we do without fossil fuels?

The present world oil production is 95 million barrels/day. ¹⁵ Converted into man-days, it represents the equivalent of 362 billion people working together at the same time, or 47 times more than the world population. Coal production is around 7.7 billion tonnes a year. ¹⁶ Coal and oil are responsible for the climate crisis, and we know have less than 12 years to act if we want to have a chance to avoid the worst effects of climate change. ¹⁷ Still, coal and oil productions are increasing, driving CO2 emissions through the roof year after year.

The good news: the use of coal is declining in many part of the world (even in the US), because it has become less economic to use coal than renewable energies like solar and wind power. Costs of solar and wind are decreasing every year, allowing a large increase in wind (it doubled in 2018) and solar (multiplied by six in 2018) power generation. Solutions do exist to decarbonise the economy, if only we had more willingness, more cooperation, and more multilateralism.

The crisis is global, but responding to it also requires looking at local situations, trends and solutions. Although Tajikistan has committed to the Paris agreement and its carbon footprint is relatively low compared the world's average (0.6 tonnes per capita)¹⁸ the development of coal extraction is worrying. Between 2014 and 2017, coal extraction in the country has doubled, from 870,000 to 1.7 million tons a year¹⁹ (Asia Plus 2019). Since 2007, more than 160 industrial enterprises in Tajikistan have shifted to coal and 230 coal-fired enterprises now operate in the country, including the brand new combined heat and power station that consumes 60% of the coal produced in Tajikistan and spills stacks of black smoke in the air of Dushanbe in order to inject steam in a largely inefficient distribution system. The National Development Strategy of Tajikistan²⁰ plans to multiply coal production by 10 to 15 by 2030. Although the figures would remain small by global standards, the trend, the fact that Tajikistan is sitting on 4.2 billion tons of coal – representing 55% of global annual production and the equivalent of one third of annual

are expected to increase by at least 3 to 4°C by the end of century, affecting all ecosystems on Earth, increasing oceans acidity, melting glaciers, provoking sea rises and more frequent and intense extreme events, with serious consequences for living beings and humans

¹⁴ Diamond, Jared (2005/2011). *Collapse: How Societies Choose to Fail or Survive.* (London: Penguin Books)

¹⁵ BP (2019) Statistical Review of World Energy 2019, 68th edition. Figures are for 2018.

¹⁶ BP (2019) Statistical Review of World Energy 2018.

¹⁷ Watts, Jonathan (2018). "We have 12 years to limit climate change catastrophe, warns UN". *The Guardian*, 8 October 2018.

For the Special IPCC report, see IPCC, 2018: Summary for Policymakers. In: Global Warming of 1.5°C. An IPCC Special Report on the impacts of global warming of 1.5°C above pre-industrial levels and related global greenhouse gas emission pathways, in the context of strengthening the global response to the threat of climate change, sustainable development, and efforts to eradicate poverty [Masson-Delmotte, V., P. Zhai, H.-O. Pörtner, D. Roberts, J. Skea, P.R. Shukla, A. Pirani, W. Moufouma-Okia, C. Péan, R. Pidcock, S. Connors, J.B.R. Matthews, Y. Chen, X. Zhou, M.I. Gomis, E. Lonnoy, T. Maycock, M. Tignor, and T. Waterfield (eds.)]. In Press ¹⁸ World Bank (2019) *CO2 emissions (metric tons per capita)*. https://data.worldbank.org/indicator/EN.ATM.CO2E.PC. Accessed 15 September 2019.

Figures are for 2014. Compared to 5 t/cap as world average.

¹⁹ Asia Plus (2019a) 'Tajikistan reports new record coal production' in *Asia Plus*, Issue 18 (5152), 28 January 2019. See also: Asia Plus (2019b) 'Tajik authorities intend to increase coal production significantly, ecologists warn' in *Asia Plus*, Issue # 186 (5319), 1 October 2019.

²⁰ Government of Tajikistan (2016) *National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for the Period up to 2030.* (Dushanbe).

global CO2 emissions – and the risk that industries and households may structurally lock themselves into coal production do represent a step in the wrong direction.

On the other hand, the different regions of Tajikistan enjoy between 280 and 330 *sunny days* annually, and the country represents 53% of Central Asia's hydro-electrical potential, the highest per square kilometre in the world. Solar and hydro-electricity represent an infinite source of clean energy, while the potential for energy savings in housing, heating and industrial processes is also substantial. Does a country like Tajikistan need coal, which would increase its dependency on fossil fuel, contribute to climate change and air pollution, thereby creating troubles that, like in neighbouring countries, would take decades to solve? Or could it tap more into its renewable energies and energy efficiency potential and chose a cleaner path to development?

Energy Efficiency and Cultural diplomacy in Tajikistan

Geres, along with other local and international NGOs, companies and organisations active in Tajikistan, takes part in the dissemination of such technologies, in order to increase access to clean energy sources, decrease energy poverty, stimulate the local green economy, and contribute to climate change mitigation and adaptation. This dissemination work, along with green finance promotion and policy influencing are Geres contribution to cultural diplomacy. At the same time as Geres brings new technologies and methods it also learns and capitalises on existing practices and pools of knowledge existing in Tajikistan, incorporating them into its catalogue of practices.

Tajikistan faces large seasonal climatic variations: from extremely cold temperatures in winter in mountain areas, to extremely warm ones in summer in the plains, with very scant precipitations. This puts high constraints on agriculture, which is mostly rainfed and on which a large majority of the population depends. This is why Geres has been disseminating solar passive greenhouses linked with drip irrigation systems, which enable mountain populations to extend the range of possibilities and cultivation season by 4 months a year. To help households keep their crops 4 to 5 months after the harvest, Geres has been building bio-climatic cellars, a technology that produces a stable temperature of 10C all year round without any additional energy input. This enables farmers to consume and sell their crops when market prices are higher. Together, greenhouses and bio-climatic cellars have sizable impacts on families' income and nutrition.

Similar solutions are also being promoted by Geres in the housing sector, which has a high potential for energy efficiency. Worldwide, the International Energy Agency estimates that about 40% of global carbon dioxide emissions come from constructing, heating, cooling and demolishing buildings.²¹ The energy used by air conditioning (AC) in particular has doubled since 2000 and now accounts for about 14% of all energy use. During heatwaves in Beijing, 50% of the power capacity is used to power AC; and the number of AC units in the world is projected to be multiplied by 4.5 by 2050. What started as a fabulous invention that expanded the frontiers of habitability on Earth – think of cities like Dubai, Doha or Singapore – has also led to the spread of standardised houses and buildings that are totally inefficient and unadapted to their environment, in a kind of urban imperialism. Glass skyscrapers, for instance, which some would like to see banned²² literally act as greenhouses in summer and fridges in winter. Such buildings are only viable when sources of energy for cooling and heating are cheap, structurally

²¹ Buranyi, Stephen (2019) 'The air conditioning trap: how cold air is heating the world'. *The Guardian,* 29 August 2019

 $^{^{22}}$ Tapper, James (2019) 'Experts call for ban on glass skyscrapers to save energy in climate crisis.' *The Guardian*, 28 July 2019.

locking inhabitants, cities and countries into fossil fuel dependency and high CO2 emissions for the whole life cycle of its buildings. This is why bioclimatic solutions matter – e.g. natural ventilation that could "save up to 60 to 70% on our air conditioning loads" – and should be incorporated as soon as possible in urban development and construction plans, in rural and urban areas alike.

For this reason, Geres develops and disseminates low energy consumption (LEC) houses in Tajikistan. LEC houses developed in cooperation with local populations and design institutes build on solar passive and bioclimatic principles and systematise techniques sometimes used in traditional houses built in Tajikistan, such as solar verandas, overhang roofs, and green surroundings. For a very small increase in cost – because solar energy is free, so only the initial infrastructural investment is needed – each house built decreases coal consumption and energy bills by 50%, or 1 tonne of coal a year on average, compared to the average consumption. If every individual house built in Tajikistan was an LEC house, up to three million tonnes of CO2 could be saved by 2030, the equivalent of more than half pf Tajikistan's annual CO2 emissions in 2017.²⁴

The construction sector itself is energy intensive and responsible for a large part of carbon emissions, especially when cement and steel are used. The irony is that less energy hungry alternatives do exist for capitals around the world – like Dushanbe – that aspire to grow vertically. Cross-Laminated Timber (CLT), consisting of strips of wood glued together, is already used around the world to construct towers as high as 18 storeys, and earthquake-proof wood buildings as high 40 and 70 meters have been proposed in Canada and Japan.²⁵ Whereas cement production is responsible for 8% of annual CO2 emissions globally, wood does actually store carbon. In Tajikistan, wood currently needs to be imported – but so does steel – and this could change with sustainable forestry schemes. Geres has experimented with wood construction in Tajikistan: a 300 m2 (one floor) school building was built in 2018 in collaboration with an Engineering school in Pau (France). The building, which was mounted in 45 days, is entirely made of wood, is earthquake proof, incorporates passive solar and bio-climatic design, is centrally heated and equipped for rainwater harvesting, and provides a high degree of thermal comfort all year-round for minimal energy consumption. The building, which is unique in Tajikistan, is currently attracting the interest of the private sector.

Whenever possible, Geres actively promotes the use of local and low energy content construction materials, such as reeds for ceiling insulation, and adobe (mud) bricks for one-storey houses. Half of the constructions in the world are made of mud bricks, which also remain the most widely used material in Tajikistan. We think there is wisdom in this as mud bricks have several advantages. They are widely available, cheap, require no energy for their fabrication (compared to fired bricks and cement), have excellent insulation properties (much lower conductivity than cement), and are relatively solid: the "new" mosque of Djenne in Niger has been standing since 1907. Experience shows that the solidity can also be improved by using compression (creating multi-storey buildings), and Geres is currently involved in research with students from the Ecole des Mines d'Alès (France) and Tajik Technical University to improve the thermal and physical properties of mud bricks. The potential for energy efficiency in the country is wide and much more remains to be explored.

²³ Buranyi, Stephen (2019) 'The air conditioning trap: how cold air is heating the world'. *The Guardian,* 29 August 2019.

²⁴ Tajikistan's CO2 emissions amounted to 5.7 tonnes per year in 2017.

Source: Muntean, M., Guizzardi, D., Schaaf, E., Crippa, M., Solazzo, E., Olivier, J.G.J., Vignati, E. (2018). Fossil CO2 emissions of all world countries - 2018 Report. (Luxembourg: Publications Office of the European Union).

²⁵ Cecco, Leyland, 2019. Canadian cities take wooden skyscrapers to new heights in *The Guardian*, 22 July 2019.

Conclusion

This paper has shown that the use of hard power and unilateralism, which rely largely on military force, is historically linked to the centralised control of fossil fuel resources. Not only are these resources and type of diplomacy responsible for the climate crisis, but they are also unable to protect states from these new threats, let alone bring solutions to the crisis. Responding to it requires a high degree of cooperation and a multilateral approach. It also requires exchanges and solutions at the local level, such as harnessing the potential of renewable energies and energy efficiency, but on the global scale. These objectives are better advanced through a decentralised type of diplomacy based on cooperation and mutual help, namely through cultural diplomacy, that involves states and non-states actors, civil society, corporations, academic institutions and intergovernmental and non-governmental organisations.

The paper also showed that countries like Tajikistan are at a critical moment in their development process, since structural choices must be made. Tajikistan is a node on the Belt and Road initiative, benefiting from increasing exchanges of goods and technologies, which may be based on clean or polluting industries, renewable and non-renewable resources and energy. But instead of following development paths and mistakes that have previously been made in the East and West, shouldn't Tajikistan be able to choose what technologies it wants to import and use? Cultural diplomacy is also about Tajikistan making informed choices and deciding what type of development it wants and what types of technologies are required. For Tajikistan, cultural diplomacy is also about exporting its fabulous reservoir of renewable energy (mostly hydropower), which we all need if we want to have a chance to decrease the worst consequences of the climate crisis. And most of all it is about cooperating and working together through cultural diplomacy, to which Geres, through its work and through this paper, is contributing.

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KOMRON FAYZULLOEV¹ – The energy factors in Tajikistan's foreign policy

Introduction

Energy is one of the most important components of the economic and political power of the state in the modern world. The fuel and energy complex is a key sector of the economy for the vast majority of countries in the world. As for hydropower or renewable energy complexes, they form the economic basis of several countries. The level of national security in economic, social and political terms largely depends on this aspect, especially in the technological plan, which predetermines the special attention of the leadership of many states to ensure global energy security. The global nature of energy problems and their increasing politicization in the face of increasing competition in world energy markets make the energy factor one of the main elements of international politics and diplomacy nowadays. Global experience shows that the energy dimension of foreign policy continues to develop, which has led to the emergence of so-called energy diplomacy by the leading exporters and importers of energy resources, equipment and services, as well as transit states. In addition, corporate diplomacy of the world's leading energy companies continues to improve.

Energy diplomacy and foreign energy policy

The concept of *energy diplomacy* implies the practical activities of foreign policy, foreign economic and energy departments, in some cases together with companies, to implement the goals and objectives of "external energy diplomacy". Traditional forms, methods and means of diplomatic practice, as well as some features related to the specifics of the energy industry characterize this functional area of diplomatic activity.

"Foreign energy policy" is understood as the sphere of activity of states in international relations in protecting and upholding national interests arising from the production, transportation and consumption of energy resources. The goals, objectives, priorities and directions of foreign energy policy are closely intertwined with the state's foreign policy.

Energy diplomacy is seen as a new area of diplomacy and, above all, economy. However, limiting energy diplomacy only to the economic sphere of activity would not be entirely legitimate. Everything related to energy is extremely politicized, since it is the basic industry for economic activity at any level: global, regional, and national. Energy diplomacy is a means of implementing not only national policies, but also regional ones. Energy diplomacy deals with such issues as guaranteed provision of energy carriers, access to their sources, methods and routes for transporting hydrocarbon raw materials and electricity, nuclear energy safety and others.

Energy in Tajikistan

Energy is a priority area of the economic policy of the Republic of Tajikistan and its development is seen as beneficial to the state and people. The energy sector in the modern world is considered the basis of the economy for most developed and developing countries of the world. At the beginning of

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the new century, where there has been a rapid growth in integration and globalization processes, the demand for energy is excessive, and some countries of the world use it as a lever of their foreign policy. The prospects for the development of the energy sector in Tajikistan are encouraging, and mega energy projects are currently being implemented. Given the energy potential, especially hydropower, Tajikistan may become an energy-exporting state in the region and the world in the near future.

Even during the Soviet period, the leadership of this great power paid special attention to the energy sector of Tajikistan and this was the reason for the construction of large hydropower and thermal power plants. In the last decade of the last century, when Tajikistan became an independent state, some countries of the world expressed their readiness to cooperate with our republic in the field of energy. In particular, the Islamic Republic of Pakistan spoke out about the construction of the Rogun hydropower plant and was ready to allocate \$600 million for its implementation (at that time, about 20-30% of the construction work was completed).

Due to the lack of oil and gas resources in the republic, the construction of several power plants can transform this industry into the driving force of the Tajik economy. Currently, only 17-18 billion kilowatt hours (4-6%) of electricity is generated annually, which does not satisfy the state's demand in the winter. However, the republic's *hydropower potential* is 530 billion kilowatt hours per year, which is considered the largest indicator among the countries of Central Asia.

Tajikistan's hydropower potential

The energy factor in Tajikistan's foreign policy is important and some hydropower projects are being implemented with the help and assistance of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In the modern, globalizing, world, each country must ensure its energy independence, because this is the main factor in the economic development of any country. Energy independence is also included in the three strategic goals of the Republic of Tajikistan. Therefore, during the 28 years of independence, two hydroelectric power stations have already been built in the republic, and the construction of a large hydroelectric power station 'Rogun' continues and should be completed by 2024.

93% of the territory of the Republic of Tajikistan is covered by mountains. The main source of Tajik rivers are large glaciers that occupy 6% of the state. Thus, taking into account the huge hydropower potential, Tajikistan considers the development of hydropower or energy in general, a priority of its policy. Hydropower is considered the only source of electricity for the population and economy of the country. It should also be noted that 60% of the waters of Central Asia originates from the territory of Tajikistan.

Energy has a thriving prospect in Tajikistan, because the current regional project CASA-1000 allows us to become a key state exporter of energy in the region. The Central Asia-South Asia power project, commonly known by the acronym CASA-1000, is a \$1.16 billion project currently under construction that will allow for the export of surplus hydroelectricity from Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan to Afghanistan and Pakistan. The project was inaugurated in May 2016 by leaders of the four nations. The project is expected to be completed in 2020. It will allow for the export of 1,300 megawatts of electricity during the summer months when both Tajikistan and Kyrgyzstan experience surplus electricity generation from hydroelectric dams.

High voltage direct current (HVDC) converter stations will also be included as part of the project, as well as a 477-kilometer long, 500-kilovolt alternating current transmission line between Datka, Kyrgyzstan and Khujand, Tajikistan. A 1,300 MW AC/DC converter station will be constructed in the city of Sangtuda, Tajikistan, as well as a 300 MW converter station in Kabul, Afghanistan. A 750km HVDC line will be constructed between Sangtuda, and the city of Peshawar, Pakistan, via the Salang Pass and Kabul. In Peshawar, a 1,300 MW converter station will be built and connected to Pakistan's electric grid. Transmission lines are designed to transmit 1,300 MW of electricity, with Afghanistan allotted 300 MW of electricity and Pakistan 1000 MW of electricity. Initially, however, Pakistan will receive 700 MW, while Afghanistan will be supplied 300 MW.

Conclusion

Tajikistan calls on all countries and international organizations in forming their position related to the water and energy problems of Central Asia. This includes recognizing the right of the Republic of Tajikistan to develop and maintain the health of its population, and to take into account the fact that in the absence of other types of fuel and energy resources and the shortage of electricity in winter for Tajikistan, the construction of hydropower facilities is of utmost importance. The Republic of Tajikistan hopes for cooperation, mutual understanding and support from neighbouring countries and the international community in solving this vital problem.

AKMALJON KHUDOYBERDIEV¹ – Towards Tajik-Uzbek-Korean intercultural communication: From first experiences to cognitive development

Introduction: cultural cooperation

In the current conditions of international relations, cultural cooperation is of particular importance in interstate relations. Many scholars believe that international cultural relations undoubtedly affect the development of mutual understanding between peoples and reduce the number of international conflicts.

The growing weight of cultural ties in the system of international relations has led to the emergence of the term "foreign cultural policy." Currently, this term is often used in official documents of many states, including Russia, Germany, France, Italy, Spain, Austria, etc.

The objectives of international cultural cooperation, regardless of whether it is carried out on a bilateral or multilateral, regional or global basis, are:

- 1. The dissemination of knowledge, the promotion of talent and the enrichment of various cultures;
- 2. The development of peaceful relations and friendship between peoples and the promotion of a better understanding of the lifestyle of each of them;
- 3. Promoting the application of the principles enunciated in the United Nations declarations;
- 4. Providing everyone with access to knowledge and the opportunity to enjoy the art and literature of all peoples, participate in the progress of science in all parts of the globe, use its benefits and contribute to the enrichment of cultural life;
- 5. Improving the conditions of material and spiritual life of a person in all parts of the world².

Cultural cooperation between Tajikistan and South Korea

Starting from the first years of independence in the foreign policy of the Republic of Tajikistan, the development and strengthening of relations with other states, including in the field of culture and education, is one of the priority areas. The development of cultural relations with the Republic of South Korea is one of the new directions in relations between the two countries. The first steps in the development of cultural and educational ties with the country of "morning freshness" were taken back in 1992.

The formation of the Tajik-Korean cultural center in Dushanbe can be considered as the establishment of cultural relations with the Republic of South Korea. It was this center that six Korean citizens visited to familiarize themselves with the culture of our country on 16 November 1998. In exchange for the opportunity to visit Tajikistan, Korean citizens taught Korean to those who wanted to cook Korean food and Korean dances. Back in 2005, representatives of South Korea Sam Yol and Park Yon Suk studied Tajik culture and prepared a detailed report on the peculiarities of our country's culture.

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² Declaration of Principles of International Cultural Cooperation which adopted on 4 November 1966 by the UN General Conference on education, science and culture issues on his 14 Session. URL: http://portal.unesco.org/en/ev.php-URL_ID=13147&URL_DO=DO_TOPIC&URL_SECTION=201.html

Relations intensified in 2008. It was this year at the Tajik State Institute of Languages, on the initiative of this university, that the Center for the Study of Korean Language "Tajik-Kemyung" was created with the aim of teaching the Korean language through the formation of short-term courses. The centre was renamed "Sejongkhakdang" (Sejong Language Learning Center) in 2011. The Sejong Language Learning Center was established at the initiative of the Ministry of Culture, Tourism, and Sports of the Republic of Korea. Annually, one hundred people complete these courses – with around 500 people having completed them in total. The certificates for these courses are recognized worldwide. In addition, at the end of these courses, students will pass exams, and they will get a chance to continue their studies in the country of "morning freshness."

Starting on 1 March 2016, a Tajik language department was opened with the support of the Embassy of the Republic of Tajikistan, and the support of the Study of Central Asia Department of the Department of International Relations of the Gangnam University in Yongin City (Republic of Korea). The head of the Tajik language department, where 12 students began to study Tajik language in the first semester, is Professor Phil Kim.

As part of cultural cooperation, in 2010 in Dushanbe a concert of the ensemble "Dasrum" took place, which presents traditional Korean instrumental music in combination with modern motifs. The Memorandum of Cooperation between the Tajik Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (TODKS) and the Association of Friendship of the Republic of Korea with Central Asian countries, signed on 10 December 2015 in the capital of the Republic of Tajikistan for five years (2016-2021), is a clear example of full mutual trust and implementation of the plans.

The legal basis for the development of interstate relations in the field of culture, as noted, is the "Memorandum of Cooperation between the Tajik Society of Friendship and Cultural Relations with Foreign Countries (TODKS) and the Association of Friendship of the Republic of Korea with Central Asian Countries"; the "Memorandum between the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Korea", as well as the agreements that were signed at the meetings of the Ministers of Culture of the countries of Central Asia and the Republic of Korea.

For the further development of interstate ties in the field of science and culture, a number of necessary measures have been taken, including:

- a) Develop more intensive cooperation between the relevant departments i.e. the Ministry of Culture of the Republic of Tajikistan and the Ministry of Culture, Sports and Tourism of the Republic of Korea;
- b) The parties should increase funding for the scientific and cultural direction of relations at the expense of the budget of the relevant departments, as well as at the expense of non-governmental organizations working in the field of science and culture;
- c) The relevant departments in the field of education and science should agree to increase mutual quotas for students and academic circles to continue their studies and participate in symposia and conferences in both countries;
- d) Ministries and departments of both states should monitor the full implementation of previously signed documents in this direction and ensure their timely implementation.

The implementation of these measures contributes to a more effective cooperation between the Republic of Tajikistan and the Republic of Korea in the field of culture and science.

Cultural cooperation between Uzbekistan and South Korea

Like Tajikistan, Uzbekistan is also having increasingly strong cultural ties with South Korea. The largest Korean diaspora in the CIS lives in Uzbekistan with over 170 thousand people, of which over 80% were born in Uzbekistan. The Uzbek and Korean peoples supported each other in difficult times. Out of 180,000 citizens living in Uzbekistan, the Korean diaspora has become an integral part of a multinational society in Uzbekistan.

The process of the formation of cultural cooperation between Uzbekistan and South Korea began already in 1956; and immediately after the 1990s we can observe a new era in the cooperation of Korea and Uzbekistan in the field of culture. The main events which we can observe in the Uzbekistan-Korea relationship in a field of culture are:

- 1956 Opening of the Korean language department at Tashkent State Pedagogic Institute named after Nizami;
- 1969 Creation of the first professional Korean ensemble "Kayagym" at the Uzbek State Philharmonic Society.
- 1975 Creation of the Korean ensemble "Chen-Chun" on the collective farm "Politotdel".
- 1984 Trip of the Uzbek-Korean ensemble to Pyongyang.
- 1984 Participation of representatives of the Korean diaspora of Uzbekistan in the work of the World Coreada.
- 1985 Opening at TSPI named after Nizami of the previously closed (1964) branch of the Korean language and literature department.
- 1988 New Year celebration (according to the lunar calendar) in the capital and regions of the republic.
 - Performance by Korean art groups.
 - Demonstration of Korean feature films.
- 1989 Opening of the Korean cultural center in the Bekabad region.
 - Tours of the Pyongyang Song and Dance Art Ensemble.
 - Opening of the Korean language courses in Uzbekistan.
- 1989-1990 Opening of 16 Korean cultural centers.
 - Creation of the children's ensemble "Syamul (Spring)".
 - Opening of the Korean cultural center in Karakalpakstan.
 - The release of the programme "Chin Seng" on the television of Uzbekistan.
 - Establishment of an association of teachers of Korean.

Regarding the development of a cultural dialogue we must also mention the invaluable contribution of the presidents, governments, embassies of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Korea, the Education Center of the Republic of Korea in Tashkent, the Ministry of Education of the Republic of Uzbekistan, Korea Foundation, the Korean Agency for International Cooperation (KOIKA), Asian Institute culture and development, the Association of Korean cultural centers, academies of sciences, universities, the media and public organizations of both states. The results of the fruitful interaction of these structures we can observe in significant events and activities related to the cultural cooperation of Korea and Uzbekistan after independence.

Since 1993, several important summits took place between the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Korea, which gave a new impetus to the cooperation of the two states in the field of culture. The Association of Korean Cultural Centers operates in Uzbekistan, and has units in the regions. The

Association is actively working to preserve and develop the Korean language, culture, customs and traditions in the country and abroad.

Back in 2017, a monument dedicated to the 80th anniversary of the mass resettlement of ethnic Koreans in Uzbekistan was opened in the "Garden of Friendship" in Tashkent. One of the central streets of Tashkent is called Seoul. In order to preserve and develop the spiritual and cultural heritage of the Korean people, the Government of the Republic of Korea commissioned the House of Korean Culture and Art in Tashkent. This is another bright symbol of the eternal friendship between the peoples of the Republic of Uzbekistan and the Republic of Korea. Higher educational institutions of Uzbekistan have established cooperation with more than 45 research institutions in South Korea. Branches of four Korean universities operate in Uzbekistan.

Conclusion

Comparing the cooperation of the two states in the field of culture with the Republic of Korea, we can conclude that the level of cultural relations between Uzbekistan and Korea in the field of culture is higher than cooperation between Tajikistan and Korea in the noted direction. Furthermore, the main factor in the development of cultural cooperation between the Republic of Korea and the Republic of Uzbekistan is the presence of a large number of Koreans living in Uzbekistan. A final important conclusion is that Tajikistan should perhaps use the experience of Uzbekistan to strengthen its cooperation with Korea in the field of culture.

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KAROLINA KLUCZEWSKA¹ – International development and cultural diplomacy in Tajikistan

International development is a space where a broad range of international and local actors meet, and where, as a result, different cultures, norms, values, religious believes and entire social systems are brought together and interact with each other. In theory thus, international development provides a perfect field for an intense cultural exchange and intercultural dialogue, both of which are pillars of cultural diplomacy. In practice, however, this is rarely the case because of underlying features of contemporary international development. In this contribution, I shortly discuss them by referring to research conducted together with Shairbek Juraev from the University of St Andrews.² While our research concerned specifically the European Union (EU) and Central Asia relationship, the three features apply more broadly to western-funded development initiatives in the region because of their similar underlying foundations. I argue that the potential of cultural diplomacy within international development is limited precisely because of these features.

First, international development mixes up cooperation with aid. While cooperation implies two equal partners on the two sides of the interaction (and an alignment of interests), aid creates structural differences between them. In contemporary international development system, the language of cooperation is used more and more often in an attempt to replace structural hierarchies with a more equal relation. This language points to more agency and ownership given to the receiving side of the interaction. It also implies that both sides are involved in the design and implementation of a specific scheme of cooperation. In practice, however, one side continues acting as a mentor, and the other as a mentee. This inevitably leads to a situation in which, as the popular saying indicates, he who calls the piper calls the tune.

This results in the second feature, namely that of asymmetric power relations between the two parties. Negative power relations are inherent in a scheme when the giving side proposes, develops and approves cooperation schemes, and the receiving side complies with these schemes (or at least it is expected by the giver to do so). This, in turn, results in treating the receivers as *tabula rasa*, an empty terrain that can be redesigned from scratch, and where values presented as universal are being diffused. In the contemporary development aid, such norms concern, for example, good governance, migration and development, and women's empowerment. They are framed as paradigms of the 'right' development, that define not only the solutions, but also the sole nature of problems identified by development agencies in aid-receiving countries. In this way, development interventions become self-referential.

Third, differences and complexities between the two parties are often neglected. There is an underlying assumption about a joint understanding of norms, regardless of different socio-cultural and political backgrounds of aid givers and recipients. In practice, thus, the same words are used (for example: governance, regions, reform), yet, different actors apply different meanings to them, depending on their unique systems of reference, based on their own past and experiences.

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² Karolina Kluczewska and Shairbek Juraev, forthcoming. 'The EU and Central Asia: Nuances of an Aided Partnership,' in *Managing Security Threats along the EU's Eastern Flanks*, edited by Rick Fawn. Palgrave Macmillan.

As an example of a development initiative that reveals the three features is the Eu-funded reform of secondary education in Tajikistan, implemented between 2014-2020. The reform was framed as a partnership, given that it was included not only in the EU-Central Asia strategy, but also aligned with priorities included in the National Development Strategy of Tajikistan 2016-2030. At the same time, the scheme revealed inherent negative power relations, starting from the budget and expected results. The EU allocated 75 million Euro for this reform, which corresponds to 22% of the country's annual expenditure in the education sector, amounting to 340 million Euro. With this amount, the EU planned to update curricula and training materials, as well as conduct capacity-building and planning trainings for various ministries. These outputs, worth 75 million Euro, seem rather expensive in the local reality. In comparison, the budget of the 340 million Euro covers annual expenses of the entire education sector, including salaries of teachers and other school staff, renovation and construction of schools, as well as organisation of educational events in the whole country.

Furthermore, there is a lack of a common understanding as to what a reform entails. The Tajik counter-partners' understanding of a reform clearly differs from the western one. It is rooted in the experiences of Soviet modernisation and involves, in the first place, provision of necessary material conditions for children to study. In the EU understanding, the reform should be oriented towards improving performativity. In accordance with international trends, this approach involves creation of systems of measurement of learning outcomes. The two approaches differ with regard to a needs assessment and resulting priorities. Neither of them, however, focuses on the aims and value of education.

These three features discussed above and the case study point to a self-referential nature of contemporary international development. In such system, paradigms shifts occur not as a result of a dialogue between different actors, but as a result of changes occurring in the Western world.

To develop cultural diplomacy in such environment would require to adopt a de-colonial approach to international development, which would imply its complete reorganisation.

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ELENA KOROSTELEVA¹ – Reimagining 'the local' and 'the person'; and why it matters for a new era of diplomacy

We live in a complex world. Anyone with a stake in managing some aspect of that world will benefit from a richer understanding of resilience and its implications ²

Introduction: Change and the VUCA world

It is always hard to live in times of change. It becomes even harder when the world around us becomes the VUCA-world – of increasing volatility, uncertainty, complexity and ambiguity. The VUCA-world is one in which people must cope with, and adapt to change – of accelerating globalization, shifting power patterns, multiple and paradigmatic changes in technology and science, social and demographic change and of course to the ever-looming prospect of catastrophic climate change. Most disturbing however, is to cope with an understanding that we are no longer in control (and may have never been), and change cannot be stopped, it may be shaped, but the outcome is uncertain. How do we cope with this newly revealed sense of an evasive and uncontrollable world, and where is the comfort in change?

Change prompts us to rethink *what we are*, and *what is important* – a seemingly foregone sense of 'good life'.⁴ Busily building our safe and secure futures, we forgot that what defines us is a sense of community, and what it stands for – not even material, but ideational values. It is not 'my house-my fortress', which could vanish with an earthquake, but a community of people who are there to embrace you and give you a helping hand and courage to cope no matter what, as well as achieve all you want to achieve. We forget that the meaning of 'good life' should also define as to where we want to be, and what kind of 'collective person' we want to become. This sense of community working together still exists in the heartland of Central Eurasia, but is alas, forgotten in the west, where 'back-stabbing' for personal gains and individual interest prevail. A sense of what is important changes our understanding of International Relations (IR) today, and the role of cultural diplomacy in it. It takes the focus away from 'the global' and puts it on 'the local', thus changing the foundations of IR as a discipline, and placing 'the person' at the centre-stage.

The 'person', resilience, and 'peoplehood'

'The person', 'the collective being', 'the community' should define new orders bottom-up, as well as the values and norms that come to shape it as a system, an entity which then requires institution-building and authority to protect and uphold them.⁵ What is 'the person': it is an assemblage of ideas/aspirations (of our Significant WE); of our values we always stand ready to protect; of our cultural

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² Walker, B. and Salt, D. (2006) *Resilience Thinking: Sustaining Ecosystems and People in a Changing World.* Washington, DC: Island Press, p.10

³ Gnad, O. and Burrows, M (2017) "Between 'Muddling Through' and 'Grand Design': Regaining Political Initiative – The Role of Strategic Foresight", *Futures*, 97 DOI: <u>10.1016/j.futures.2017.06.002</u>

⁴ Korosteleva, E. and Flockhart, T. (in press) "The EU and Resilience-Thinking in Times of Change: reshaping the agenda", Special Issue "The EU and Resilience: redefining the role of "the local" and "the person" in a new global governance agenda", *Contemporary Security Policy* (February, 2020)

⁵ Flockhart, T. (2016) "The Coming Multi-Order World", Contemporary Security Policy, 37(1): 3-30

memories/heritage (of what is good and evil; and what makes us different/unique) and action (of how we achieve a better future). However, if we live in a VUCA world, how do we ensure that 'the person' blossoms if we are no longer in control of our environment?

Resilience, which we define here as 'self-organisation', based on a self-reliance and a sense of communal identity, may be a key to this new way of living and governing: with an emphasis on our 'strength', 'our culture/identity' and 'capacity' - what we do well and can do better - with new knowledge and resolve - 'capabilities'. The trick here is not to rely on a 'nanny-state' or external intervention, but draw on neighbourliness and community support. Resilience as a quality however is not enough; it is also resilience-thinking – as an analytic of governance – that would change the fundamental dynamics here, and the role of communities as 'peoplehood' – filled with a purpose of collective being.⁶ After all, global orders are not constituted globally; rather they are a product of domestic struggles and communal aspirations, where the role of 'the person' assumes a new meaning. We also acknowledge that tying together "the global" with "the local" and with "the person" in particular, raises several methodological questions about precisely where resilience is constituted. In a special issue "The EU and Resilience: redefining the role of "the local" and "the person" in a new global governance agenda" (Contemporary Security Policy) Trine Flockhart argues that the best way to underscore the relevance of "the local", and the role of resilience, is to understand the latter as "constituted within ideal type social ordering domains". The ideal-domain approach posits a social structure based on power and identity patterns, which together define and articulate a vision for the social domain's order premised on what constitutes the "good life", and expressed through the articulation of narratives and practice of specific formal and informal institutions. At the heart of any global or local arrangements, and even within the individual person, is a reflective notion of the "good life" underpinned by normative beliefs and century-long traditions that shape the ways of life for local communities and individual human beings. Arguably a resilient entity, regardless of whether it is located at the global or the local level, needs to be able to sustain a belief that the achievement of the "good life" is possible – if not within the lifetime of the current generation, then at least for future generations. The shared conception of the "good life" in any social domain is therefore a motivational way forward for a collective entity, besieged by hardship and uncertainty, but always striving for the betterment of life.

Conclusion

Why does it matter now? We see the crumbling space of the existing international liberal order, and the attempts to restore it often by imposition of the elite visions. We forget that any ordering domain starts at the domestic level, with definitions of 'the collective being' – the person' – and its vision/ambition; and a resilient resolve to carry it through change.

So, we can see the 'wrongs' of the existing order(s) today. We can also see an opening for a new one, based on our understanding of how fragile, uncertain and uncontrollable the outside world is, and what we can do together, through cultural diplomacy that helps to rediscover our roots, the role of community in order formation, and how they can and should relate to each other – in the future world of cooperative orders.

⁶ Korosteleva, E. (2019) Reclaiming Resilience Back: A local turn in EU governance', Contemporary Security Policy. Advance online publication. DOI: 10.1080/13523260.2019.1685316, in Special Issue: Korosteleva, E. and Flockhart, T. (eds) 'The EU and Resilience: redefining the role of "the local" and "the person" in a new global governance agenda', Contemporary Security Policy (in press), 28 February 2020.

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NARGIS NURULLA-KHODJAEVA¹ – Decoloniality of knowledge via 'dahlez'

"To the sinful and vicious, I may appear to be evil.

But to the good – beneficent am I"

- Ibn Arabi

Introduction

Khorasanian² thinkers believed that the discovery of their origins and the "Other", is not a single whole act, but rather a procedural, almost stage-by-stage like capacity to understand the world. Evidence suggests that in order to survive (or just grow), one must move from their initial sphere of life/science to the next. Such mobility was influenced heavily by the tradition of constant crossing of boundaries and countries, formalizing commercial/scientific flexibility of the entire culture of the region. However, this potential remains untapped in the construction of the new history of nations. Therefore it is fair to ask: what is the reason for the lack of dialogue on decolonization within the region (between researchers of different republics), between the Russian and Central Asian researchers, as well as between other regions, i.e. South-to-South (the Middle East, Latin America, India, etc.). Without doubt, every one of us has worthy of alibi. But it is important to understand that today's distancing from the topic in Central Asia; is not an ideological camouflage à la Soviet-style, but rather a preservation of the myth of Westphalia on the priority of national sovereignty. Finding one's way out of this maze created by the rhetoric of the nations and the logic of coloniality is a very real issue. The first step may be to recognize that our very own knowledge base is colonial. Accordingly, the process must begin with ridding ourselves from this state, starting the process of de-coloniality. To initiate such an understanding, the author proposes to use dahlez, a philosophical concept, put forward with a view to the perception of many values of plural-cycle culture of the region, as well as the values of the outside.

'Humanitas and Anthropoi'

The complexity of the Central Asian region, its culture, languages, and customs, is resembled in the interweaving in the mosaic of Registan (the central square of Samarkand). It can, of course, be simplified to the level of definitions, boundaries, and national histories. Such a plan was successfully implemented, and on this platform a phenomenon was launched that we represent as a modern "Tajik", "Uzbek", etc. But the consequences of such a realization was not long in coming: the simplified "nationalization" reduced the multicolour culture that legends were composed of.

These national/racial classifications highlight the presence of a dividing line between those whom researcher on colonialism Walter Mignolo presented as *humanitas and anthropoi*. In the process of knowledge production, *humanitas* create the "other" (i.e., anthropos). It could happen by colonizing the ontological space of the one who identified as *anthropoi* (those that only "absorb" ready-made knowledge sets)³.

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² "Khorasan" comprised the current land of Iran (northern part), parts of Afghanistan and much of Central Asian region (Tajikistan, Uzbekistan).

³ Mignolo W. Geopolitics of sensing and knowing: on (de)coloniality, border thinking and epistemic disobedience

The distribution - *Humanitas and anthropoid* - reminded me of the question of Al-Ghazali (1058-1111). He formulates it in his final work, "Eliminating confusion". The philosopher told about the crisis of faith that he experienced in his youth: being an ardent Muslim, he guessed that he would be the same ardent Jew, or a Christian, if he were born in those "parallel" societies. Consequently, his commitment to Islam is not based on choice. It is rather parents, teachers, education, environment, i.e. the contingent circumstances of his life.

Thanks to Al-Ghazali's hint, we have a great opportunity to reproduce this question on *humanid and anthropes*: how does it arise, and why do some of us get this tag? His answer is similar to the response from Ibn Arabi (Akbar), who said: "Suppose you rubbed your ethical skin for a long time before it lit up, but there is no music behind it, and then what?"

Human remained for those philosophers – the basis of truth: a bunch of characteristics without geographic or cultural borders, whose worldview was developed more like realism based on idealism. Ibn Arabi said: "God made man, Man made religion. The Enlightened are not bound by Religion". To understand such vision is complicated in the modern world, and not just for people of certain nationality (Tajiks, Uzbek, Russian, Chinese), and certain religion identity (Muslim, Christians, Buddhists,...). All of us are accustomed to the idea of a split, which is fixed by the Cartesian boundaries of the intellect and the soul. Such a process forces us to squeeze philosophy into universal knowledge structures, pointing to previously delineated spaces of truth (strengthening the boundaries of these spheres).

The modern educational system in all five Central Asian countries clearly aims at preserving a pattern called "hidden orientalism" by Said. We have to admit that most of the historical disciplines of modern university education in Central Asia are just an ossified project built;

Interestingly, historians are proud of this behaviour, defying each other, not noticing their own fear of foreign colleagues, as well as their own state apparatus.

Such trends indicate a simplified vision of the region's history and culture without taking into account what is called "international subjectivity" of culture. Such a deficiency carries the threat of "anthropologization" of culture (no offense to anthropologists), despite the fact that interdisciplinary remains the most important principle in cultural research. If culture is limited to certain (in our case, pro-Western) concepts, and does not allow the incorporation of its own resource, the world will no longer promote new transcultural 'glocal' projects (with broad synthesis of local and global trends).

Foreign approaches to the interpretation of processes in such a complex region as Central Asia, with the addition of a "spoon full" of nationalist sentiments and a "pinch" of cultural relativism (Euro-American thesis on equality of cultures) - and here it is, the beginning of the "terrible hum" (as described by Edward Said). It is a shame that high-ranking intellectuals are systematically involved in this process, systematically fueling an atmosphere of rejection of dialogue.

In the case of an unambiguous orientation of Central Asia to Europe, it is appropriate to recall that Europe (the same one that gave rise to the "triplet": colonialism, Eurocentrism and nationalism) had other perspectives.

^{//} Postcolonial Studies. 2011. Vol. 14, No 3. P. 273-283.

⁴ Gazali, Muhammad. Izbavlyayushii ot zablujdeniya [The Deliverance from Error] / Transl. Sagadeev A.V. // Avverrous. [The Incoherence of the Incorehence]. K.; San-Petersburg: 1999. Pp.528-589

And here we are with idea to use "dahlez" of Al Ghazali (1058-1111). In Tajik—Persian, sometimes in Arabic, "dahlez" is the front part of the house, it connects the inside of the house with the street (with the outside world). The image of "dahlez" was often used both in philosophy and in the poetry of the region; it served as a symbol of the connection of the worlds: the inner (congenital) and the outer (public). Al Ghazali, presented "dahlez" as "the place of two penetrations: from the outside and inside".

"Dahlez" in the modern sense then, means an epistemic and aesthetic possibility of communication probabilities, or otherwise, the contextual theory, or technology. Intercultural synthesis of "dahlez" is based on the perception of the many values of a plural-cyclical culture, because "The intellect takes you to the door, but it will not lead you inside the house", *Shams Tabrizi* (1185-1248) said.

Conclusion

The concept "dahlez" is able to remind that huge plast of non_western knowledge left largely "deterritorialized"⁵ by the dominant Western system of knowledge. On the other hand, I do not propose "provinsialization" ⁶ of Europe, or other words replacing one with another. "*Dahlez*" its meaning, could bring modern discourse to a state of acceptance and rejection, confidence and doubt ... and not just rationality of today's Human self–consciousness. One more important feature of "dahlez", is on decolonization of East West divisions. With adapting it we might get the point of Ibn Arabi, who wrote once: He saw the lightning in the east and longed for the east,/ but if it had flashed in the west/ he would have longed for the west./ My desire is for the lightning and its gleam,/ not for the places and the earth⁷.

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⁵ Deleuze, G. & Guattari, F. 1986, *Kafka: Toward a Minor Literature*, trans. Dana Polan, University of Minnesota Press, Minneapolis

⁶ Chakrabarty, D. 1992, 'Postcoloniality and the artifice of history: who speaks for "Indian" Pasts?', *Representations*, vol. 37, pp. 1–26

⁷ https://www.poemhunter.com/poem/he-saw-the-lightning-in-the-east/

SEVARA PULATOVA⁸ – Entry into the international cultural space and formation of cultural diplomacy of the Republic of Uzbekistan in the years of independence

Introduction: The changing the role of culture in the new diplomacy

Our time is characterised primarily by the ever-growing role of socio-cultural factors in the processes of social transformation. In this regard, the question of the new role and the importance of culture in the life of modern society is becoming more and more relevant. It is becoming increasingly obvious that cultural modernisation should not only accompany reforms but also should become the main basis for the further development of society.

The search for new models of development should be conducted through culture since culture is the main connecting "basis" of all social, economic and political relations prevailing in a particular society. It should be noted that this "cultural centrism "is a kind of prototype of the "new architecture" of world relations between different countries and peoples. This is because it opposes the structure of the world on the principle of the hegemony of one culture and unification of all forms of life. This approach is aimed primarily at maintaining the identity of cultures and their diversity, which is an essential condition for the sustainability of social development.

In the era of globalisation and global challenges, preserve one's unique national identity is possible only through the preservation of cultural identity. In this regard, interdisciplinary research on new structural elements of the concept of culture, namely: the problems of cultural security, cultural conflict, and cultural wars, is of great relevance.

Naturally, this "active involvement of culture in international relations leads to a change in the very concept of culture: it becomes more politicised."9

According to some experts, "culture becomes a hybrid construct, and "soft power" becomes not only an instrument of external influence and 'promotion' of the state in the international arena, but also acquires 'defensive' functions".¹⁰

From the above, we can conclude that the involvement of culture in international relations, firstly, serves to preserve cultural identity, and secondly, as the intercultural dialogue strengthens, the effectiveness of efforts aimed at the protection of cultural heritage increases.

Opening of new opportunities for the creative intelligentsia of the Republic after Uzbekistan's entry into international organisations

Transformation processes in the socio-political and economic spheres, which began after the Republic of Uzbekistan gained independence, had a beneficial impact on the development of the artistic culture

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⁹ K.M. Tabarintseva-Romanova (2018). Culture in international relations: diplomacy, security, conflict. М., 2018*К. М. Табаринцева-Романова*. [Культура в международных отношениях: дипломатия, безопасность, конфликт. М., 2018//http://elar.urfu.ru/bitstream/10995/62855/1/iuro-2018-179-06.pdf]

¹⁰ Idem.

of the country. Uzbekistan's accession to international organisations and the establishment of diplomatic relations with many countries as a subject of international law has allowed the creative intelligentsia¹¹ of the country to not only familiarise itself with the achievements of the contemporary artistic process but also to present the achievements of national culture and art on the world stage.

Uzbekistan's membership in the UN, UNESCO and other international organisations initiated several significant projects in the field of education, culture and art, the successful implementation of which gave impetus to the revival and development of the spiritual culture of the nation. For example, in 2002, thanks to the joint efforts of the government, the National Commission of UNESCO and its representative office in Uzbekistan, one of the most interesting centers of traditional folk culture, Baisun, was recognized by UNESCO as a masterpiece of oral and intangible heritage of mankind. In total, 74 objects are included currently in the national list of the intangible cultural heritage of Uzbekistan, five of them are in the world representative list of "Masterpieces of oral and intangible heritage of mankind". Furthermore, the 2750th anniversary of Samarkand, the 2700th anniversary of Karshi and Shahrisabz, the 2500th anniversary of Khiva, Bukhara and Termez, the 2200th anniversary of Tashkent and the 2000th anniversary of Margilan were celebrated internationally under the auspices of UNESCO, which is a recognition of the global significance of the historical and cultural heritage of the Uzbek people.

The establishment of the Academy of arts of Uzbekistan in 1997 by the decree of the head of state was important in the consolidation of artistic forces. This event played a positive role in improving the level of art education, revitalising of the exhibition and creative activities, expanding the scope of research, as well as raised to a new level of critical and promotional activities. With state support, the Academy of arts has established and successfully operates creative organisations and institutions aimed at promoting the national cultural heritage and modern fine and decorative arts.

To date, the Academy of Arts of Uzbekistan is a full participant in international artistic processes, being part of the Board of the International Confederation of the Union of Artists in Moscow. As part of its activities, the presentation of Uzbek fine, photographic and decorative arts is carried out by many international and national projects. Among them are Tashkent international Biennale and the photo Biennale "Tashkent", International Biennale of children's drawings, "Top art", "Week of fine arts+5" and many others.

The main purpose of these events is to increase the prestige of Uzbekistan in the international art arena, as well as interaction and exchange of artistic experience among artists of many countries in the field of contemporary art. All of them serve the aim of the development and stimulation of artistic creativity, contribute to the expansion of creative ties of our authors and the exchange of experience with foreign colleagues. At the same time, we are talking about raising the cultural and intellectual level of society and young people, as well as strengthening cultural ties between peoples.

Main artistic events of Uzbekistan

It is worth to pay some more attention here to the main events in the artistic life of Uzbekistan, as these were important for the formation of cultural diplomacy of the country.

¹¹ The understanding of '*intelligentsia*', adopted by the author of this article, can be defined as a large socio-cultural community, a social array of people with an active public position, professionally engaged in creative mental work, who have received modern scientific education, which allows them to engage in the creation, development, and dissemination of complex forms of science, art, education, religion and culture.

First, in the early 2000s, the artists of Uzbekistan were the first in the post-Soviet space to take the initiative to hold the International Biennale of Contemporary Art, which was an indicator of the process of active integration of national art into the global cultural space. Since the 2000s, it has become a tradition to hold International biennales of contemporary art in Tashkent every two years. Thus, in 2018, the VIII Tashkent international Biennale of contemporary art was held on the theme "Art and technology. Pros and cons." More than 160 representatives from 27 countries attended the event; they presented their creative works and projects - including video art, installations, photo art, conceptual painting, sculpture, graphics and more in the best exhibition halls of Tashkent and Bukhara. The main idea of this event was to discuss the problem of how to find a balance, how to preserve spiritual and moral values in the era of inevitably developing technological progress, the place and role of the contemporary artist in these conditions.

In 2019 the Biennale was held again, on 11-15 November. There were over 100 artists from Uzbekistan and 20 foreign artists from 13 different countries. In addition, scientists, art historians and museum staff, teachers and students from Uzbekistan and abroad took part in the biennale. Workshops were organised by artists from Germany, England, Korea and Japan, as well as exhibitions of silk carpets, Uzbek national ceramics, jewelry, ancient types of paper, calligraphy and miniature works.

Another key event is the "Atlas Festival". It has become a tradition to hold the festival in Margilan under the auspices of UNESCO, which demonstrates the works of Margilan weavers who turned fabrics into unique masterpieces of art. The magnificence of materials such as *atlas*, *adras*, and *snipe*¹² is gaining popularity all over the world, which is proved by the wide geography of the festival participants.

In the field of music, every two years, Samarkand hosts the international music festival "Shark Taronalari", which gathers people of art and culture from around the world. The XII Shark Taronalari festival, which opened on August 26, 2019, was attended by 320 guests from 78 countries. 29 musical groups from 33 countries competed in the international competition. As part of the festival, Uzbekistan organized an international scientific and practical conference called "Prospects for the development of traditional musical art of the peoples of the East". More than thirty well-known domestic and foreign musicologists and specialists from 25 countries attended the conference. This year, in addition to local media representatives, there were about a hundred bloggers from around the world. This event has become a kind of platform for dialogue between different cultures and civilizations, countries and peoples.

On July 11 2019, the international festival of folk music "Buyuk Ipak Yuli" was held in Margilan. The purpose was to popularize, preserve, study folk art, and encourage talented performers of folk art. Folklore groups from 20 countries of the world performed at the festival. The event included scientific and creative conferences, seminars, round tables, as well as exhibitions. The festival gave the opportunity to see unique representatives of culture, to popularise, preserve and nurture the love of art and their history among the younger generation. To strengthen friendly ties, expand cooperation and interaction in the field of creativity in the international arena.

On September 10 - 15 of this year, the international festival of artisans was held in Kokand. State and public leaders, skilled artisans, applied folk art masters and specialists, scientists in this field, honoured guests and cultural, art and theatre workers attended the event. The festival included training sessions for young artisans and designers on traditional embroidery, felt art and clothing design using traditional

¹² Atlas is a soft, dense, silk fabric with a smooth shiny front surface; Adras is a fabric consisting of 50% cotton, 50% cotton; Bekasam is a striped fabric made from cotton and silk, widely used for sewing men's chapan and cotton blankets in the past.

textiles, as well as entrepreneurship in the field of handicraft. About 60 young artisans and designers attended these events.

The international scientific conference "The Silk Roads as a Phenomenon of the Interaction of Eastern and Western Culture: Hangzhou, Margilan, Valencia" .was also held within the framework of the festival. The festival included a fashion show of the collection of clothes of young designers of Uzbekistan. This collection was developed under the leadership of the UNESCO Artist for peace and famous designer Bibi Russell and with the support of the Margilan Centre for the development of crafts. The festival program included an exhibition of traditional textiles "The great silk road: continuing the tradition...". The holding of such festivals serves to preserve and promote the intangible cultural heritage and its transfer to the next generations, as well as to support the development of traditional crafts of Uzbekistan. It contributes to the improvement of the quality and design of traditional products, and also attracts tourists to the discovery of this region." Also, these activities are designed to help young people and women acquire new knowledge and skills in traditional crafts, contributing to the economic and social well-being of the population.

Initiatives of Uzbekistan on the implementation of the "soft power". Cultural diplomacy as a conductor of national values.

Today Uzbekistan is entering a qualitatively new stage of its development, and we should note that in recent years, the role of the cultural factor in the diplomacy of Uzbekistan has significantly increased. Uzbekistan is paying particular attention to the tasks of effectively using the country's cultural and civilizational potential to strengthen further the international image of Uzbekistan, its role and place in the world system, and achieving priority goals in the foreign policy and foreign economic spheres.

The initiatives of President Shavkat Mirziyoyev, presented at the 43rd session of the Council of Foreign Ministers of the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC) on 18-19 October 2016 reflect the first steps of the new cultural diplomacy of Uzbekistan. The theme "Education and enlightenment - the path to peace and creation" was defined as the motto of the Tashkent OIC forum. Uzbekistan presented the following initiatives to the OIC.

The first initiative envisages the creation of an international research centre under the auspices of the OIC to study of the multifaceted religious and spiritual heritage of our ancestors, who made an immeasurable contribution not only to Islamic culture but also to the development of human civilization. To this end, the Head of Uzbekistan proposed the creation of the Imam al-Bukhari International Research Center in Samarkand. Among its main tasks was the development of an integrated approach to the study and promotion of Islamic culture, and the implementation of joint scientific and humanitarian projects.

The second initiative foresees the creation of a special department of the Islamic Organization for Education, Science and Culture (ISESCO) as a part of Tashkent Islamic University. The main activity of the new department will be the study of the history and current state of education, science and culture in the Muslim world, as well as the organisation of teaching for students on advanced courses. Speaking at the 72nd session of the UN General Assembly, the President proposed the adoption of a special resolution of the General Assembly on "Education and religious tolerance." On 12 December 2018, the UN General Assembly at its plenary session adopted special resolution No. 73/128 named "Education and religious tolerance". The document is intended to promote the establishment of tolerance and mutual respect, the protection of religious freedoms, and the protection of the rights of believers. In particular, paragraph 4 of the resolution states that the General Assembly "(...) requires

the State party to protect and promote freedom of thought, conscience and religion or belief, and for this purpose": a) To promote, through education and other means, mutual understanding, tolerance, non-discrimination and respect in all matters relating to freedom of religion or belief, by promoting in society as a whole a greater awareness of the diversity of religions and beliefs and of history, traditions, languages and the culture of the various religious minorities under their jurisdiction; b) support various types of intercultural interaction and peacebuilding at the national and international levels; c) support research activities." It is noteworthy that the resolution was unanimously supported by all UN member states, and was adopted with the co-authorship of more than 50 countries, which indicates the high recognition by the international community of the relevance and timeliness of the initiatives of Uzbekistan.

One of the main items on the agenda of the first Consultative Meeting of the Heads of State of Central Asia, which was organized on the initiative of the President of Uzbekistan and was held in the capital of Kazakhstan on 15 March 2018, was the issue of strengthening cultural and humanitarian ties, friendship and good neighbourliness between the countries of the region. The need was pointed out for the consistent continuation of the cultural and humanitarian dialogue, the organization of joint cultural days and various cultural events, the development of educational and tourist exchanges between the countries of the region.

Furthermore, in 2018, the Year of Uzbekistan took place in Kazakhstan with great success; in 2019, the Year of Kazakhstan in Uzbekistan opened, which became a bright event in the cultural life of the two countries. The Days of Culture play an important role in strengthening cultural ties and bonds of friendship between the peoples of the region and contribute to strengthening mutual understanding and trust in Central Asia. Cultural ties between young generations are encouraged too: all countries of Central Asia supported the initiative of Uzbekistan to create a Council of Youth of Central Asian countries. From 26 to 30 June 2018, the first Central Asian Youth Forum took place in Tashkent and Samarkand. The forum aimed to unite the youth of the Central Asian countries and intensify social and humanitarian cooperation in the implementation of socially significant projects and programmes.

In an effort to create the most favorable conditions for the further preservation, development and promotion of the rich and unique cultural heritage of Uzbekistan, a number of important initiatives have been implemented, among which a special place is occupied by the International Forum dedicated to the Art of Maqom (Shakhrisabz) – a type of musical art declared by the UNESCO as a civilization property and included in the List of World Cultural Heritage, as well as the International Festival of Bakhshi Art (Termez) - oral folk art that contributes to the education of people, especially the young generation, in the spirit of love and loyalty to the motherland, respect for national and universal values.

Uzbekistan's cultural diplomacy implemented within the framework of the SCO

An integral part of the new diplomacy of Uzbekistan in the cultural and humanitarian sphere is public diplomacy, which is implemented actively in the framework of the SCO. On 8-9 June 2017, at the summit of the SCO Council of Heads of State in Astana, the President of Uzbekistan put forward a proposal to consider the organisation of SCO centres - permanent institutions of public diplomacy. The

¹³ https://undocs.org/pdf?symbol=ru/A/RES/73/128

aim was to hold "cultural forums, joint exhibitions, conferences and meetings in these centres, which will strengthen ties and mutual understanding between our peoples". ¹⁴

The practical implementation of this initiative began already in 2018: the First People's Forum took place in Xi'an on 9-10 April 2018. Over 80 people attended the forum. The Xi'an Declaration of the first SCO People's Forum emphasises the special role of public organisations in participating actively in humanitarian exchanges, deepening mutual understanding and friendship between peoples of different countries. According to the document, one of the most important tasks of the SCO will be the creation of the necessary social conditions for the formation of international relations of a new type.

On 26 June 2018, the Decree of the President of the Republic of Uzbekistan "On measures to support the creation of the Center for Public Diplomacy of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Uzbekistan" was adopted. ¹⁵ According to the adopted document, the SCO Centre for Public Diplomacy was established in the form of a non-governmental, non-profit organization. The main tasks of the Centre include the following:

- Assistance in strengthening mutual trust and good neighbourliness, interethnic and interfaith harmony, development of inter-civilization dialogue among the SCO countries;
- Participation in the expansion of cultural and humanitarian ties with the SCO countries, the organization of mutual visits of delegations;
- Creating conditions for establishing a friendly atmosphere of interaction between civil society institutions, including youth and women's organizations of the SCO countries;
- Promoting the development of cooperation between the SCO countries in the information sphere, the formation of information resources and interaction with the media in order to broadly explain the goals, objectives, activity priorities and fundamental principles of the SCO, preparation and regular publication of information and analytical materials on the achievements of the SCO countries in cultural and humanitarian sphere;
- The use of instruments of public diplomacy to draw closer the SCO countries and their peoples, strengthening the spirit of mutual trust and good neighbourliness.

Conclusion

From the foregoing, we can draw the following conclusions. First, the involvement of culture in international relations serves to preserve the identity of the national culture of each people and all nationalities. In an era of globalization and global challenges, preserving your unique national identity is possible only if you maintain a cultural identity. Second, as intercultural dialogue strengthens the effectiveness of efforts to protect cultural heritage increases.

Contemporary international relations cannot be imagined without the phenomenon of soft power used by states in the international arena. The main resources of soft power are national culture, national values and foreign policy activities that do not contradict these values. Indeed, cultural diplomacy has become an integral part of Uzbekistan's new diplomacy. The cultural factor is increasingly manifested both in the consolidation of society within the state, and in international relations. Uzbekistan actively supports the comprehensive strengthening of good-neighbourly and friendly relations between Central

¹⁴ Mirziyoev Sh. We will continue on our path of national development to raise to a new level. Volume 1 Tashkent - Uzbekistan - 2019. p. 424.

¹⁵ Presidential Decree of 26 June 2018 No. PP-3807 "Concerning the measures to support the creation of the Center for Public Diplomacy of the Shanghai Cooperation Organization in Uzbekistan".

Asian states through deepening bilateral ties, including in the fields of education, science, technology, innovation, tourism, culture, art and sports.

The attention being paid by the country's leadership to the revival and development of cultural and spiritual values of the people contributes not only to the promotion of the cultural and civilizational heritage of Uzbekistan, but also to the dissemination of the ideas of peace, education and tolerance at the regional and international level.

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FARRUKH N. SALIMOV¹ – Культурная дипломатия Республики Таджикистан: малоиспользуемый ресурс внешней политики

Защита и продвижение национальных интересов, обеспечение национальной безопасности и экономического развития всецело зависят от успешности не только внутренней, но и внешней политики страны. Внешняя политика в свою очередь может стать успешной при использовании потенциала, которым обладает государство, связана с ресурсами, которые она может привлечь для создания положительного имиджа (как надежного и цивилизованного партнера), привлекательности (для развития туризма, привлечения инвестиций), развития взаимоотношений (основанного на доверии). В их числе не только политический вес, экономическая мощь, но и конечно же культурный потенциал страны.

Символика, язык, кухня, модели поведения, историческое наследие, искусство – все это представляет неисчерпаемый ресурс культурного потенциала нации, направленный на консолидацию общества внутри государства и создание его благоприятного имиджа за рубежом.

Культура сегодня рассматривается как неотъемлемая часть внешнеполитического потенциала страны, отсюда и широкое ее использование не только основными акторами международной системы, но и малыми и средними странами. Более того, по совокупности своего культурного потенциала некоторые малые страны могут быть намного богаче и весомее чем иные средние и крупные государства. Широкое вовлечение культуры в дипломатии и внешней политике позволяет говорить сегодня о таком феномене как «культурная дипломатия», которая понимается как вид публичной дипломатии и неотъемлемая часть политики «мягкой силы», включающая в себя «обмен идеями, информацией, произведениями искусства и другими компонентами культуры между государствами и населяющими их народами с целью укрепления взаимопонимания»².

Фактор культуры возрос вместе с постепенным отказом от «грубого» взаимодействия между странами, а также с приходом понимания о долгосрочности культурного влияния и внедрения своих культурных кодов и символов в другие общества.

Надо учесть, что, исходя из специфичности языка, истории, особенностей становления и реализации внешней политики, страны по-разному обозначают «культурную дипломатию». Во Франции, например употребляются «politique culturelle exterieure» (внешняя культурная политика), «politique culturelle internationale» (международная культурная политика), «diplomatie culturelle» (культурная дипломатия)³. Англо-американские политики и ученые используют термины «культурная дипломатия» или «публичная дипломатия». Для Китая более характерен термин «народная дипломатия». В российской науке идут дискуссии относительно тождественности понятий «культурная дипломатии» и «внешняя культурная

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² Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy in Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare, ed. Michael J. Waller (Washington, DC: Institute of World Politics Press, 2009), P.74.

³ Мошняга П. Внешняя культурная политика Японии // Власть. 2009. № 6. С. 159–161; Карнаухова Е. Е. Технологии реализации внешней культурной политики Германии: Автореф. ... канд. полит. наук. Н. Новгород, 2011; Филимонов Г.Ю. Внешняя культурная политика США как компонент «мягкой силы»: Дисс. ...канд. полит наук. М., 2007. 187 с.

политика»⁴. Данный вопрос достаточно широко рассмотрен в работе С.Докучаевой «Аналитическая модель культурной дипломатии: перспективы уточнения исследовательского инструментария»⁵ и излишне вдаваться в теоретические дискуссии относительно коннотаций тех или иных терминов используемых для объяснения данного феномена.

Ф. Баргхорн рассматривает культурную дипломатию как манипуляцию культурными материалами и кадрами в пропагандистских целях⁶. А.В.Голубев подразумевает под культурной дипломатией «использование государством для достижения политических, дипломатических, пропагандистских целей существующих или специально установленных культурных, общественных и научных связей», М.Дэвид-Фокс как «систематическое включение культурной составляющей в отношения с иностранными государствами или формальное канализирование внимания и ресурсов в сферу культуры в рамках внешней политики» Американский ученый Милтон Каммингс определяет культурную дипломатию как «обмен идеями, информацией, искусством и другими аспектами культуры между нациями и их народами для содействия взаимопониманию, которое также может быть скорее улицей с односторонним движением, чем двусторонним обменом, когда одна нация концентрирует свою усилия по продвижению национального языка, объяснению его политики и точки зрения, или «рассказыванию своей истории» остальному миру».

Таким образом, культурная дипломатия должна способствовать использованию в дипломатической деятельности государства инструментов культурного влияния для достижения межгосударственного взаимопонимания, международного мира и стабильности через преодоление культурных барьеров; предлагает использование различных факторов культуры, искусства и образования с целью защиты и продвижения на международной арене собственных национальных интересов¹⁰.

Следует отметить, что культурной дипломатии присущи три важнейших взаимосвязанных друг с другом цели.

- 1. Формирование позитивного образа государства за рубежом.
- 2. Продвижение, популяризация, экспорт национальной культуры и языка.
- 3. Создание благоприятных условий для осуществления национальных интересов.

При реализации культурной дипломатии используются все аспекты национальной культуры, в том числе искусство, организацию выставок и ярмарок с целью демонстрации многочисленных

⁴ Боголюбова Н. М., Николаева Ю. В. Теоретические аспекты проблемы внешней культурной политики // Америка и мир: история и современность: сб. статей / под ред. Ю. Г. Акимова, В. Г. Буркова. СПб.: Изд. СПбГУ, 2006. С. 277—280.

⁵ Докучаева С.В. Аналитическая модель культурной дипломатии: перспективы уточнения исследовательского инструментария. Управление в современных системах. №3(10,) 2016. –С. 41-48. Она приводит дефиниции различных авторов, которые работали в данной сфере, в том числе С.К.Романовского, В.И.Фокина, Н.М. Боголюбова, Ю.В. Николаевой, Н.А. Цветковой, Ф. Нинковича, Ф. Баргхорн, Журавлевой Н. и других.

⁶ Cm.: Barghoorn F.C. The Soviet Cultural Offensive. The role of Cultural Diplomacy in Soviet Foreign Policy. Princeton, 1960.

⁷ Голубев А.В. «Звездный час» советской культурной дипломатии: 1929—1939 гг. // Россия и современный мир. — 1999. — № 2. — С. 5.

⁸ Дэвид-Фокс М. Витрины великого эксперимента. Культурная дипломатия Советского Союза и его западные гости, 1921-1941 гг.М.: Новое литературное обозрение, 2015. – 568 с.

⁹ Milton C. Cummings, Jr., Ph.D. Cultural Diplomacy and the United States Government: A Survey. Center for Arts and Culture, 2003, p. 1.

¹⁰ Цвык Г.И. Культурная дипломатия в современных международных отношениях (на примере России и Китая). Вестник РУДН. Серия: Всеобщая история. Номер 10 (2).2018. -C.135-144.

объектов культуры, образовательных программ, обмен научными, образовательными и иными достижениями, литературу (перевод популярных произведений) и т.д.¹¹

Все эти инструменты содействуют пониманию национальной культуры страны иностранной аудиторией и достижению внешнеполитических целей государства посредством развития международного культурного сотрудничества. Они могут быть также использованы НПО, диаспорами и политическими партиями за рубежом¹². Эти инструменты, как правило, не создаются государством, а порождаются культурой. Тем не менее, именно правительства способствуют популяризации культурных достояний за границей.

Вопросам научного исследования и преподавания культурной дипломатии как университетской дисциплины, в предыдущие периоды мало уделялось внимание¹³. Более того, в учебных программах подготовки специалистов по международным отношениям и вовсе не значились такие предметы как «публичная дипломатия», «мягкая сила», «культурная дипломатия». Общие тексты по дипломатии, которые включают культурную дипломатию, едва упоминают или обсуждают эту практику. В общем, на протяжении почти всего предыдущего периода отсутствовал какой-либо научный интерес к культурной дипломатии.

Понимая важность культурного компонента в осуществлении внешней политики, основными задачами которого выступают защита национальных интересов, обеспечение национальной безопасности и развития государства, после открытия кафедры дипломатии и внешней политики Таджикского национального университета, было принято решение о внедрении специального курса «Культурная дипломатия» при подготовке кадров по направлению международные отношения данного ВУЗа.

В 2018-2019 учебном году «Культурная дипломатия» была включена в перечень предметов по выбору студентов по направлению «международные отношения» ТНУ. В течении этого года были разработаны не только учебная программа, силабус и курс лекций по данному предмету, но и учебник для студентов по направлению подготовки «международные отношения», «дипломатия и внешняя политика», «зарубежное регионоведение», и «информационно-аналитическая деятельность», который является первой попыткой теоретического и практического осмысления данного направления дипломатии. Тем самым привлечено внимание специалистов, руководства факультета и университета к данной дисциплине.

Важным достижением, можно считать выбор данной темы/направления в качестве национальной исследовательской темы команды Таджикистана в рамках международного Проекта GCRF COMPASS (Comprehensive Capacity-Building in the Eastern Neighbourhood and Central Asia: research integration, impact governance & sustainable communities) объединяющего

¹¹ Cultural Diplomacy, Political Influence, and Integrated Strategy in Strategic Influence: Public Diplomacy, Counterpropaganda, and Political Warfare, ed. Michael J. Waller (Washington, DC: Institute of World Politics Press, 2009), 82-87.

¹² Mark Leonard. Diplomacy by Other Means. Foreign Policy, 132 (September/October 2002). P. 51, 52.

¹³ Это также касается «Экономической дипломатии» и «Военной дипломатии». Автор попытался раскрыть и теоретические и практические аспекты данных направлений в таких работах, как: Салимов Ф.Н. Основы военной дипломатии. Учебник. / Х.Д.Самиев, Ф.Н.Салимов. – Душанбе: Истеъдод, 2019. 248 с.; Салимов Ф.Н. Наќш ва маќоми дипломатияи иќтисодї дар арсенали сиёсати хориљии давлат (Роль и место экономической дипломатии в арсенале внешней политики государств (на тадж.языке) // Вестник Таджикского национального университета 2019. №4. – с.13-20 (УДК: 930 (091) (575.3) и др.

¹⁴ Салимов Ф.Н. Культурная дипломатия. Учебник. / Ф.Н. Салимов. – Душанбе: Истеъдод, 2019, 168 с. Свою рецензию данной работе дали доктор филологических наук, профессор, Чрезвычайный и полномочный посланник I категории Абдунаби Сатторзода и кандидат филологических наук, Член Шведского Института (Стокгольм), Член Центра Наук о Человеке Mazon De Science L'Homme (Париж), член-кор. Кембриджского Университета Мунира Шахиди.

Кембриджский и Кентские университеты Великобритании, Белорусский государственный университет, Дипломатическую академию Азербайджана, Университет мировой экономики и дипломатии (Ташкент) и Таджикский национальный университет.

При поддержке профессоров Е.Коростылевой (Университет Кент) и С.Саксены (Университет Кембридж) 15-16 сентября 2019 года на очень высоком уровне была организована и проведена международная научно-практическая конференция на тему «Таджикистан и культурная дипломатия в Центральной Азии и Евразии» 15.

Исследованием данной темы на сегодняшний день на факультете занимаются профессор Самиев Х.Д., Салимов Ф.Н., Мунира Шахиди и другие, результаты работ которых в виде статей, обзоров и докладов предлагаются на различных площадках.¹⁶.

«Культурная дипломатия» на сегодняшний день уже включена в программу подготовки «менеджеров по туризму» Таджикского Государственного института искусств. Более того, данный предмет включена в перечень профессиональных дисциплин Государственного образовательного стандарта высшего профессионального образования по направлению: 1-23010100 — Внешняя политика и дипломатия (бакалавр) Таджикского национального университета, набор которых будет произведён в 2020-2021 учебном году.

Что же касается внешней политики, надо отметить, что культура и культурные отношения упоминаются как вид дипломатической деятельности и направление внешней политики во многих документах, регулирующих деятельность государственных органов в данной сфере.

Например, взаимоотношения в сфере культуры отмечаются в Статье 3 **Венской конвенции о дипломатических сношениях** в числе «функций дипломатического представителя»:¹⁷

- е) поощрении дружественных отношений между аккредитующим государством и государством пребывания и в развитии их взаимоотношений в области экономики, *культуры* и науки.
- В *Венской конвенции о консульских сношениях* «культура и культурные взаимоотношения» приводятся в Статье 5 в качестве основных функций консулов:¹⁸
- b) содействие развитию торговых, экономических, *культурных* и научных связей между представляемым государством и государством пребывания...;
- В **Положении о правах и обязанностях Чрезвычайного и полномочного посла РТ**, в числе других задач определяются следующие касающиеся культуры (нумерация документа сохранена):¹⁹
- в) обеспечивать высокую эффективность сотрудничества со страной пребывания в политической, экономической, военной, *культурной* и других сферах;

¹⁵ См.: Специальный Представитель Европейского Союза по Центральной Азии Петер Буриан посетил Душанбе//https://eeas.europa.eu/delegations/tajikistan/67592/node/67592_tg

¹⁶ Cultural Diplomacy in Central Asia and Eurasia. 16 -17 September, Dushanbe, Tajikistan // https://research.kent.ac.uk/gcrf-compass/wp-content/uploads/sites/169/2019/11/TNU-Conference-Final-programme-12-September-v2.pdf; Uzbekistan in the Context of Regional Security and Global Change, 7-8 November 2019, Tashkent, Uzbekistan // https://research.kent.ac.uk/gcrf-compass/wp-content/uploads/sites/169/2019/11/UWED-Conference-Programme-and-brochure-final-res.pdf;

¹⁷ Венская конвенция о дипломатических сношениях// https://mfa.tj/tg/main/view/117/konvensiyai-vena-oid-ba-munosibathoi-diplomati

¹⁸ Венская конвенции о консульских сношениях// http://www.consultant.ru/document/cons doc LAW 121141/

¹⁹ Положение об основных правах и обязанностях Чрезвычайного и Полномочного посла Республики Таджикистан, аккредитованного в других государствах//https://mfa.tj/tg/main/view/130/nizomnoma-dar-borai-huququ-uhdadorihoi-asosii-safiri-favqulodda-va-mukhtori-jumhurii-tojikiston

г) реально оценивать политику страны пребывания, особенно на перспективу, с точки зрения внешнеполитических, экономических и иных интересов Республики Таджикистан, вести дело к улучшению политических отношений, развитию взаимовыгодных экономических, научно-технических и торговых связей, расширению обменов в области культуры и других областях;

д) активно и настойчиво работать над развитием отношений Республики Таджикистан с государством пребывания в целях расширения и углубления взаимовыгодного сотрудничества во всех областях как на двусторонней, так и на многосторонней основе, изучать внутреннюю и внешнюю политику, а также социально-экономическую и культурную жизнь данной страны и систематически направлять в Министерство иностранных дел всестороннюю информацию по этим вопросам со своими оценками и предложениями по реализации внешнеполитических и экономических задач в данном государстве, регулярно информировать о позиции страны пребывания по общим международным проблемам, строить отношения с ее руководством и общественностью, уважая местные традиции и обычаи, особенности исторического, культурного и иного развития;

и) **устанавливать и закреплять личные контакты** с государственными и политическими деятелями, представителями деловых, общественных, научных, культурных, религиозных и других кругов страны пребывания, работниками средств массовой информации, членами дипломатического корпуса, обеспечения реализации контакты ДЛЯ интересов Республики Таджикистан, постоянного активного разъяснения политики республики и оказания влияния на общественное мнение и внешнюю политику правительства страны пребывания, а также для получения полезной информации.

В **Положении о посольстве Республики Таджикистан** в числе функций Посольства указываются - «содействие развитию дружественных и взаимовыгодных отношений между Республикой Таджикистан и страной пребывания в области экономики, *культуры*, науки и других сферах».²⁰

Надо учесть, что подразделения гуманитарных и культурных связей могут функционировать в форме отделов или групп в Посольстве РТ за рубежом²¹.

Тут можно привести в качестве примера, и Консульский Устав²² в котором говорится об обязанностях консула оказать содействие в проведении культурных и массовых мероприятий граждан РТ проживающих на территории консульского округа.

Культура и культурные аспекты рассматриваются в «Глава 4. Развитие человеческого капитала и улучшение качества услуг социального сектора» в Программе среднесрочного развития Республики Таджикистан **на** 2016-2020²³ а также в Национальной стратегии развития Республики Таджикистан на период до 2030 года²⁴.

²² Консульский устав Республики Таджикистан (Решение Правительства РТ от 02.11.2007 № 546)// https://mfa.ti/tg/main/view/131/oinnomai-konsulii-jumhurii-tojikiston

²⁰ Положение о Посольстве Республики Таджикистан (Утверждено Указом Президента Республики Таджикистан от 23 января 1995 года № 165)// https://mfa.tj/tg/main/view/129/nizomnoma-dar-borai-saforati-jumhurii-tojikiston

²¹ Там же.

²³ Программа среднесрочного развития Республики Таджикистан на 2016-2020 годы // http://www.gst.tj/programa-srednesrochnogo-razvitiya-respubliki-tadzhikistan-na-2016-2020-godi.html

²⁴ Национальной стратегии развития Республики Таджикистан на период до 2030 года// http://ef-ca.tj/publications/02.2_rus(FILEminimizer).pdf

К сожалению, «понятие», «фактор», «явление» вообще культура как инструмент упоминаются в данных нормативно-правовых актах как нечто обычное, что должно быть учтено, но не как обязательный вид деятельности.

Ситуация изменилась с принятием Концепции внешней политики Республики Таджикистан²⁵, (утвержденная Приказом Президента Республики Таджикистан 27 января 2015 года (далее – Концепция, С. Ф.), которая стала адаптированным к современным условиям международной среды документом, определяющим основные направления, механизмы и принципы внешней политики и дипломатии страны.

Отличительной чертой новой Концепции является то, что в нем, впервые на уровне такого стратегического документа признана роль культурно-гуманитарных отношений во внешней политике государства. В пункте 3.5. Концепции, культурно-гуманитарная дипломатия выделяется в качестве приоритетных направлений внешней политики страны.

Приоритетность данного вида дипломатии обосновывается прежде всего тем, что «Усиливающийся процесс глобализации представляет собой беспримерно тесные взаимоотношения между нациями и государствами и создает возможности доступа к новейшим достижениям и ценностям цивилизации, использования всем человечеством результатов созидательной интеллектуальной деятельности. Наряду с этим, материальные и духовные проблемы человечества также приобретают глобальный характер, что вызывает возрастание давления на национальные культурные традиции и ценности народов и рост столкновения цивилизаций. В этих условиях одним из приоритетов внешней политики Республики Таджикистан является реализация такой культурной и гуманитарной дипломатии, которая с учетом положительных и отрицательных тенденций процессов глобализации обеспечивает духовное бытие, защиту и сохранность коренных национальных духовнокультурных ценностей таджикского народа, содействует достойному представлению Республики Таджикистан на международной арене как страны, обладающей древней историей и культурой и современным демократическим и правовым государством, расширению культурно-гуманитарного сотрудничества со странами мирового сообщества с целью укрепления положительного восприятия Таджикистана и его народа»²⁶.

В концепции отражены следующие задачи для реализации культурной дипломатии:

- укрепление договорно-правовой базы культурно-гуманитарных связей с иностранными государствами и региональными и международными организациями;
- активная защита прав, интересов и достоинства граждан, в том числе трудовых мигрантов Республики Таджикистан за рубежом посредством формирования всеохватывающей правовой базы и расширения консульского присутствия Республики Таджикистан в регионах компактного нахождения граждан страны за границей;
- правовая и культурно-просветительская поддержка зарубежных соотечественников на основе международно-правовых актов и международных договоров Республики Таджикистан, содействие объединениям соотечественников за рубежом и защита этнокультурной идентичности, включая родного языка в рамках законов государств их проживания;
- содействие созидательной деятельности Форума таджиков и персоязычных мира для укрепления контактов страны с зарубежными соотечественниками, привлечение их потенциала для развития политического, экономического и духовно-культурного взаимодействия, создания атмосферы интереса и доброжелательного отношения к

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²⁵ Концепция внешней политики Республики Таджикистан (Утверждена Указом Президента Республики Таджикистан от 27 января 2015 года, № 332)// https://tajemb.kiev.ua/kontseptsiya-vneshnej-politiki-respubliki-tadzhikistan/

²⁶ Там же.

Таджикистану и его народу со стороны мирового сообщества и международных политических кругов;

- содействие формированию благоприятных условий для пребывания и посещения иностранными гражданами Таджикистана для развития международного туризма и привлечения туристов в страну;
- содействие организации диалога цивилизаций и конфессий с упором на исторический опыт и вклад таджиков в формировании религиозной и цивилизационной толерантности.

Как известно, Таджикистан с 2002 года активно реализует политику «открытых дверей», которая является частью более широкой по охвату, задачам, содержанию и целям многовекторной политики. Концепция 2015 года является отражением предпринятых страной в рамках данной политики шагов.

Для реализации культурно-гуманитарной дипломатии Республика Таджикистан пользуется как двусторонними, так и многосторонними механизмами.

В качестве одного из важных механизмов реализации культурной дипломатии можно назвать сотрудничество в рамках, и с использованием потенциала ЮНЕСКО (специализированное учреждение Организации Объединённых Наций по вопросам образования, науки и культуры). Таджикистан вступила в ЮНЕСКО 6 апреля 1993 года. В том же году было принято решение об учреждении Национальной комиссии Таджикистана по делам ЮНЕСКО при Министерстве иностранных дел Республики Таджикистан.

С момента вступления в Организацию многогранное взаимовыгодное сотрудничество между Таджикистаном и ЮНЕСКО расширялось и наполнялось новым конструктивным содержанием²⁷.

Участие в данной организации, позволило стране инициировать и продвигать различные проекты в области культуры, науки и образования, внося существенный вклад в защиту и популяризацию всемирного культурного и природного наследия.

Празднования 5500-летия городища Саразм и 700-летия таджикского поэта Камола Худжанди включены в список юбилейных мероприятий ЮНЕСКО на 2020 г.²⁸

По инициативе нашей страны «Шашмаком», «Фалак», национальный стиль платьев «Чакан», национальное блюдо «Оши Палав», праздник «Навруз» были включены во всемирный список материального и нематериального культурного наследия.

Еще одним инструментом реализации культурной дипломатии являются общественные организации. Ярким примером является Таджикское общество дружбы и культурных связей с зарубежными странами (ТОДКС), которая было создана по инициативе общественности Таджикской ССР 31 октября 1958 года²⁹.

Надо отметить, что данное общество на сегодняшний день объединяет более 20 таких организаций, руководителями которых выступают видные ощественные, политические, научные деятели и деятели культуры.

И конечно, важнейшим инструментом реализации культурной дипломатии являются двусторонние культурные связи Республики с зарубежными странами. Анализ трудов отечественных и зарубежных авторов показывает насколько культуре и культурному

²⁷ Сотрудничество Республики Таджикистан с ЮНЕСКО// https://mfa.tj/ru/main/view/2457/sotrudnichestvo-respubliki-tadzhikistan-s-yunesko

²⁸ Празднование 5500-летия Саразма в Таджикистане пройдет под эгидой ЮНЕСКО// https://fergana.agency/news/113122/

 $^{^{29}}$ Официальный сайт Таджикского общества дружбы и культурных связей с зарубежными странами //http://www.friendship.tj/index.php/suro-a

взаимодействию уделяется внимание в двусторонних отношениях. Например, в работе Д.Фармонова,³⁰ Ш.А.Разокова,³¹ П.Пирназаровой,³² Ф.Розикова³³, Меликиан М.³⁴ и др.

Анализ этих трудов, а также проведенное исследование позволяют сделать вывод, что Таджикистан постепенно начал наращивать потенциал культурной дипломатии для реализации национальных интересов. Республика обладает определенной культурной инфраструктурой, происходит осознание важности историко-культурного наследия в продвижении национальных интересов, работы с ирредентами и диаспорами зарубежом. Таджикистан является инициатором и одним из важных участников региональной интеграции на культурно-цивилизационной основе.

Вспоминая данную М.Камингсом определения "культурной дипломатии", как «обмен идеями, информацией, искусством и другими аспектами культуры между нациями и их народами для содействия взаимопониманию, которое также может быть скорее *улицей с односторонним движением*, чем двусторонним обменом..." нужно определится с потенциалом данного вида дипломатии.

Мы могли бы выделить ряд основных по нашему мнению потенциальных возможностей для эффективной реализации культурной дипломатии, каждая из которых заслуживает отдельного исследования и разработки, как в виде статей, монографий, так и в виде стратегии реализации культурной дипломатии.

Важным потенциалом для культурной дипломатии нашей страны может выступить культурное наследие таджикского народа. История региона на протяжении последнего тысячилетия доказывает, что таджикский народ был "производителем" культурного продукта. Великие ученые, поэты, в том числе Абу Али Ибн Сино, Фирдавси, Аль-Фороби, Арузи Самарканди, Асади Туси, Фарид-ад-дин Аттор, Абулфазл Байхаки, Камолиддин Бехзод, Дакики, Низам-аль-Мульк, Руми, Закария Рози, Хайём, Носири Хусрав, религиозные деятели Ал-Бухори, Мухаммад Ал-Газзали, Нуриддин Джоми, Бахауддин Накшбанд и сотни других, которые творили на персидском языке и были выходцами из Хорасана и Мавераннахра и труды которых получили мировую известность. Перевод их трудов (в том числе религиозной литературы, которая воспитывает толерантность в противовес экстремистским и радикальным течениям ислама) дали бы возможность Таджикистану возродить былую славу "производителя" культуры.

Перевод на кирилицу "запрещенных" и не изданных по тем или иным мотивам трудов мыслителей Мавераннахра и Хорасан на персидском языке, не сложный, но объединяющий фактор для населения Таджикистана, Узбекистана, Кыргызстана, Казахстана.

³¹ Разоков Ш. Установление и развитие дипломатических, социально-экономических и культурных взаимоотношений Таджикистана с арабскими государствами Персидского залива: 1991-2011 гг. Автореф.дис.на соис.уч.степен.канд.наук.по спец.07.00.02 — отечественная история (исторические науки), Душанбе 2012. 26 стр

³⁰ Фармонов Д. Политическое, экономическое и культурное сотрудничество Республики Таджикистан с государствами Центральной Азии в период независимости: 1992-2007 гг. Автореф. дис. на соис. уч. степен. канд. наук. по спец.07.00.02 – отечественная история (исторические науки), Хучанд 2012. –24 стр.;

³² Пираназарова П. Взаимоотношения Республики Таджикистан и Российской Федерации в сфере образования, науки и культуры: 1991-2011 гг. Автореф.дис.на соис.уч.степен.канд.наук.по спец.07.00.02 – отечественная история (исторические науки), Душанбе 2013. 29 стр

³³ Розиков Ф.М. Дипломатические, торгово-экономические и культурные взаимоотношения Таджикистана и России в период независимости. Автореф.дис.на соис.уч.степен.канд.наук.по спец.07.00.02 – отечественная история (исторические науки), Душанбе 2013. 23 стр

³⁴ Меликиан М. Культурные связи Республики Таджикистан с Исламской Республикой Иран. Диссертации по гуманитарным наукам - http://cheloveknauka.com/kulturnye-svyazi-respubliki-tadzhikistans-islamskoy-respublikoy-iran#ixzz67yzXmmc9

Также немаловажна роль современных проявлений культурного потенциала, в том числе в сфере искуства. В этом направлении важную роль сыграет открытие музея современного искуства, которая дала бы возможность знакомить мировую общественность, гостей страны с творчеством наших художников, представителей искуства, организция их выставок зарубежом.

Как известно 2019-2021 годы объявлены в Таджикистане "годами развития села, туризма и народных ремесел". Основной целью предложения президента является осуществление усилий правительства страны по еще большему обустройству Таджикистана и решению социальных вопросов населения путем улучшения инфраструктуры ... создания рабочих мест, строительства и реконструкции местных дорог, развития туристической инфраструктуры и народных ремесел, повышения уровня услуг и благосостояния народа³⁵. Надо отметить, что данные шаги могут способствовать развитию туристической отрасли. Объявленный годом ранее "2018 год туризма" привел к увеличению количество туристов в страну почти на 2,6 раз. С начала года, например, количество туристов из России в Таджикистан увеличилось на 13% 37. Далее в стране можно развивать паломнический, экологический, познавательный, этнографический, лечебно-оздоровительный, сельский и иные виды туризма.

Важным механизмом могла бы стать организация совместных со странами региона образовательных, культурных, научных проектов, а также программ стажировок представителей науки, культуры и искуства друг у друга. А оррганизация и предоставление государственных грантовых на обучение для ирредентов, представителей таджикской диаспоры зарубежом и всех желающих изучить персидскую литературу, ислам, философские учения, таджикский язык в ВУЗах Республики Таджикистан могла бы стать успешным инструментом реализации культурной дипломатии.

Ограниченные рамки статьи не позволяют более шире расскрыть малоиспользуемые и совсем неиспользуемый культурный потенциал Республики Таджикистан для продвижения национальных интересов во внешней политике. Дальнейшая разработка теоретических и практических аспектов культурной дипломатии, использования туристического, культурно-исторического, научного потенциала для продвижения национальных интересов Республики Таджикистан, в том числе в деле региональной интеграции и обеспечения региональной стабильности должны стать одним из стратегических направлений деятельности факультета международных отношений и Центра экспертно-аналитических исследований ТНУ.

³⁵ Указ Президента РТ об объявлении 2019-2021 годов «Годами развития села, туризма и народных ремесел», Информационное агенство «Авеста»// http://avesta.tj/2019/01/03/ukaz-prezidenta-rt-ob-obyavlenii-2019-2021-godov-godami-razvitiya-sela-turizma-i-narodnyh-remesel/

³⁶ По данным Комитета по развитию туризма при правительстве РТ, в 2017 году страну посетили 430 тыс. 922 туриста, а в 2018 году в Таджикистане побывали свыше 1 млн. 150 тыс. иностранных граждан. См.: «В Таджикистане для привлечения туристов восстановлено 65% санаториев и курортов». Информационное агентство «Авеста»// http://avesta.tj/2019/03/05/v-tadzhikistane-dlya-privlecheniya-turistov-vosstanovleno-65-sanatoriev-i-kurortov/

³⁷ Число турпоездок в Таджикистан из России в 2019 году выросло на 13%. Медиа Группа «Азия Плюс» // https://asiaplustj.info/ru/news/tajikistan/society/20191211/chislo-turpoezdok-v-tadzhikistan-iz-rossii-v-2019-godu-viroslo-na-13

KHOLAKHMAD SAMIEV¹ – Internationalization of the TNU education system: problems and prospects

Introduction

Internationalization of education is one of the factors ensuring international educational cooperation in the modern world, the lever of which is promotion of the national interests of the interacting parties, as well as increasing competition in the world market. In general, the internationalization of education encompasses all the forms and activities that are realized by individual countries, as well as their higher education institutions, providing for international cooperation both at the level of educational systems, educational organizations, and at the level of individuals. The internationalization of higher education means not only the mobility of students, but also "crossing the borders" of universities and offering their services to those countries which do not have the necessary capabilities for satisfying the demand for higher education. The reaction of universities to the process of internationalization is expressed through the export of educational services and programmes, and the creation of branches in other countries.

The internationalization of modern higher education actualizes the problem of adaptation of foreign students to the alien reality of higher education in an unfamiliar country. In the course of training, foreign students will be experienced with an overabundance of information coming from outside - the information arrives at all levels, both in the educational process and outside it, which leads to certain difficulties. Therefore, it is necessary to clearly understand how foreign students feel in a new sociocultural environment, and what measures can be taken to improve living conditions and training, as well as facilitate the adaptation process.

The global trends of globalization and internationalization, which widely covered all areas of human activity, particularly affected the higher education system, thereby requiring the emergence of qualitatively new approaches to the structure and organization of the international activities of higher education institutions. The internationalization of higher education has recently become more and more real. There is a close rapprochement of problems, trends, tasks and goals in the field of higher education which manifest themselves in various national education systems.

Aims and areas of higher education cooperation

Among the most significant reasons for the internationalization of higher education are the following:

- globalization of the economy and technology, the requirements of global and regional labour markets:
- the development of integration processes in the political and social spheres;
- the growth of international openness and the developing dialogue of national cultures;
- the formation of international quality standards;
- · new information technologies and global networks.

The internationalization of higher education as a mean of access to the international market for educational services have significantly updated the problem of the development of international

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cooperation of the university. The international activities of our university are determined by its educational concept, built on the principles of open, developing and innovative learning. It is aimed at actively integrating the university into the global educational space, ensuring its full participation in international programmes, establishing direct contacts and interacting with research and educational institutions of foreign countries.

One of the main goals of international activity is the comprehensive integration of the university as an equal partner in the world market of educational services and increasing the authority of the university, taking into account the use of international experience. Ultimately, the international activities carried out by the university contribute to the solution of the main tasks set for the university to train highly qualified specialists, develop priority areas of science, improve diagnostic methods and treat patients.

The main areas of TNU's work in the field of international activity development are:

- participation in international educational programmes;
- · training of foreign citizens;
- secondment of university employees abroad and the reception of foreign specialists in order to exchange experience in various fields of specialist training;
- participation in international training seminars in the Republic of Tajikistan and abroad;
- the exchange of students with foreign universities in order to take part in various forms of internships;
- Training, specialization, and promoting training of university staff.

TNU's international cooperation agreements

Tajik National University is an active participant in international educational and scientific cooperation. The number of concluded cooperation agreements is steadily increasing. Nowadays, TNU has concluded agreements with more than 254 higher educational institutions, research institutions and organizations on cooperation. It has agreements with a member of CIS Network University, the SCO University, the Association of Universities of Eurasia, the founders of the Association of Universities of Central Asia and other international organizations. Only in 2018 TNU signed agreements on cooperation with 30 higher educational institutions, among them are Bishkek Humanitarian University, Liaoning University of Petrochemical Technology, Higher Education Institution A. Navoi, Grodno State University named after Y. Kupala (Belarus), Mordovian State University (RF), the State Geological and Exploration University named after S. Ordzhonikidze, and Samarkand State University.

Higher Education reform in Tajikistan

The process of reforming of higher education in the republic began during the period of the country's independence and during this time a number of legislative acts and state programmes were adopted which were aimed at modernizing and reforming higher education, including the new Law of the Republic of Tajikistan "On Education" and the National Strategy for the Development of Education.

I would like to note that since 2005, the transition to a multi-level education system has begun at our university, with the process of implementing the European credit transfer and accumulation system (ESTC). International organizations such as the "Open Society Institute", the Assistance Fund in

Tajikistan, the "Eurasia Foundation", and the "Tempus" and "Erasmus Mundus" programmes have made a significant contribution to the transition to new teaching technologies.

In addition, "Tempus projects" have contributed to the reform of educational programmes, the modernization of international relations departments and the development of their potential, the development of internationalization of education, the formation of partnerships with European universities, as well as the development of quality assurance systems and the development of a national qualification framework.

It must be acknowledged that the participation of Tajik universities with European partner universities in the framework of these programmes contributed to the promotion of the Bologna principles and tools in the higher education system, and the government of the Republic is deciding on the accession of our country to the Bologna Declaration. We hope that our country will become a full participant in this process in the near future.

International mobility and Erasmus+

Tajik National University is one of the active participants in European educational programmes. Our university fruitfully participated in the implementation of the project of the Erasmus+ programme in partnership with universities in the European Union and Tajikistan. Upon completion of the project, the partner universities created independent quality assurance and accreditation agencies, developed quality assurance guidelines and tools for self-assessment. Another achievement was the successful accreditation in our university of the educational programme "World Economy" by experts of these agencies with the participation of European experts. University teachers have also successfully completed trainings to evaluate the internal and external systems for ensuring the quality of education.

As part of mobility projects our students and teachers have the opportunity to undergo training and internships for one semester (6 months) in these universities. It is possible to envy our students, as they have a unique opportunity to learn English and beside it other foreign languages, such as Italian or Turkish. This mobility programme is two-sided and is implemented through the exchange of both students and teachers.

The activities of the Erasmus+ programme are supported by the Ministry of Education and Science of the Republic, which expresses particular interest in the systematic dissemination of project results and considers them as an important factor in the modernization and reforming of higher education in the country. At the same time, I believe that dissemination of project results is not carried out at the proper level. Although a lot of work is being done within the framework of the projects, a lot of different educational materials and manuals are being published, websites with detailed information about the activities of the projects, with the possibility of downloading project materials are available, however, the participants of seminars and round tables within the framework of the projects do not always timely inform the project results to the management universities, their colleagues and students. Therefore, it remains important to strengthen the work of organizing the systematic dissemination of information on the results achieved among the university community.

Sustainability and funding

As for the sustainability of projects, I can answer for our university that all centers created within the framework of projects successfully operate, they plan their activities annually, organize thematic seminars and round tables, distribute booklets, manuals, study guides and other educational materials published in project frameworks. So, for example, on 30 December 2019, on the basis of the independent Quality Assurance and Accreditation Agency which is created at our university is planned to organize a seminar on "European Standards and Guidelines for Quality Assurance (ESG) in Practice: Importance for Universities and the Education System as a Whole", where issues of higher education reform will be discussed.

Nowadays the internationalization of higher education is focused primarily on the international mobility of students. However, most of university students do not have the ability or financial support to travel abroad for short-term or long-term studies. Therefore, in order for a large proportion of local students to take advantage of internationalization they don't need to go abroad, but the internationalization of programmes and study programmes in the country, crucial for a holistic and inclusive approach for all students, are available in the country.

The internationalization of education cannot be imagined without another area of international cooperation - the export of educational services.

Key activity of the university administration is developing and strengthening of international cooperation in the field of science and education, in particular the exchange of teachers and students, joint participation in scientific symposiums, conferences, development and implementation of joint study programs for undergraduate and graduate programs, the creation of interstate joint councils for the defense of candidate and doctoral dissertations, the development and the implementation of grants.

So in 2018, the university received more than 516 guests as part of 178 delegations of universities, research centers, diplomatic missions, international organizations. Scientists and researchers from 21 countries took part in the work of scientific conferences of symposiums and more than 14 diplomatic representatives of the diplomatic corps in Dushanbe made scientific reports and open lectures.

One of the important activities of TNU is securing grants and implementing international education projects. At the current stage, several grants are being implemented at the university, including the "Intelligent Campus" project, the main goal of which is to provide Wi-Fi access to the campus. This project is funded by the Peace and Development Fund of China (400,000 thousand dollars). Another main grant awarded to TNU comes from Norway, and funds the "Network" project (CPEA-LT-2016/10095). The project aims to build a network for improving research-based higher education in basic and applied microbiology, and is designed for 2017-2019 with a total budget of 3 million Norwegian kroner. Scientists from Tajikistan, Armenia, Georgia, Uzbekistan, and Norway are participating in this project. Furthermore, the Eurasian-Norwegian Cooperation on Research and Education in the Field of Microbiology, implemented by the Center for Biotechnology with the Bergen University of Norway, continued this year. Within the framework of this project, scientists from the TNU traveled to Georgia and Norway to carry out research work. An overview with several other projects currently running at TNU can be found in the Annex below.

Conclusion

To continue the internationalization of higher education in Tajikistan, a number of action points seems important. We should continue to: (i) develop a strategy for the internationalization of the university and other working documents, developing partnerships; (ii) Diversify education (development of joint educational programmes (joint degrees, double degrees etc); (iii) upgrade programmes and modules; (iv) create centres for the study of foreign languages, as well as groups with English and Russian languages of instruction; and to (v) enter the global market for educational services.

Specific indicators of progress in this area can be: the use of new technologies; the removal of language barriers; an improvement in the material and technical base as well as resource centres and scientific and methodological materials; a building up of Human Resources units; better awareness and involvement in international citation indexes; and, lastly, international accreditation.

Annex 1. Overview of international projects and events at TNU

- Project "Higher Science-Based Higher Education Improvement Network in Microbiological Biotechnology" Network for higher research in microbial biotechnology CPEA-LT-2017/10061, 2018-2021. Scientists from Tajikistan, Armenia, Georgia, Norway, China, Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan are participating in this project. The total project budget is \$ 3 million. Norwegian crane. The project financing began on 1 July 2018.
- Project for Capacity Building of the Insurance and Statistics Agency (ICON) INSTITUT Public Sector GmbH (Germany), € 9,589. Within the framework of this program over 14 specialists of insurance agencies and statistics of state structures have passed training courses and were awarded with international certificates.
- COMPASS "Capacity Coverage Foundation for Eastern and Central Asian Neighborhoods: Scientific Integration, Effective Governance and a Sustainable Community", implemented jointly with Cambridge University, Belarusian State University and Samarkand State University.
- English Language Training Leadership Projects (TMS), supported by the British Embassy, has facilitated English language teaching for 15 university staff members for six months. A professor from the Welsh University was invited as a teacher.
- Destroying Libraries project, supported and funded by the London Library.
- The "TACES" European Studies project is funded by the European Union under the Erasmus+ programme, supported by the efforts of the university rector to extend the third year. This year, the first masters of this project graduated from the University with a degree in the field of Foreign regional studies.
- EXTEND Project is a project aimed at improving engineering education and is funded by the Erasmus+ programme. TNU partners are domestic universities (Technological University of Tajikistan, Kulob State University and Khujand State University) and European Universities (Riga Technical University, Romanian State University and Portugal University). The project will commence in December 2019 and will be implemented by 2020.
- In the framework of Erasmus+, exchange of students with Alexander Ioan Kuza University of Romania, Warna University of Bulgaria, University of Marburg, German Technical University, Masaraki University, and University of Tartu, Estonia, is taking place.
- On 16 December 2017 a workshop titled "Internationalization of Higher Education in Tajikistan: The experience of European Universities" was held in Tajikistan. The problem of internationalization of higher educational institutions in the Republic of Tajikistan was discussed. The main priority areas

were defined: The involvement of various groups in Tajikistan (students, preachers, researchers, etc.) in the emerging of the labour marketplace; improvement of the quality of education and higher education potential; Marketing research on the needs of labour marketing and other stakeholders; Effective management of higher education institutions' financing system; investment in the Bologna Process; improve the export potential of universities, by offering educational programmes on the international educational market with the aim of attracting foreign students to study long term and short term (under the mobility programme) and attracting teachers to take short-term continuing education courses (on teacher mobility, exchange of experience, etc).

FARZONA SHAMSIDDIN¹ - Cultural aspects of inter-state relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan

Introduction

Tajikistan and Afghanistan are not only neighbouring countries that share a common border, but also have a centuries- old historical, cultural and religious shared community. In addition, the two peoples are united by language. For many centuries these peoples lived as part of one state. Since the reign of the Samanids, Ghaznavids and Seljukids, Tajiks and Afghans not only lived together in a single territory, but they together created a common cultural space. They jointly built cities, cultural centers and historical monuments. They created masterpieces of the world literary heritage in their common native language.

Cultural relations throughout time

It should be noted that in the history of Afghanistan, the cultural factor has always influenced the formation of not only statehood, but also it significantly contributed to the development of transnational and interethnic relations in this country. The process of creating a centralized Afghan state, according to many historians, was completed by the end of the 19th and early 20th centuries. This process accelerated especially during the reign of Emir Abdurrakhmankhan. This initiative was continued by the successors of Emir Abdurrahman, and the Emir Habibullah and Emir Amonullahan. In the formation of Afghan statehood, along with other nationalities, Tajiks made a significant contribution in the person of the Tajik ruler of Afghanistan, Habibullah Kalakoni.

It should be noted that Afghanistan is a unitary multi-ethnic state, it is administratively divided into more than thirty provinces, in which at least thirty nationalities live. The most significant in numbers are Pashtuns and Tajiks, who have common Iranian ethnogenetic origin. 99% of the population of Afghanistan profess Islam and Sunnism of the *Hanafi madhhab* is prevalent in the country. In Afghanistan, only 19% are Shiites. Therefore, the religious factor is also important for the development of relations between Afghanistan and its neighbouring states, especially with Tajikistan, since Sunnism is also dominant in Tajikistan.

Cultural relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan expanded markedly in the second half of the twentieth century. In March 1960, an Agreement on cultural cooperation between the Soviet Union and Afghanistan was signed. On the basis of this document, cultural relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan have acquired a systemic character. Cooperation in the sphere of theatre, cinema, radio, science, literature, education and tourism became the most important directions. The further development of this cooperation contributed to the adoption of the programme of cultural and scientific cooperation between the USSR and Afghanistan, signed on February 28, 1972, in Kabul. The programme contributed to the further development of cooperation in the fields of culture, art, health and education. Both sides pledged to further strengthen the traditional friendship and cooperation between the peoples of the Soviet Union and Afghanistan.

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Academic cooperation

These processes received a powerful impetus after the victory of the April Revolution in 1978. During this period, cultural cooperation between Afghanistan and Tajikistan gained particular importance. It was during this period that exchanges in the fields of history, archeology, literature, language, and in some areas of fundamental sciences gradually expanded and developed. The Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan and its institutes actively participated in the creation of the Academy of Sciences of Afghanistan and its divisions. Famous Tajik scientists such as Z. Sh. Radjabov, S. U. Umarov, V. P. Demidchik, A. Mukhtarov. and N. Mosuli often visited Afghanistan. In those years, academician Narzikulov M.N. often visited Afghanistan and gave a lecture course. At the Faculty of Medicine of the University of Jalalabad, Tajik and Afghan scientists conducted joint research in the field of zoology, botany, chemistry, medicine and the humanities. They jointly studied and explored the Pamiri languages, conducted joint ethnographic expeditions. The Institute of Physiology and Biophysics, the Institute of Astrophysics and Biophysics of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan, together with the Institute of Botany, and the Afghan academic institutions worked closely together and conducted joint research.

In the 1970s, the Institute of Oriental studies and written heritage of the Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Tajikistan assisted Afghanistan in the creation of the national Fund of Oriental manuscripts of textual science, in compiling dictionaries and developing the history of Afghanistan. Tajik scientists actively participated in the preparation and publication of valuable works on the problems of modern and contemporary history of Afghanistan. The Tajik national University and the Tajik Agrarian University established favourable conditions for cooperation with relevant universities in Afghanistan. Hundreds of Afghan students studied at universities in Tajikistan. Such fruitful cooperation during later decades of the Soviet Union developed in the literature and in the field of education, which in turn contributed to overall language learning. In short, much cooperation and exchange took place in Higher Education and sciences during this period of time.

Cooperation in times of conflict

It should be noted that at all stages of the history, Tajikistan and Afghanistan were close neighbours, and active cooperation continued after the collapse of the USSR against the background of natural rapprochements between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. During the civil war in Tajikistan, between 1992 and 1997, and during the resistance of the Afghan people against the Taliban regime, Afghan President Burhanuddin Rabbani and United front leader Ahmad Shah Massoud did a great job in reconciling the warring parties and achieving success in the inter-Tajik talks. In addition, since the beginning of the armed conflict in Tajikistan, many Tajik refugees have sought refuge in Afghanistan. Not only the geographical location of Afghanistan and Tajikistan, but also the historical, cultural and national community of these peoples played an important role in this. Indeed, Afghanistan plays an important role in the implementation of the geopolitical strategy of Tajikistan and other Central Asian states. Undoubtedly, the development of cultural ties between the two countries contributed to further mutual respect and mutual enrichment of cultural ties between the two countries.

It should be noted that the collapse of the USSR and Tajikistan's independence created conditions for the establishment of a new stage in the development of political, economic and cultural relations between Afghanistan and Tajikistan. For the foreign policy of the Republic of Tajikistan, Afghanistan, as the closest neighbour, holds a special place. It should be noted that after the overthrow of the Taliban regime, Tajikistan was one of the first to officially recognise the new government of

Afghanistan, and in 2002 Tajikistan opened its Embassy in Kabul. This initiative of Tajikistan was the beginning of a new stage in the development of multilateral Tajik-Afghan relations. Another important step in this direction is considered to be the official visit of the President of the Republic of Tajikistan, Mr. Emomali Rahmon, to Afghanistan in April 2005. During this visit, 11 interstate and intergovernmental agreements on various areas of cooperation between Afghanistan and Tajikistan were signed. In 2006, the President of Afghanistan paid an official visit to Tajikistan. In General, the official visit of the presidents of the two countries and many different visits of government delegations contributed to strengthening friendship and cooperation in all areas of life in Afghanistan and Tajikistan. The parties emphasised effective cooperation regarding the resolution of armed conflicts, ensuring stability on the borders. Tajikistan has undertaken to ensure the smooth transit of international humanitarian aid to the population of Afghanistan and to strengthen economic and cultural cooperation.

Currently, Tajikistan and Afghanistan have successfully established cooperation in the fight against extremism, terrorism and drug trafficking. They regularly conduct joint operations to identify and neutralize drug groups.

Conclusion

In general, since Tajikistan's independence, Afghan-Tajik relations have been developing successfully and in a spirit of mutual respect. The Republic of Tajikistan in its Afghan policy attaches great importance to the issues of border security, the search for a peaceful resolution to the Afghan conflict, the joint fight against extremism, terrorism and drug trafficking.

Since 1991, cultural relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan developed at a new level. Nowadays, cultural cooperation is imposed at the level of the border provinces of the two countries. In general, cultural cooperation has become one of the priorities in relations between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. During the years of independence, Tajikistan has established a strong legal framework for the comprehensive development of cultural cooperation between Tajikistan and Afghanistan. These relations are based on the good traditions of the past, in the field of culture, science, education, etc.

Today, the cultural diplomacy of these two countries has become a major factor in the development and strengthening of friendship and cooperation between these two countries in all areas of interstate and intergovernmental relations.

TROY STERNBERG¹ – Environmental drivers in Tajik development

Introduction

Tajikistan's natural landscape offers significant opportunity for sustainable development. This represents the country's environmental richness and highlights how climate, landscape, water and geography are vital to the country's opportunities, progress and growth. Evaluating the role of the environment in Tajikistan's development highlights landscape diversity, moderate weather, mountains that act as water towers and productive fields as strategic opportunities. This is exemplified in the country being a global leader in renewable energy use. Stressing natural advantages is important to improve livelihoods, strengthen communities and expand national prospects. This essay presents four key themes – water, climate, agriculture and nature-based tourism – that offer potential development opportunities.

Water and hydropower

The 7000+ metre high plateaus of the Pamir Mountains host several rivers that cascade to lowlands, creating 4% of the world's hydropower potential. The Vakash River, locus of the Nurek Dam, exemplifies the ability to harness water for energy. This paper centres on water, hydropower and renewable energy, including solar, wind and biomass potential; agriculture and related exports and using natural landscape advantages to encourage adventure, health and wellness tourism. Efforts are currently focused on hydropower with dams providing >90% of the country's energy, one of the highest percentages in the world. The benefit of additional renewable power generation is to enable export, provide better coverage within the country and reduce electricity shortages in winter. The energy export market to Afghanistan is frequently stressed, yet China is another potential buyer with both demand and the financial ability to pay for energy transmission and consumption. Previous development discourse was framed by past (Soviet) conceptions; contemporary 21st century Tajikistan has become more integrated and engaged with global systems which leads to increased opportunities.

Vast water resources, including the Amu Darya, Syr Darya and Vakash Rivers and the massive Fedchenko Glacier, are boons for hydro-electric power generation and provide potential renewable water resources for farming, rural and urban centres. Water is key for agriculture in the country where fertile regions are supplied by local and extensive irrigated water sources. The water irrigation infrastructure is inefficient with much supply lost in transit; incentivised technology can increase productivity and effectiveness. Using the natural climate, which is more moderate than in neighbouring countries, suggests that more efficient irrigation, including drip water delivery systems and similar technology coupled with well-allocated fields and crop selection (such as a move away from cotton monoculture) can offer major development benefits to the country.

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Climate and renewable energy opportunities

A related feature is the great possibility for renewable energy in Tajikistan. Already it is one of the top 5 countries for use of renewable energy. Its location and landscape offer additional renewable energy sources with solar, wind and biomass all considered promising sources for power generation across the terrain (see Table 1). The mountainous Gorno-Badakshan/Pamiri region has high solar radiation (sunlight) exposure throughout the vast region. With China as the global leader in solar technology Tajikistan has suitable access to equipment and knowhow. In combination with wind power, these developing industries offer both the ability to contribute to national grids and importantly, to provide energy to rural communities that are currently underserved or lacking electricity, particularly in winter, as highlighted in regional 'smart village' programmes. With potential biomass sources (plant and animal, crop and forest residue, food and agricultural waste), additional power could be generated, potentially for the Chinese market.

Table 1. Renewable energy potential in Tajikistan

	Biomass Solar PV		Wind Small Hydro	
Installed Renewable Electricity Capacity in MW	0	<1	0	132
Technical Potential for Installed Renewable Electricity Capacity inMW	300	195,000	2,000	23,000

Source: UNDP 2014

Nature-based tourism

Tajikistan's stunning landscapes, ecological diversity, mountains, glaciers and rivers, impressive valleys and eye-catching natural variety suggest great appeal to the global travel community. The Fann Mountains, Zorkul Nature Reserve, Iskanderkul Lake and Wakhan Corridor exemplify the natural beauty and scenery that offer significant tourist potential. These features are well suited for international adventure tourism that builds on cross-terrain and off-road bicycling, mountain walking, exploration and climbing, glacier treks and exploration, river trails, camping and hiking and biodiversity viewing and monitoring. New online visitor visa processing, a welcoming culture and people and growing regional connectivity, most recently with the opening and greater engagement with Uzbekistan, offers new tourism potential across Central Asia.

Popular across Central Asia, another tourist draw is spa and health tourism. With numerous natural spas, hot springs and geysers, such as Garm and Bibi Fatima, the country has abundant potential for health and wellness retreats and related tourist activities. The potential is underdeveloped; neighbouring Kyrgyzstan has a more extensive spa network and infrastructure. Similarly, historic sites such as exotic Yam Chun Fort (a potential World Heritage site) in the Wakhan Corridor, Hissar Fort and Khojand Fortress would offer much for travellers if the sites were better known.

Sustainable agriculture for domestic needs

Vital to Tajik development planning are effective cultivation strategies that integrate land and climate parameters. This must recognise the economic centrality of agriculture which accounts for 25% of GDP and employs over half of the labour force; yet the country continues to import the majority of its food. Policy emphasises cotton as a cash crop (78% of agricultural exports) whilst fruit and vegetables comprise 18% of farm exports. This suggests that fruits, nuts and vegetable production could be expanded for both domestic consumption and international markets. A key is efficient irrigation infrastructure to deliver water to productive farmland and integrating modern techniques; this can be done in cooperation with Chinese partners. This can encourage crop selection that balances export sectors with domestic needs.

Whilst water and nature provide several environment-based development opportunities, there are related natural and human-induced challenges. Climate change could pose a threat to water supply through glacial melt and altered precipitation patterns. Temperatures are predicted to increase 2-3°C by 2050 with impact on snow pack, glaciers and river flow. As the dominant natural disaster, floods routinely damage urban and rural infrastructure and livelihoods and droughts are a recurring challenge. Human action, particularly land degradation, deforestation, overgrazing and poor agricultural practices, such as farming hillslopes and poorly maintained irrigation systems, limit productivity. Awareness of climate and landscape factors and effective crop selection and location, including an emphasis on meeting local demand, will contribute to climate mitigation.

Conclusion

In summary, Tajikistan has abundant environmental richness that can be incorporated into development planning and strategies. This includes strengthening water use efficiency, amplifying nature-based tourism, focus on food for domestic consumption as well as export, stressing great potential for renewable energy in diverse parts of the country and welcoming health and wellness tourism. Such measures can create job opportunities, improve rural livelihoods and emphasise natural Tajik strengths. These themes stress the country's natural advantages and can showcase Tajikistan's development to the global community.

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JAMSHED VAZIROV¹ – Cultural diplomacy in the context of ensuring energy security in Tajikistan

Introduction

The contemporary world faces significant manmade and natural challenges, which pose high risks to the human livelihoods globally. The industrialization process, which began in 20th century and continues to be the driver of the global economy in 21st century, is energy intensive, increasing the consumption of fossil fuels and causing high emissions which is considered to be the major cause of the global warming. In effect, the global warming causes significant damage to the national economies, especially the emerging ones, leading to environmental degradation, issues with food security, access to clean water and etc. to list a few. Despite these alarming signs and warnings about the adverse impact of the global warming, many countries strive to ensure energy security by increasing their power generation capacities to meet their growing energy needs. It is reported that "Energy supply accounts for around 60% of global greenhouse gas emissions. While some 17% of energy consumption is now met with renewables, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change warns this needs to hit around 85% by 2050 to avoid the worst impacts of climate change."2 If preventive measures and alternative ways to meet energy demand are not provided, the consequences of the global warming will be irreversible. Cultural diplomacy is believed to play a significant role in addressing the adverse impact of the global warming and forcing the nation states to take a more thoughtful approach to meet their energy needs.

Tajikistan's National Development Strategy and energy security

According to the National Development Strategy of the Republic of Tajikistan for the period up to 2030, one of the key strategic pillars to be achieved is "Ensuring energy security and efficient use of electricity". In this context, the Government, with involvement of key development partners, puts efforts to achieving this strategic objective through investments in the energy infrastructure and the alternative sources of energy. Cultural diplomacy in its broad meaning has played a vital role in attracting investments to the sector and securing the commitment of international donors and consent of the neighbouring countries with the energy strategy adopted by the Government of Tajikistan.

Tajikistan's power supply system is dominated by hydropower plants and accounts for 96 percent of the total installed capacity of 6,120 MW³. Effective use of Tajikistan's large hydropower potential could create the prerequisites for increasing electricity exports and inflow of foreign currency: the estimated potential is circa 527 billion kWh per year, which is the eighth largest in the world and makes up 4 percent of global hydropower potential. However, the use of hydropower resources depends on the natural climatic factors that cause changes in the water runoff in the seasonal and long-term perspective, and requires significant upfront investments.

The topic of energy security has been on the top of the national agenda since the early 2000s and included increasing the generating capacities at micro, meso and macro levels, introducing energy

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² Carbon Disclosure Project (CDP), 2019 https://www.cdp.net/en/policy-and-public-affairs/sustainable-development-goals

³ Ministry of Energy and Water Resources of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2019, www.mewr.tj

efficiency and energy saving measures, as well as diversification of energy sources. Tajikistan being abundant in water resources and with a favourable landscape for hydropower plants, the government has focused on the construction of new hydropower plants and modernization of the existing ones, and improvement of the energy sector regulatory framework. With abundant sunny days (280-320 days/year) and rapidly growing solar technologies, which are also reducing in price, the new national strategies adopted in the last half a decade consider solar power as a significant alternative source for energy production in remote areas.

Hydropower investment projects

Since 2002, the construction of the Rogun hydropower plant (projected capacity is 3.6 MW) has been at the top of the national agenda as its construction would address several domestic, regional and international issues. Domestically, it will address the lack of energy supply that has been an issue for the country since it gained independence in 1991, and it would increase the country's energy export potential. At the regional level, the project will be able to supply clean and comparatively cheap energy to neighbouring countries in the region through the CASA-1000 transmission line⁴ to Afghanistan and Pakistan, as well as to Uzbekistan, Kyrgyz Republic and Kazakhstan through the unified Central Asian Grid. Internationally, the project will contribute to the global Sustainable Development Goal 7, namely to "Ensure access to affordable, reliable, sustainable and modern energy for all" and International Agreements such as the Paris Agreement on Climate Change, which Tajikistan has ratified in 2016 along with 196 other countries.

Implementation of the Rogun construction project was delayed due to national budgetary constraints. At the same time, the international community and bilateral donors were not in full support of the project, due to its regional sensitivity in view of opposition from the neighbouring countries. Although from an engineering point of view the rock-filled Rogun dam construction was proved to be technically safe and the World Bank's social, technical and environmental feasibility study published in 2015 confirmed this theory; it took immense efforts through the diplomatic channels, bilateral meetings, forums, conferences, and cultural events to convince the international community and the regional players of the safety and security of the tallest rockfilled dam (330 m), and to attract some investments towards the project estimated at ca. US\$ 5 billion. In November 2018, the first turbine was put into operation and a year later, in September 2019, the second turbine was launched with capacity to generate 100 MW/h each.⁵

The last decade has been pivotal in the renewable energy sector for Tajikistan as the key strategies and national programmes aiming at promoting and accelerating the use of renewables had been adopted, and investments from the national and international organizations were made available. This allowed boosting the sector and changing the mindset of the key national stakeholders in favour of renewable energy.

At the national level, the key changes started with the adoption of the law "On use of Renewable Energy Sources" in 2010, followed by the adoption of a number of bylaws which laid a firm platform for promoting renewable energy in remote areas where access to electricity is a significant issue. Later in 2013, another law "On Energy Saving and Energy Efficiency" was passed by the Parliament and signed by the President in September which has supplemented the preceding established legal framework. These legal documents have poured out into the development of national strategic

⁴ https://www.casa-1000.org/

⁵ Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Tajikistan, 2019, https://www.mfa.tj/en/washington/view/4780/roghun-hydropower-plant-second-unit-launch-ceremony

documents aiming at developing the energy sector and achieving energy independence with potential to export excess energy to the neighbouring markets.

With the increasing power generating capacity and the potential to export excess energy to the neighbouring countries, Tajikistan is becoming a significant player in the regional energy market. This will require a balanced and well-thought out public diplomacy to be applied in negotiations with the neighbouring countries to promote its national interests. So far, Tajikistan's diplomacy involved voicing its strategic vision at the high international tribunes, academic circles and among the international financial institutions and development agencies. Exchange of information during the bilateral and multilateral negotiations, international conferences and study tours have allowed to introduce Tajikistan's viewpoint on the development of the energy sector that is believed to be equally beneficial to the countries of the Central Asian region and that can contribute to the global GHG emissions reduction efforts. At the same time, the core message throughout was that achieving energy security will address not only the energy issues of one particular country, but will also contribute to peace, stability and paving a way for social and economic development in the region. These efforts have allowed to secure its position in the region and gain recognition as a significant player in the regional energy sector.

The role of Cultural Diplomacy

Maintaining this position will require to continue applying a well thought out diplomacy balancing between the interests of the neighbouring countries, while not undermining its own. Cultural diplomacy is viewed as a critical element in this effort where through an exchange of cultural legacies, historical ties of the past and future that the region shares, a more robust and secure political and economic co-existence can be achieved.

Tajikistan's achievements and intended energy security objectives are already presented to the outer world through diplomatic, academic and private channels. At the international conferences, workshops and other events aimed at discussing the energy development prospects, the Tajik delegations represented by officials, the private sector and academic scholars have presented the country's potential and attracted sizeable investments. Throughout all these efforts, cultural diplomacy has been at the core, presenting the cultural values blended with the national interests.

At the local level, cultural diplomacy has played a critical role in providing access to electricity to the remote areas of Tajikistan where the communities have lived without electricity for several decades and over time believed to reverse the decline of deforestation and desertification of the area due to human activity. It is through cultural diplomacy and technical support to these remote communities that the effects of the climate change has the potential to be reversed. Although small in dimension, the effect in one community can be scaled up and cover more communities which in turn will have a global scale effect. The example from an ADB-financed project named "Access to electricity with new off-grid solar technology in Central Asia" is the best illustration of how a small project can be lifechanging to people and have an environmental effect.

Replacing teresken uprooting with solar energy

The population growth and the need for energy drives the local population of Murgab district in Badakhshan to developing new lands for habitation and uprooting *teresken* (wild bushes) for cooking and heating purposes. Teresken is a wild plant, also is the main food ration for yaks (buffalos). Due

to human activity like massive cutting of trees and pollution, considerable migration of yaks is reported to be observed by the local environmental services which poses heightened risks to the local flora and fauna. In the past decade desertification of thousands of square meters of once inhabited areas in Murgab district of Badakhshan region is observed and continues to grow. In the context of international financial support provided to Tajikistan, a number of development projects have been implemented in Badakhshan region's remote communities. Access to electricity provided through solar energy in these communities under the ADB supported project have dramatically changed the livelihoods of two local communities contributing to their well-being through improved health care, education, safety and awareness raising. During the project implementation, international experts from Europe, China and USA visited these communities to increase the population's awareness on the global risks of climate change and the importance of preserving the nature and environment by the indigenous community as well as the role of Badakhshan's glaciers, wildlife and indigenous people in the region. Badakhshan, known for its glaciers which is the largest source of fresh water and clean hydropower energy, is affected by the consequences of the climate change. According to the project beneficiaries. "they had never thought that their daily activity to meet energy needs could have such a tremendous impact on the nature but even if they had thought there was no alternative to meet energy demand for heating and cooking" said Kuvanichkbek Jumaev, the Chechekty community leader. The reports compiled by the project team during the field missions to the project area during 1-year of project implementation in the communities of Bulunkul and Chechekty of Murgab district has shown a tremendous behavioural change in the local mentality and livelihoods, including lifestyle. The reports showed that there has been a slight reduction in cutting "teresken", but with the increased use and application of solar energy for lighting, heating and cooking purposes the need for cutting teresken will significantly reduce. In the example of this small project it is obvious that scaling up the project and covering more communities could lead to dramatic changes and ensure energy security.6

Conclusion

In conclusion, ensuring energy security for Tajikistan will need to encompass several factors. A first aim is to increase its clean energy generating capacity to meet the domestic energy needs and be able to export clean energy in accordance with the Central Asian energy needs. There are already regional projects like CASA-1000 supported by the international financial institutions and the unified Central Asian Grid which will allow exporting energy to Central Asian countries including Afghanistan and Pakistan, while the construction of Rogun hydropower plant is on-going with the first two of six turbines being put into operation. In order to sustain its regional leading role of energy exporter and ensure energy security, public diplomacy and in this context *cultural diplomacy* will play a crucial role for the years to come. Secondly, the energy security efforts of Tajikistan and its endurance can influence the regional security, social and economic conditions of not only Tajikistan but the Central Asian region more broadly. And in this respect, the role of Cultural Diplomacy should not be undermined. Lastly, the importance of small scale solar power projects for the remote rural communities should not be overlooked, as they have the capacity to significantly influence the rural livelihoods and impact the climate change, as is the case in Badakhshan.

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⁶ The author was Consultant to the project.

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MALIKA ZEKHNI¹ – Displaying power: urban ceremonies and rituals in colonial Central Asia

Introduction: Establishing control over the cities

Upon the conquest of Samarkand and the surrounding areas in 1868, Russian forces faced threats from various parties, including former governors (beks) who retained substantial influence over the city.² To strengthen his position, major general Aleksandr Abramov, who led the military operations in Samarkand, issued a decree stating that 'all elders, judges and tax-collecting officers are ordered to appear in Samarkand' for a public ceremony to acquire their formal marks in office.³ This procedure was presided over by Konstantin Kaufman and witnessed several Central Asian dignitaries swear allegiance to the 'White Tsar' and, in return, be rewarded with ceremonial robes (khalats).⁴ This ceremony of expressing loyalty and acknowledging the new regime marked the beginning of what would become an established practice of Russian imperial ceremonies and rituals in Turkestani cities. which continuously signified power and dominance of the coloniser over the colonised for half a century. The theatrical display of power in colonial public rites not only highlighted the performative aspect of the colonial 'civilising mission' but also defined and hierarchised the carefully assigned urban actors. By looking at the utilisation of ceremonies and rituals by the Russian colonial administration, this paper will introduce the significance of performance and power in shaping and reaffirming the coloniser-colonised relationship in the urban centres of Central Asia. What role did ceremonies and memories play in displaying the new colonial regime? In what ways did Konstantin Kaufman and other imperial authorities utilise urban rituals to instill the Russian power and create an 'illusion of permanence' among the settled and local populations?⁵ By studying these questions, this paper will view the urban space as a theatre stage, where the colonial power strove to control what was viewed by the colonised audience.

Needing to shape one's image of power, confidence and legitimacy, the colonial regime revised the past and translated it into the urban space in the form of public ceremonies and rituals. The importance of the latter within the broader history of the Russian Empire is unequivocal and long-standing. As argued by Wortman, the symbolic display of authority through ritual and ceremony was an essential mechanism of Tsarist power. Following this trajectory, figures of authority, ranging from colonial administrators and military veterans to Orthodox clergymen, utilised the public performance of power within the urban space to assert their prominence and mark patterns of subordination among the residents. Of particular importance in Turkestan, which was ruled by the military regime (*voennonarodnoe upravlenie*), were rituals connecting the colonial administration to military might and power. The theatrical display allowed reminding the population of the dominance of the military power while also celebrating the glorified conquests that were at once reassuring and stimulating the distressed

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² K. Cherkasov, 'Zashchita Samarkanda v 1868 godu', *Voennyi sbornik*, 13 (1870), p. 36.

³ 'O prisoedinenii Farabskogo, Magianskogo i Kshtutinskogo Bekstv k Zeravshanskomu okrogu', Nachal'nik Zeravshanskogo Okruga, *TSentral'nyi gosudarstvennyi arkhiv Respubliki Uzbekistan*, op. 1, d. 35, p. 37 (Tashkent, 1870).

⁴ Khalid (2000), *The Politics of Muslim Cultural Reform*, p. 68; See Ulrich Hofmeister, 'From the White Tsar to the Russian Tsar: Monarchy and Russian Nationalism in Tsarist Turkestan, 1867–1917', in M. Banerjee, C. Backerra, and C. Sarti. (eds.), *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation'* (Cham, 2017).

⁵ Francis Hutchins, *The Illusion of Permanence: British Imperialism in India* (Princeton, 2016), p. xii.

⁶ Richard Wortman, Scenarios of Power: Myth and Ceremony in Russian Monarchy from Peter the Great to the Abdication of Nicholas II (Woodstock, 2006), p. 1.

settler community. This paper focuses on cultural diplomacy in Tsarist Central Asia using the lens of ceremony, symbolism and theatrical productions to leave the audience in no doubt of the superiority of the Russian Empire.

Memorialize and celebrate: the role of ceremonies and rituals

Who was the audience of this theatrical display? In addition to the Russian settled population in the urban centres, many of whom were eager to feel safe and protected in the Turkestani cities, the colonial administration was aware that it had to uphold and convince the wider European imperial audience of Russia's image as their equal and as a 'civiliser' of its colonised territory.⁷ However, another group vital in shaping these performances was the indigenous population. The Russian colonial administration saw the public representations as essential in establishing their authority and power in the urban centres due to the perception of the indigenous people as being responsive to 'parade and show'.⁸ It was not uncommon for them to define their actions as part of 'pedagogical efforts' by demonstrating their imperial power through ceremonies, they deemed the urban population convinced of their need to submit and be subordinate to the new regime.⁹ Thus, the urban space was continuously divided according to the actors and audiences in a theatrical display of power: colonial actors used their authority to display imperial might and control to the colonised, settler and international audiences.

Welcome and farewell to Kaufman

The appointment of General Konstantin Kaufman marked the beginning of formal military order in Central Asia. The governor-general was given wide-ranging and 'extraordinary' authority, including the power to declare war and peace, according to conditions which he recognised as 'relevant to the dignity of the Russian state'. Heading off from Saint Petersburg and after years of service in the Caucasus, he devised an elaborate plan to underscore Russian Turkestan's dominant position and to demonstrate the Empire's 'civilising' character, following the principles of the European civilisation. His arrival in Tashkent was highly anticipated by a handful of newly settled Russians, who, according to *Moskovskie vedomosti*, were experiencing distress due to lack of military leadership and rumours of attacks from Central Asian khanates. In his letter to the newspaper *Moskva* (1867), a merchant in Tashkent, Ivan Pervushin, wrote that Kaufman, whose 'name is dear to every Russian', is 'rightly responsible for the Russian duty in the depth of Central Asia' and his appointment 'excited merchants' spirit, which has fallen considerably lately'. Kaufman not only offered imperial protection symbolised by the formal transformation of the military cantonment into a stable Europeanised city in the new colony. Before his arrival, Kaufman realised the importance of a first impression and aimed to ensure

⁷ Svetlana Gorshenina, 'La marginalité du Turkestan colonial russe est-elle une fatalité, ou l'Asie centrale postsoviétique entrera-t-elle dans le champ des Post-Studies?' in S. Gorshenina and S. Abashin (eds.), *Le Turkestan russe: une colonie comme les autres?* (Paris, 17/18, 2009).

⁸ Robert Crews, 'Civilization in the City: Architecture, Urbanism, and the Colonization of Tashkent', in J. Cracraft and D. Rowland (eds.), *Architectures of Russian Identity: 1500 to the Present* (Ithaca, 2003), p. 121. ⁹ Hubertus F. Jahn, 'Mikhail Vorontsov's Statue and Russian Imperial Representation in the South Caucasus in the Mid-Nineteenth Century', *Russian History*, 41 (2014), pp. 163-180.

¹⁰ 'Po povodu naznacheniia general-ad"iutanta fon-Kaufmana Turkestanskim general-gubernatorom', *Moskva*, 88 (20 July 1867), pp. 195-197.

¹¹ E. Tolbukhov, 'Ustroitel' Turkestanskogo kraia', *Istoricheskii vestnik*, 132 (1913), p. 832.

¹² SHukhrat Mukhamedov, 'Istoriia russkogo Turkestana: pravda i vymesel. Vzglyad istorika iz XXI veka', *Metamorfozy Istorii*, 4 (2013), pp. 291-321.

¹³ 'Nachalo russkoi torgovli v Srednei Azii i Zapadnom Kitae. Sredne-aziatskie oblasti zavoevannye Rossiei i kharakter, kotoryi v nikh dolzhna priniat russkaia administratsia', *Moskovskie vedomosti*, 141, 27 June 1867. ¹⁴ 'Pis'mo iz Tashkenta', *Moskva*, 20 June 1867.

that the settled population is reassured of its importance while the indigenous population is convinced of the arrival of a new omnipotent regime. While viewing himself as being 'sent by the Great Sovereign' who had to 'preserve his dignity before the Asiatic nations', the new governor, according to Khalid, also believed in behaving like an 'oriental' monarch through 'majestic displays of power'. The notion of being a representative of the Tsar in the distant East allowed Kaufman to borrow elaborate imperial imageries, particularly those used during the Tsar's tours in the Caucasus. Utilising a well-practised display of authority, Kaufman aimed to ensure the establishment of Russian governorate was properly memorialised. In the latter, the urban space provided him with a stage to exercise imperial power and magnificence.

After a weeks-long delay, mostly due to banquettes and festivities hosted by Russian military officials in different cities of Central Asia, Kaufman arrived in the Russian Turkestani capital on the 7th of November, 1867. The path towards the divided city offered him two options: one that would take him through the bazaar square in the native side of the city, while the other would bypass the native neighbourhoods and take him directly to his residence in the Russian side. 19 Confident that the new governor will choose the latter path, Russian merchants invested over a thousand rubles in building a splendid arch, decorated with a shield and Alexander II's royal cypher and flags.²⁰ Located at the eastern edge of the Russian section, representatives of the city and merchants gathered under the arch with a traditional offering of customary bread and salt to welcome Kaufman, who unexpectedly decided to take the path through the native bazaar.²¹ The greeters quickly reoriented and headed to the other side of the city. Kaufman, who was mounted on a horse and escorted by hundreds of Cossacks with swords, swiftly penetrated the native quarters' winding streets and bazaars under deafening sounds of gunshots.²² The presence of the Cossacks, associated with the symbols of Russianness and Russian imperial power, underlined the royal theme.²³ As he was greeted, Kaufman expressed gratitude for those who had gathered and gave a short speech, where he noted the value of Russian merchants and settled population to the region, thus providing a calming effect on the worried community.²⁴ The governor's decision to enter through the bazaar and sweep the native neighbourhoods provided the settled Russian population with a sense of being in control, while the indigenous population received the message that the colonial grip had access to the enclosed parts of their lived environment.

Knauer claims that Russian observers recorded no participation at the welcoming ceremony from the local population, who merely 'observed from their flat rooftops and, as Kaufman and his delegation made their way to the European quarter, 'accompanied [them] with a dominant silence and cautious

¹⁵ D. Kolokol'tsev, *Vospominaniia general-leitenanta Kolokol'tsova* (Moscow, 1887), p. 20; Khalid (2000), p. 71.

¹⁶ See Jahn (2014)

¹⁷ Ulrich Hofmeister (2016), 'From the White Tsar to the Russian Tsar: Monarchy and Russian Nationalism in Tsarist Turkestan, 1867–1917', in M. Banerjee, C. Backerra, and C. Sarti. (eds.), *Transnational Histories of the 'Royal Nation'* (Cham, 2017).

¹⁸ Namoz Hotamov, *Ta'rikhi halqi tojik (Az solhoi 60-umi asri 19 to soli 1924)* (Dushanbe, 2007), p. 18.

¹⁹ Ibid.

²⁰ Nelli Knauer, *Nemtsy drevnego kraia (Turkestan, Sredniaia, Tsentral'naia Aziia)* (Gelsenkirchen, 2016), p. 51.

²¹ Nikolai Ostroumov, *Sarty. Etnograficheskie Materialy (Obschii ocherk)* (3rd edn., Tashkent, 1908), p. 282. ²² Ibid.

²³ Allen J. Frank, *Muslim Religious Institutions in Imperial Russia* (Boston, 2001), p. 86; Stephanie Cronin, 'Deserters, converts, Cossacks and revolutionaries', in S. Cronin (ed.), *Iranian-Russian Encounters: Empires and Revolutions Since 1800* (London, 2013), p. 161.

²⁴ Knauer, *Nemtsy drevnego kraia*, p. 51.

quandary'.²⁵ However, a notable elderly Central Asian, whose recollection is recorded by Ostroumov, stated that a delegation of natives gathered to welcome the governor with bread and salt, and viewed the ceremony as a signal that a 'true Russian' (*urus*) has arrived.²⁶ Indeed, the importance of ceremonial display of the new regime to the indigenous audience was underscored by Kaufman, who in his report to the Tsar explained the need to allocate a part of the budget to ceremonies, as the native population were strongly accustomed to generous gifts and grandeur (*pyshnost'*) under the Khan's rule.²⁷

Kaufman's welcoming service concluded with bright illuminations, signifying a new era and a bright future for Russia in Tashkent.²⁸ The established regime was meant to rely on preconceived notions of the need to 'parade and show' as well as formulate a clear link between the colonial agents and the image of the Russian Tsar. According to Hofmeister, at public appearances, Kaufman saw himself as epitomising the 'face' of the sovereign vis-à-vis Turkestan's native and European population and defined loyalty to the Tsar as the most important virtue.²⁹ Thus, Kaufman's ceremonial arrival made an impression on all the residents of the city: he not only displayed the power of the military order and imperial regime but also, with royal grandeur, marked the urban space, both native and Russian sections, as a theatre of colonial power.

Formalizing colonial urban rituals

Kaufman's 'arrival ceremony' was stylised and expanded over the years. It grew into a ritual to welcome and bid farewell to the governor on his frequent trips to the imperial metropole and other areas of Turkestan.³⁰ The development of such cultural routines served to increase the prestige of the state.³¹ As someone who was rarely seen in public, except for a few winter balls, where notable Central Asians and Russians had to adhere to etiquette, which according to Schuyler was stricter than that of Saint Petersburg, Kaufman's arrival and departure provided significant opportunities to see the imperial representative.³² With elaborate scripts and extensive preparations across the city, these ceremonies attracted a substantial number of urban spectators from both sides of Tashkent.³³ The military officials, influential merchants and Central Asian intermediaries welcomed the governor at the triumphal arch and hosted lavish receptions.34 In other words, different groups were assigned to particular areas of the urban space to greet the governor as he rode in and out of the city with his entourage of Cossacks under the salutes of cannons.³⁵ Adding to the dramatic effect, the event was also accompanied by music, poetry and speeches.36 To ensure that the different groups know precisely what role they had to play during this theatrical display of power, the city administration ordered police to control the imposed boundaries.³⁷ In return, Kaufman offered his audience to loyal Russian merchants, and a 'royal thank you' (tsarskoe spasibo) to the civil and military

²⁵ Ibid.

²⁶ Ostroumov (1908), p. 282.

²⁷ Kaufman, *Proekt vsepoddaneishego otcheta po grazhdanskomu upravleniiu i ustroistvu v oblastiakh Turkestanskogo general-gubernatorstva*, p. 126.

²⁸ Knauer (2016), p. 51.

²⁹ Hofmeister (2016), p. 135.

³⁰ Khalid (2000), p. 71.

³¹ Hofmeister (2016), p. 136.

³² Eugene Schuyler, *Turkistan: Notes of a Journey in Russian Turkistan, Khokand, Bukhara and Kuldja* (vol. 1, London, 1867), p. 82.

³³ Kolokol'tsev, Vospominaniia general-leitenanta Kolokol'tsova, p. 35.

³⁴ Schuyler (1867), p. 82.

³⁵ Ibid., pp. 81-82.

³⁶ Ostroumo (1899), pp. 154-157.

³⁷ Sahadeo, Russian Colonial Society in Tashkent, p. 31.

representatives.³⁸ The ceremony also highlighted the uneasiness in treating the Central Asian notables, who had to be cajoled and controlled. According to Kolokol'tsev, the ceremony, involving a militaristic procession, demonstrated 'peace-loving intentions' and provided the native population with an invitation for 'peaceful cohabitation with the Russians'.³⁹

Conclusion

While the above-described ceremonies witnessed Central Asian populations cross the urban borders that separated the native and Russian sections, it was a controlled and orchestrated display of urban harmony, under the gaze of the colonial regime. Not only was this regime in control but it also strived to determine what was viewed by the urban residents. This orchestration notably provided a sense of security to the settler community, who defined these pompous demonstrations of power as a sign of stability and permanence in a region that was deemed unfamiliar and unstable.⁴⁰ After all, Kaufman had claimed that Turkestan was conquered once and for all: it was to be part of the Empire 'forever'.⁴¹

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³⁸ Terent'ev, Rossiia i Angliia v Srednei Azii, p. 71.

³⁹ Kolokol'tsev (1887), p. 32.

⁴⁰ Nikolai Ostroumov, Konstantin Petrovich fon-Kaufman - ustroutel' Turkestanskogo kraia: lichnye vospominaniia N. Ostroumova (1877-1881) (Tashkent, 1899), p. 157.

⁴¹ Hofmeister (2016), pp. 411-442.

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