

ULUSLARARASI TOPLUMDA JAPONYA VE TÜRKİYE: İŞBİRLİĞİ VE POTANSİYEL

JAPAN AND TURKEY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: COOPERATION AND POTENTIAL



**Japonya ve Türkiye Arasındaki
Diplomatik İlişkilerin 90. Yıldönümü Etkinlikleri**
**Commemorating the 90th Anniversary of the Turkey-Japan
Diplomatic Relations**

**Japonya – Türkiye Ortak Sempozyumu:
“Japonya ve Türkiye – Nereden Geldik,
Nereye Gidiyoruz?”**

**Joint Symposium “Japan and Turkey: Where Did
We Come From? Where Are We Going?”**

DİPLOMATİK SEMİNER/DIPLOMATIC SEMINAR

JAPAN AND TURKEY IN THE INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY: COOPERATION AND POTENTIAL

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Contents

Preface	57
1. INTRODUCTION.....	59
2. AN OVERVIEW OF TURKEY-JAPAN RELATIONS	
2.1. A Short History of Bilateral Relations.....	62
2.2. An Analysis of Contemporary Political Relations.....	65
2.3. Economic Relations.....	66
2.4. Cultural and Educational Relations	69
3. OPENING SPEECHES	
3.1. Yutaka Yokoi <i>Ambassador of Japan to Turkey</i>	71
3.2. Numan Kurtulmuş <i>Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey</i>	73
4. KEYNOTE SPEECHES	
4.1. Amb. Prof. Shinichi Kitaoka <i>President of International University of Japan</i>	76
4.2. Doç. Dr. Mesut Özcan <i>President of Diplomacy Academy</i>	83
5. PANEL PRESENTATIONS	
5.1. Ltg. [Ret.] Prof. Noboru Yamaguchi <i>National Defence Academy of Japan</i>	87
5.2. Prof. Selçuk Çolakoğlu <i>Yıldırım Betazıt Unhiversity</i>	90
5.3. Prof. Masanori Naito <i>Doshisha University</i>	92
5.4. Dr. Bahadır Pehlivan Türk <i>TOBB University of Economy and Technology</i>	95
5.5. Dr. Kohei Imai <i>JSPS Post-doctoral Fellow</i>	98
6. POLICY PROPOSAL FOR DEVELOPING TURKEY-JAPAN RELATIONS	
6.1. Discussions of closed workshop.....	100
6.2. Policy proposal and identification of possible avenues for cooperation	102

PREFACE

On the occasion of the 90th Anniversary of the Diplomatic Relations Between Japan and Turkey, ORSAM in cooperation with Japanese Embassy and SAM organized a joint symposium entitled “Japan and Turkey: Where Did We Come From? Where Are We Going?” The Symposium took place on 22-23 September 2014 in Ankara. The Symposium was attended by participants from press, diplomatic circles, public enterprises and think tanks. The speakers were from both Turkey and Japan, and they gave informative and enlightening speeches about bilateral relations, global partnerships, regional policies, and cultural interactions between the two countries.

Drawing on the discussions throughout the two-day seminar and also the extant literature, this ORSAM report analyzes Turkey-Japan relations in its historical context, as well as the current dynamics shaping it. We hope that the symposium will mark a new stage of partnership and activism in the foreign relations of these two countries, and the report will make a contribution to those seeking to understand the evolution of this relationship. Both countries have great potential in the world and they will surely benefit from bilateral cooperation in dealing with global and regional challenges. As two democracies, we believe that the world will benefit from these two countries’ strengthening of their relations as well.

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1. INTRODUCTION

Early 21st century is witnessing the transformation of the world system. This transformation can be observed in different ways. One of the most prominent aspects of it is the gradual shift of power towards East Asia. Even though this can mostly be observed in economic terms initially, there are already signs that the power balance and influence capacity is shifting from West to East as well. Another transformation is the strengthening of the global governance system and the gradual development of a rule-based international system. The number of international organizations is increasing and they are getting more and more effective. Among these, especially regional institutions are becoming more important, but global institutions are getting deeper as well. While it is possible to relate these developments to the weakening of traditional great powers, most prominently USA, it also possible to interpret this as another natural stage in human history.

Transformation can be seen in both Turkey and Japan's foreign policies as well. Related with the change in the world system, we see that both countries felt the need to be more active in their foreign policies. As relations with relatively declining great powers become more complicated, as regionalism gets deeper, as new technologies are truly globalizing the world

where any local problem can have global repercussions, and as states recognize better that global problems necessitate coordinated global responses, countries which have been at the second tier of the world system in the past have started to find themselves being pushed to the forefront of active world politics. Whether they want this new prominent role or whether it is the transformation of the world system obliging them to be more active is not a question we are trying to answer here. But there is no doubt that the strengthening of global governance and development of regional and global institutions are empowering these countries.

Turkey and Japan are no doubt two of these countries and the recent activism in their foreign policies has attracted worldwide attention. Both countries are civilian democracies and they have been involved in the global governance mechanisms since the end of the Second World War. The organizers of this symposium find it important that these two countries strengthen their bilateral relations to be more active not only globally but in their respective regions as well. The aim of this symposium is to probe the ways to promote the development of bilateral relations.

This report is organized in the following manner. We start with a concise overview

of Turkish Japanese relations aiming to benefit ones who are not familiar with the topic. It covers a brief historical sketch of the bilateral relations, mentioning prominent events and the reasons why sometimes the two countries seek to approach each other. Then we give examples, data, and tables picturing diplomatic, economic, and cultural relations. These can be used as references to form an overall idea on different aspects of the relations.

This is followed by three parts presenting the speeches given in the opening, keynote, and panel discussion sessions of the diplomatic seminar. Opening speech was by *Yutaka Yokoi*, Ambassador of Japan and by *Numan Kurtulmuş*, Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey. Both speeches focus on important aspects of bilateral relations and the regional challenges the two countries face. Ambassador Yutaka Yokoi's speech underlines the need to expand mutual understanding between the two countries, with the hope that this seminar will heighten our understandings concerning each other's environment. In his speech Deputy Prime Minister Numan Kurtulmuş mentions similarities between Turkey and Japan, and after focusing on the regional challenges Turkey faces in its region, he also calls for more cooperation between the two countries to work together to make the world more peaceful. In the keynote speeches, the Rector of International University of Japan *Prof. Shinichi Kitaoka* gives a comprehensive sketch of Japan's foreign and security policy, starting from Tokugawa era and bringing it to early 21st century, which could be taken as a crash course on Japan's foreign relations. Similarly in the second keynote speech, Director of Diplomacy Academy *Assoc. Prof. Mesut Özcan*, gives a comprehensive picture of Turkey's position in a changing international system, starting with post-Cold War era up until today, mentioning different aspects of Turkish foreign policy on the way. The panel discussions part starts with *Prof. Noboru Yamaguchi* from

National Defense Academy of Japan who focuses on the US-Japan Alliance in his speech. This is followed by *Prof. Dr. Selçuk Çolakoğlu* from Yıldırım Beyazıt University examining Turkey's policy towards Northeast Asian countries, highlighting the basic characteristics of relations between Turkey and Northeast Asia. *Prof. Masanori Naito* from Doshisha University, in his passionate speech, explains Turkey's role for the regional stability in the Middle East. The speech following it is given by *Assist. Prof. Bahadır Pehlivan Türk* from TOBB University, who focuses on Turkey-Japan Partnership in the era of global governance and region building. The final panelist Research Fellow *Dr. Kohei Imai* from Japan Society to Promote Science talks about the possibilities of diplomatic cooperation between Turkey and Japan and both countries' common interest in humanitarian diplomacy.

After these, the report concludes with a Policy Proposal for developing Japan-Turkey relations. This part is a synopsis and summary of the ideas presented in the afternoon closed session, a workshop held with the experts from both sides discussing the issues of global governance, security environment of both countries, transformation of the world system, and bilateral relations. In this part, after a summary of various discussions held, an analysis of possible avenues to further cooperation between the two countries was made, and nine different important issue points were defined. After this, formation of six different study groups was proposed. These study groups were planned to focus on the defined issue points, and discuss how to create deep Turkey-Japan partnerships to deal with these issues and strengthen their relations further. The major purpose of the establishment of these study groups is to initiate the creation of epistemic communities that extend beyond national borders tying Japan and Turkey together. It is hoped that these study groups (that are to include members from government,

business, academia, and NGOs) will create new channels for communication between the two countries and create syn-

ergy in dealing with common regional and global issues.

2. AN OVERVIEW OF TURKEY - JAPAN RELATIONS

2.1. A Short History of Bilateral Relations

Japan-Turkey ties are longstanding. The good nature of relations between the two countries is based in history and mutual help. It is generally accepted that the bond forged by the sunken frigate *Ertuğrul* off the coast of Japan in the late 19th century is the occasion for the start of official relations between the two countries, even though there has been visits from Japan earlier. In 1890, the Ottoman frigate, named the *Ertuğrul*, sunk on the way home from a visit to Japan. While more than five hundred sailors died, sixty-nine survived and were rescued by Japanese people and escorted safely to home by the Japanese navy. "*Ertuğrul*" is consistently recognized and mentioned by the leaders of both countries and has served as the basis of friendship between these geographically distant states. The friendly relations, which started with the visit of Ottoman Empire's *Ertuğrul* Frigate to Japan has reached its 120th anniversary in 2010. Commemorating 120th anniversary of the friendship between Japan and Turkey, "Japan Year 2010 in Turkey" was held and 186 various events were held in all over Turkey through the whole year. This first initiative to establish relations was motivated by the desire to learn from each other's experiences in modernization and politics in a Western dominated world.

Japan's diplomatic relations with the modern Republic of Turkey started after the First World War, with Counsellor Shiro Hanaoka being assigned as chargé d'affaires to start the preparations for the opening of the Japanese Embassy in Turkey. Yukichi Obata became the first Ambassador, arriving in Istanbul on 17 November 1925¹. On the other hand, opening of Turkish embassy in Tokyo had to wait until 1952. But shortly after that the foreign minister Fatin Rüştü Zorlu and in 1958 prime minister Adnan Menderes made the first high level visits to Japan, and relations continued with more mutual visits and signed agreements. Both countries, which were firmly embedded in the Free World during the Cold War, developed similar political cultures and norms.

Japan and Turkey have maintained good relations for over a century. There have been wide-ranging interactions between the two countries, including visits by eminent persons, as well as economic and cultural exchanges. These exchanges started to accelerate since a visit to Turkey by Foreign Minister Shintaro Abe in 1983. At the time, Turkey's former premier Turgut Özal (prime minister 1983-89, president 1989-93), who was familiar with Japanese affairs also played an important role in the growth of the relationships. During Turgut Özal's premiership bilateral relations were further cemented by the rescue of Japanese citizens from Tehran during the

missile war phase of the Iran-Iraq war by Turkish Airlines airplanes. Mutual help in earthquake disasters have also contributed to the perception of brotherhood among the two nations. In the wake of Great East Japan Earthquake in March 2011 and the earthquakes in Turkey’s eastern part in October and November 2011 respectively, both countries provided each other with support, which further strengthened the relationship between the two nations. For instance the loss of Japanese disaster relief volunteer Atsushi Miyazaki in an aftershock of the 2011 Van Earthquake had inspired the then president Abdullah Gül to write a letter to Emperor Akihito thanking his government and the Japanese people for their aid after the disaster.

Since the end of 2000, there have also been various exchanges of visits by other eminent persons, such as the visits of Crown

Prince Naruhito in March 2009 and Foreign Minister Katsuya Okada in January 2010. Prime minister Shinzo Abe’s active foreign policy brought another boost to Turkey-Japan relations. On the occasion of visit to Turkey by Prime Minister Shinzo Abe in May 2013, “Joint Declaration of the Establishment of Strategic Partnership Between Japan and the Republic of Turkey” was signed, and on the occasion of second visit in October 2013 (he visited Turkey twice on the same year), “Joint Declaration by the Government of Japan and the Government of the Republic of Turkey on cooperation in the field of Nuclear Energy and Science and Technology” was signed between Prime Minister Abe and Prime Minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan. It is expected that with these signatures political relations between the two countries will strengthen further.

Diplomatic Relations	Date
Japan recognizes the Republic of Turkey	1924 August
Japan opens an embassy in Turkey	1925 March
Turkey opens an embassy in Japan	1925 July
Turkey severs relations with Japan	1945 January
Turkey declares war on Japan and Germany	1945 February
Turkey reopens its embassy in Japan	1952 June
Japan reopens its embassy in Turkey	1953 May
Japan establishes a consulate in Istanbul (upgraded to consulate-general status in 1972)	1965 May

VIP Visits To Japan (since 2000)	
2000	-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Ismail Cem (April) -Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Mustafa Cumhur Ersumer (June) -Minister of Public Works and Settlement, Mehmet Aydin (August) -Environment Minister, Fevzi AYTEKIN (September)
2001	-Minister of Tourism, Mustafa Taşar
2002	-Minister of Public Works and Settlement, Akjan (March) -Minister of Transport and Communication, Vural (April)

2003	-Deputy Prime Minister, Ertugrul Yalcinbayir (February) -National Assembly Chairman, Bulent Arinc (June) -Minister of Culture and Environment, Erkan Mumcu (August) -Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs, Abdullah Gul (December)
2004	-Prime Minister, Recep Tayyip Erdogan
2007	-Public Works Minister, Faruk Nafiz Ozak
2008	-President, Abdullah Gul
2009	-Minister of Culture and Tourism, Ertugrul Gunay
2010	-Speaker of Grand National Assembly, Mehmet Ali Sahin (October) -Minister of State, Zafer Caglayan (November) -Minister of Transport and Telecommunications, Binali Yildirim (December) -Minister of Energy and Natural Resources, Taner Yildiz (December) -Deputy Prime Minister, Ali Babacan (December)
2011	-Minister of Science, Industry and Technology, Nihat Ergun (May) -Minister of Economy, Zafer Caglayan (July)
2012	-Deputy Prime Minister, Ali Babacan (October) -Minister of Health, Recep Akdag (October)
2013	-Minister of Defense, Ismet Yilmaz (March) -Minister of Environment and Urbanism, Erdogan Bayraktar (May)

VIP Visits To Turkey (since 2000)	
2000	-State Secretary for Foreign Affairs, Ichita Yamamoto
2001	-Minister of State Ryutaro Hashimoto
2002	-Minister for Foreign Affairs Makiko Tanaka (January) -Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Atsuko Toyama Prince Tomohito of Mikasa (October)
2003	-Prince Tomohito of Mikasa, Princess Tomohito of Mikasa (Nobuko), Princesses Akiko and Yohko
2004	-Prince Tomohito of Mikasa
2005	-Minister of Finance, Sadakazu Tanigaki (May) -Prince Tomohito of Mikasa, Princess Akiko (September)
2006	-Prime Minister, Junichiro Koizumi
2008	-Princess Akiko
2009	-Crown Prince Naruhito
2010	-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Katsuya Okada (January) -Prince Tomohito of Mikasa (May) -Prince Tomohito of Mikasa, Princess Akiko (July) -Speaker of the House of Representatives, Takahiro Yokomichi (July)
2012	-Minister of Foreign Affairs, Koichiro Gemba (January) -Minister of Foreign Affairs, Koichiro Gemba (June)
2013	-Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe (May) -Prime Minister, Shinzo Abe (October)

The Agreements and Protocols In Force Between Turkey And Japan:

NAME	Date of Signature	Official Gazette Date and No
Trade and Payments Agreement	08/02/1955	03/01/1956
Mutual Protection and Promotion of Investments Agreementsv	12/02/1992	21/11/1992, 22110
Convention between Japan and Turkey for the Avoidance of Double Taxation and the Prevention of Fiscal Evasion with Respect to Income Taxes	08/03/1993	13/11/1994, 21467
Memorandum of Understanding on Economic Cooperation Between Turkey and Japan	19/07/2012	

2.2. An Analysis of Contemporary Political Relations

Japan has always occupied a peculiar place in the vision and discourse of Turkish foreign policy makers. It has been a source of inspiration and a potential partner. Yet it has always been difficult to substantiate the relations into concrete cooperation. It could be argued that, together with the vast geographical distance between the countries, the push for more concrete relations has not been strong enough in the past. However, early 21st century is a time of transformation when the world is experiencing a change in its power structure. Accompanied with this transformation there is a growing body of international organizations/regimes, which empower civilian democratic countries in terms of having more influence in the world issues and the running of the liberal world system. These are the times that coincide when both Turkey and Japan have started to adopt more multi-faceted/multi-dimensional foreign policies with a renewed activism. As a result of this, both countries again look towards each other and make calls to strengthen relations.

The legacy of positive self-identification with each other is facilitating these two countries' exploration of new areas of partnership today. Both countries share

the same Western democratic political values and have similar political systems. Moreover, certain structural similarities can be identified in the international environment they are in, as both countries are situated in regions where their political values are shared with only few other countries. Turkey and Japan also have comparable Westernization and modernization experiences, and have been within the Western political camp since the end of the Second World War. These commonalities have created what can be called "like-mindedness" between Turkish and Japanese officials based on the shared social context constructed over generations. This point has been stressed by diplomats from both sides in many occasions. Both countries prefer to cooperate in multilateral settings. There is a large potential for cooperation between the two countries in international organizations that tackle various global problems they commonly face. Bureaucrats from both sides share similar values and expectations towards world issues and this fact apparently facilitates cooperation between the two countries. We saw concrete examples of these in UN, especially during 2009-2010 when both countries were UNSC members, and continued diplomatic cooperation with exchanging of chairmanships of various UN Security Council committees, and in terms of support they gave to each other's

proposals.² This has led to cooperation on international peace building responsibilities such as joint training of Afghan police force in 2012.

In the last few years, Turkey and Japan has also engaged in an evolving military dialogue. Turkey's and Japan's strategic interests converge on the issue of enhancing maritime security cooperation that includes anti-piracy operations and the security of sea lanes. Both countries have already held joint exercises in the Gulf of Aden where many Japanese and Turkish merchant ships have been targets of pirate attacks.

Both sides agree that there is more room to further develop diplomatic and political relations in a growing, changing, and institutionalizing world. At the end of this report there is a section where various potential issues of cooperation and partnership are listed and analyzed.

2.3. Economic Relations Between Turkey and Japan

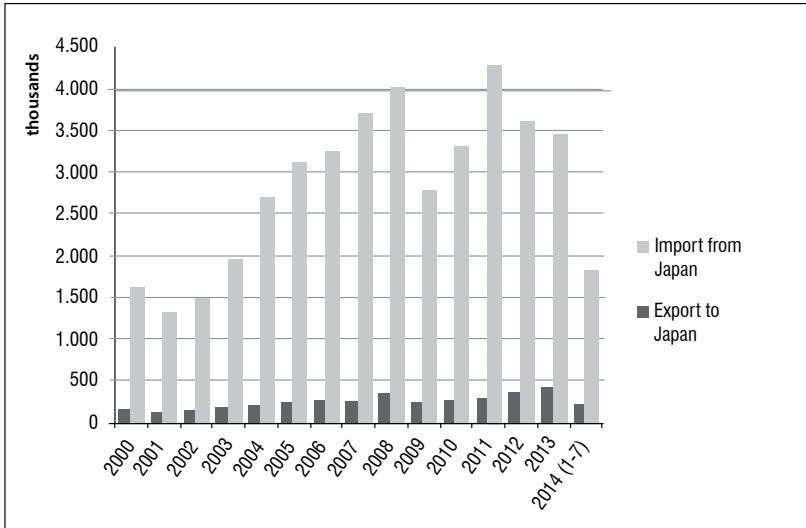
Turkish-Japanese economic relations can be analyzed in three dimensions; trade,

investment, and ODA (Official Development Aid).

Trade relations between Turkey and Japan

Bilateral trade between the two countries is low at less than \$4 billion, Japan now ranks fourth in terms of Turkey's trade partners in Asia, coming after China, South Korea and India. Turkey-Japan trade relations are also marked with a considerable negative balance against Turkey. All these show that trade relations urgently need to be developed. In order to further develop their trade relations, Turkey and Japan agreed to initiate talks on a Free Trade Agreement (FTA) in 2014. Because of Turkey's membership in the European Union's Customs Union, it is not possible to independently sign FTAs with third countries. Turkey can, however, sign FTAs with third countries if the EU has signed them. Negotiations on an FTA between Japan and the EU started in 2013, but they remain unresolved at the time of writing. Ankara and Tokyo started this year with negotiations on the FTA and they are planning to hold negotiations parallel to those of the EU-Japan FTA.³

BILATERAL TRADE DATAS BETWEEN TURKEY AND JAPAN (1.000 Dollar)						
Years	Export \$ / Thousand	Export Fluctuation %	Import \$ / Thousand	Import Fluctuation %	Volume \$ / Thousand	Balance \$ / Thousand
2000	149.489	22,8	1.620.561	16,3	1.770.050	-1.471.072
2001	124.065	-17	1.307.372	-19,3	1.431.437	-1.183.308
2002	129.980	4,8	1.465.507	12,1	1.595.486	-1.335.527
2003	156.288	20,2	1.927.096	31,5	2.083.384	-1.770.808
2004	190.117	21,6	2.684.287	39,3	2.874.404	-2.494.170
2005	234.227	23,2	3.109.218	15,8	3.343.445	-2.874.991
2006	263.084	12,3	3.216.725	3,5	3.479.810	-2.953.641
2007	246.910	-6,1	3.703.442	15,1	3.950.352	-3.456.531
2008	330.462	33,8	4.026.764	8,7	4.357.226	-3.696.303
2009	232.847	-29,5	2.781.971	-30,9	3.014.818	-2.549.124
2010	272.219	16,9	3.297.796	18,5	3.570.015	-3.025.578
2011	296.413	8,9	4.263.730	29,3	4.560.144	-3.967.317
2012	331.762	11,9	3.601.427	-15,5	3.933.189	-3.269.666
2013	409.236	23,4	3.453.189	-4,1	3.862.425	-3.043.953
2013 / (1-7)	252.664	40,8	2.053.783	-4,7	2.306.447	-1.801.118
2014 / (1-7)	210.474	-16,7	1.813.762	-11,7	2.024.236	-1.603.288



Direct Investment Between Turkey and Japan

While the bilateral trade remains low, investment opportunities are growing. During Prime Minister Abe’s second visit to Turkey in October, the Japanese leader attended the opening ceremony of the undersea tunnel in Istanbul spanning the Bosphorus. The ambitious project’s largest foreign investor was the Japan Bank of

International Cooperation (JBIC), which invested more than \$1 billion in the \$4 billion plan.⁴ There are 191 companies that are Japanese-financed operate in Turkey as of 2013. The distribution of the scopes of these Japanese-financed companies in Turkey are listed in the table below. The sector in which the Japanese-financed companies operate the most is the Whole Sail and Retail sector with 63 companies.

Sector	Companies
WHOLE SAIL AND RETAIL	63
MANUFACTURING INDUSTRY	37
REAL ESTATE, RENTING AND WORK ACTIVITIES	23
HOTELS AND RESTAURANTS	13
TRANSPORTATION, COMMUNICATION AND STORAGE SERVICES	13
CONSTRUCTION	11
OTHER SOCIAL AND PERSONAL SERVICE ACTIVITIES	9
TRAINING SERVICES	5
FINANCIAL INTERMEDIARIES ACTIVITIES	4
AGRICULTURE, HUNTING AND SYLVICULTURE	6
ELECTRICITY, GAS AND WATER	3
MINING AND QUARRYING	2
SANITARY AFFAIRS AND SOCIAL SERVICES	2
Toplam	191

Source: Economy Ministry

According to UNCTAD data, Japan with 122,5 billion dollars is the second country in the world doing direct investment in 2012. In 2013 Japan kept its secondary position with the 135,7 billion dollars. The

table below shows the amount of investment that Japan made to Turkey in comparison to the amount of investment that Japan made to the world globally.

Years	Japan Investments In Turkey (million \$) 2002-2014/July	Total Foreign Direct Investment Inflow to Turkey 2002-2014/July	Japan Investment in the World (million \$) 2002-2013
2002	63	571	32.281
2003	58	696	28.800
2004	6	1.190	30.951
2005	32	8.535	45.781
2006	1	17.639	50.266
2007	2	19.137	73.549
2008	11	14.748	128.020
2009	3	6.266	74.699
2010	347	6.256	56.263
2011	231	16.136	107.599
2012	106	10.759	122.549
2013	493	10.243	135.749
2014	157	5.927	-
Total	1.510	118.103	886.507

Source: Republic of Turkey Central Bank

According to this data Japanese investments to Turkey make up only a tiny fraction of Japan's investments worldwide. It is also a very small ratio of total investments to Turkey. After 2008 world financial crisis and Arab Spring Japanese companies have started to show a heightened interest in Turkey, and there is an expectation that Japanese FDI to Turkey will gain speed in all areas. Turkish Ministry of Economics highlights nuclear energy, green energy, infrastructure, tourism, communications, and agriculture as possible sectors where Japanese companies might show interest.

Turkey and Japan has reached a landmark deal on nuclear energy cooperation. An agreement about constructing a nuclear plant in Turkey was signed between Turkey and Japan in 2013. The project will be on a build-operate-transfer (BOT) basis, and was signed between Turkish Prime

minister Recep Tayyip Erdoğan and his Japanese counterpart Shinzo Abe on May 3, 2013. This project is redeemed as a very important step that would transform bilateral ties with Japan into a strategic partnership. The firms will construct a 4,800 megawatt (MW) nuclear power plant in the Black Sea coastal city of Sinop. It will be the country's second nuclear power plant after the projected Akkuyu Nuclear Power Plant. The bulk of the project will be financed by Nippon Export and Investment Insurance (NEXI), Japan's export credit agency, and French credit insurer Coface. Work on a site analysis for Turkey's third planned nuclear power plant to be built is continuing as well. It is projected that the first unit of Japanese built nuclear plant will be active by 2023, and the fourth unit is projected to enter service by 2028

Again according to Ministry of Economy, another possible area for cooperation is business partnerships in third countries. It is proposed that Japanese and Turkish companies can cooperate in *construction* business where Turkey has a large market share in Central Asia, Middle East and North Africa, where Japanese companies could benefit from Turkish expertise in these regions.

Japanese ODA to Turkey

Turkey has been one of the important destinations for Japanese ODA (Official Development Aid) and credits. The Japan Bank for International Cooperation (JBIC) has supported projects in Turkey, including power plants, earthquake disaster relief, hospitals, machinery for government agencies, roads, etc. Since 1972, through JBIC and other Japanese government institutions 767 billion yen (9.95 billion USD) of total credits has been supplied to Turkey, and 497 billion yen (6.4 billion USD) of it was in development credits and 270 billion yen (3.5 billion USD) was for export credits.⁵ Turkey was one of the top recipients of Japanese ODA in 2008, ranking third after India and Vietnam in terms of loan aid and fourth in terms of total bilateral ODA (285.92 million USD) after Iraq, India and Vietnam. The most important project funded by Japan has been the Marmaray (Marmara Rail Transport) connecting Asia and Europe under the sea. For this project, JICA lent 111 billion yen, one of the largest ODA loans ever disbursed. There are other important projects supported by JICA such as the Ankara Water Supply Project. Currently Turkey receives 67.6% of all JICA projects in Europe in terms of value.⁶

It could be argued that Turkey's large share of the Japanese ODA owes to the strategic value attached to Turkey by Japan. The Japanese government's 2011 ODA assessment report clearly defines Turkey as a potential partner in the Middle East for diplomatic issues, regional cooperation,

development, and regional security. The report also writes that Japan is willing to use ODA to strengthen Turkey's involvement in the Middle East, in the context of supporting "South-South cooperation".⁷

This shows that there is a view in Japan, which probably has been brewing for a few years, to take Turkey as a strategic partner in the Middle East. Japan has been using its ODA as one of the means to achieve this goal. If Japan promotes FDI into Turkey as well, then probably this will further deepen strategic partnership. Since FTA is also directly related to trade, Turkish Japanese trade relations will improve from this as well.

2.4. Cultural and educational relations

Japan and Turkey have been enjoying long lasting friendly relations for more than 100 years. According to the public survey in Turkey conducted by the Japanese Foreign Ministry in 2012, 83.2% of respondents answered that the relations between Japan and Turkey are "friendly" or "almost friendly".

In May, 1998, the *Turkish-Japanese Foundation* culture center was opened in Ankara by Suleyman Demirel, President of the Republic of Turkey and Prince and Princess Tomohito of Mikasa, and a variety of cultural events have been held in the center. The center functions as a base for not only cultural exchange between two countries but also other various field of exchange. Also in Japan, the *Yunus Emre Institute* has been active in Tokyo promoting Turkish culture in the last few years. It is engaged in cultural and artistic activities in addition to the educational and training activities as well as support of scientific studies.

Japanese language education in Turkey began in 1976 with the establishment of the first Japanese language course in the country by the Istanbul branch of the Turkey-Japan Women's Cultural Association.

University-level Japanese language education began in earnest in 1986 with the establishment of a Japanese language and literature program in the faculty of letters of Ankara University. Japanese language education has grown over the years and courses have been established in major universities in Turkey.

As an important stage in educational relations, during Prime Minister Abe's visit, both countries have agreed to found a science and technology university. The training of the staff who will be working in the nuclear plant will be carried out here. However this university aims to conduct training not only in nuclear engineering but also in electrical engineering, IT, applied physics, mechanical engineering, molecular biology, chemistry, mathematics, and astronomy as well as social sciences.

Besides culture centers, language education, and universities, tourism is also a part of cultural relations, which has a business aspect as well. The number of Japanese tourists visiting Turkey tends to fluctuate year to year. According to Turkish Ministry of Culture and Tourism 125,755 Japanese visited Turkey in 2006 and this number increased to 195,404 in 2010. Since then numbers have fluctuated between 200.000 and 175.000. The political insecurities in the Middle East region in general and high cost of flight are given as reasons for the stagnation in tourism figures. Turkish tourism to Japan is a new phenomenon and the numbers are negligible for the time being. Japan's total foreign visitors topped 10 million for the first time in 2013, and Turkey is the 6th most popular tourist destination in the world with almost 40 million people visiting in the same year. The mutual tourism potential for both countries remains to be fulfilled.

ENDNOTES

- ¹ Nagaba, Hiroshi, Japan and Turkey Process For Diplomatic Relations, p 6
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3. OPENING SPEECHES



Yutaka Yokoi
Ambassador of Japan

His Excellency Deputy Prime Minister Numan KURTULMUS, President Saban KARDAS of ORSAM, Center for Middle Eastern Strategic Studies,

Distinguished guests,

Welcome, and thank you very much for joining us at the Joint Symposium: “Japan and Turkey – Where did we come from? Where are we going?” which commemorates the 90th anniversary of the diplomatic relations between Japan and the Republic of Turkey.

First of all, I would like to express my honour to receive His Excellency, Deputy Prime Minister KURTULMUS to open the Joint Symposium, accommodating his busy schedule. Deputy Prime Minister Kurtulmus is well-known for his profound insight on international affairs let alone economy.

So, our first question is “where did we come from?”

There are many theories behind the connection between Japanese and Turkish

people. I arrived in Ankara to be Japanese Ambassador to Turkey almost one year ago.

“Why do we feel close despite the geographical distance?”

“What is the real source of the feeling of connection that both of us share naturally?”

These questions have been in the back of my head, and that is why I came up with an idea of organizing a symposium to think about these questions with everyone.

After today’s Diplomatic Seminar, tomorrow’s Cultural Seminar will examine the source of our connection from the points of linguistic similarity, commonality of the music that touches our hearts, aesthetic feeling, history and archaeology. In late November, a business seminar will be held in Istanbul, also.

Needless to say, our relations didn’t only begin 90 years ago. Next year will be the 125th year since the tragic accident of Er-tugrul Frigate. And, long before that, our

ancestors were connected by the fact that our origin may be traced to Central Asia.

Despite the distance, we share a historic connection, and our connection is getting stronger. Especially, the high level exchanges between Japan and Turkey, which are symbolic in the 3 summit meetings within 1 year between Prime Minister Abe and (then) Prime Minister Erdogan, have created a huge momentum on our bilateral relations. Also, from the Imperial Family of Japan, Her Imperial Highness Princess Akiko visited her favourite country Turkey in April this year.

Since I came to Turkey one year ago, in many places I go, Turkish citizens come up and tell me "Are you Japanese? We like Japanese people!" As a diplomat, I have been to many countries in the world, but I have never encountered this level of friendliness to Japanese in any other countries. And, Japanese people like Turkish people, too!

However, I am sorry to say that, although Japanese and Turkish people share a sense of connection, our understanding of each other based on accurate knowledge is not enough.

By sharing our diplomatic environment and views on international affairs, in other words, by "putting ourselves in the others' shoes," hopefully our understanding and solidarity will be even greater.

Turkey is surrounded by the region which is full of headlines of international news with conflicts and political disorder. It is not hard to imagine how difficult it is for Turkey to steer itself in this difficult diplomatic environment. When we turn our eyes to Japan, the northeast Asian region faces various challenges too. I hope today's

Seminar will heighten our understanding on each other's environment.

Today, we have invited prominent experts from both countries. From Japan, we have Professor Shinichi Kitaoka, President of the International University of Japan, and honorary professor at the University of Tokyo as our Keynote speaker. As former Ambassador of Japan to the United Nations, Professor Kitaoka has rare experiences of looking at the UN and international politics both as a scholar and as a high official of the government.

From the Turkish side, we have Associate Professor Dr. Mesut Ozcan, Director of the Diplomatic Academy, to give his keynote speech titled "Turkey in a Changing International System."

Today, to my delight, many students and young researchers are here. Wouldn't it be great if some of you would participate in a future Japanese Turkish Symposium as a keynote speaker or a panelist? Efforts by researchers and experts are indispensable for Japan and Turkey to understand each other. Therefore, let me express my heartfelt gratitude and honor to all of them who continue down-to-earth studies in both countries.

Lastly, I would like to thank ORSAM and its President Saban Kardas, and everyone else who have helped us organizing this Joint Symposium.

I truly hope this Symposium will trigger further dialogues between our nations in different spheres. And, with you, I would like to continue to think about the second question: "Where are we going?"

Thank you again for joining us today.



Numan Kurtulmuş
Deputy Prime Minister of Turkey

Venerable Ambassador of Japan, respectable guests, dear visitors from Japan, ladies and gentlemen, good morning to all.

I am wishing a successful two-day symposium that is organized due to the 90th anniversary of Turkish-Japanese relations, which will later take place in Istanbul focusing on the trade relations between the two. Good morning to all. Kon'nichiwa (こんにちは).

There is an exceptional historical relation between Turkey and Japan. We have become aware of Japan thanks to, for instance, movies such as Tokyo Story, Dersu Uzala, and became aware of the Japanese culture in our youth. Those movies have been important to most of our peers in Turkey as they introduced the Japanese culture to us. In addition, I had the chance to study on "Japanese Human Resources Management" during my post-doctoral research. Later I published it as a book as my associate professorship dissertation. I had conducted this study on Japan in the United States of America and even though I do not know Japanese, we had many Japanese friends, and I especially had the chance to study the old system of *nenko* on Japanese human resources management labor economics. This interaction with Japanese friends as well as the study on the *nenko* system helped me accumulate knowledge and formulate an opinion about Japanese work ethics.

In this regard, I am very happy to be present here today on this occasion of the 90th anniversary of Turkish-Japanese relations with our Japanese friends, as well as with

our mostly young friends from Turkey who work on Turkish-Japanese relations.

Turkey and Japan are two countries that are located on the two ends of the Asian continent. Of the two countries, Turkey is close to Europe, whereas Japan is located on the farthest point of Far East Asia. Despite the distance between the two, we do know that both Japanese and Turkish cultures have been proximate to each other, sharing similarities. One such similarity is in the grammatical structure. There are similarities between Japanese and Turkish grammars. Additionally, there is an exceptional amount of similarity between the Japanese and Turkish family structures. Apart from that, Japanese and Turks are the two different nations that appreciate similar family values, societal values, and historical values. Despite their distant locations on the same continent, these two nations are close to each other due to these common characteristics. Besides, we know that with regard to system and work ethics, the Japanese and Turkish societies are akin to each other, and these similarities move Japan and Turkey close to each other.

Also, as we see from the name of the symposium, we have to ask "Where Did We Come From? Where Are We Going?". There is a 90-year long diplomatic relationship between the Republic of Turkey and Japan. These relations continue on an increasing basis on every realm. We have tragic moments in our memories stretching back to 125 years ago with regard to Japanese-Turkish relations. The *Ertuğrul Frigate* issue, which occurred 125 years ago, is an important issue that moved Turks closer to the Japanese society as they

demonstrated sympathy and respect to the martyrs of the Ertugrul Frigate. Also, an interesting coincidence of history, approximately a century later in 1985, when the Iran-Iraq War was still continuing, Turkish Airlines as well as Turkey took active roles in transportation of the Japanese citizens there to home. We do know that thanks to this active role carried out by Turkey, the Japanese society has warm emotions toward Turkey as well. Again through a number of issues, and mainly unfortunately as a result of tragic events, further warm emotions developed in Turkish-Japanese relations. One of these has been the tragic events of earthquake in Japan and Fukushima nuclear facilities crisis, following which Turkey offered its support to the Japanese society both in search and rescue as well as in emergency help. In this regard, perhaps Turkey has been one of those first countries to rush to help Japan. In the same way, after the earthquakes of Sakarya and Van, we very well know how Japanese government as well as Japanese volunteers swiftly acted to help Turkey recuperate. Also Japanese lady who volunteered for the search and rescue missions during the Van earthquake, Ms. Atsushi Miyazaki, is still in memories of the Turkish society. Her name and herself will always live in the memories of Turkish people.

Such extraordinary close historical relations are also significant for Japan-Turkey political relations. Despite the distance, Turkey and Japan has been developing strategic partnership in the realms of both diplomacy and economy. Are these relations sufficient? According to us, and according to the Japanese they are still not sufficient. However, our relations are continuing on an increasing trend both diplomatically and economically, and will keep increasing. We wish to increase such meetings to be conducted in Turkey, in Ankara and Istanbul, and desire the Turkish public, academic and intellectual circles to focus seriously on Turkish-Japanese relations.

Turkey-Japan relations witnessed the bearing of two concrete projects as a result of the three visits in a year-time made by our now President, His Excellency Recep Tayyip Erdogan and His Excellency Prime Minister Abe. One of these is the common establishment of Turkey-Japan Science and Technology University; and the other one is the establishment of nuclear power facility in Sinop. We hope that these two significant and big projects will serve to the advancement of economic relations between Turkey and Japan, and further them.

Turkey is at one end of the world, and Japan is at the other end; however, Turkey is one of the countries that Japan regards its strategic ally. In the same manner, Japan is one of the rare countries that Turkey deems as its strategic ally in Far East Asia. Thus, hopefully the bilateral relations will continue in an increasing way. I would like to express that such meetings will have significant contributions to the development of these relations. Also my dear brothers, dear audience, there is another common characteristic of Turkey and Japan. These two countries are extremely sensitive in humanitarian assistance issue. Wherever there is a crisis that requires help in the world, we witnessed this in Sakarya and Van, that Japanese are there to help. Similarly, wherever a crisis occurs in the world, and Turkey's help is needed, Turkey runs to their help to ease their problems.

On this occasion, I would also like to share our basic views on an issue that concerns Japan despite having occurred far from Japan. That is the issue of ISIS. We believe that ISIS is not a cause, but a consequence. The political instability in the region, especially one that has been continuing in Syria for the last 3 years as well as the state terror going on for 3-3.5 years, and especially the total exclusion of Sunnis –be them Arab Sunnis or Kurdish Sunnis- out of political processes, and the biased attitude against the Iraqi Sunnis by the central Iraqi government, which in ef-

fect is divided into three, is the cause of the emergence of ISIS-like formations. Just like the emergence of first the Taliban and then Al Qaeda in the post-invasion Afghanistan. The situation in Syria and Iraq first formed a mass resistance movement, then some elements of terrorism emerged that could not be controlled. Let us assume for a moment that all the coalition governments in the world decided tomorrow morning to take care of ISIS. Let us assume that ISIS problem has been dealt with. However, unless you correct the political situation in Syria and Iraq, Even if ISIS may come to an end today, other organizations would emerge to replace it tomorrow. Thus, what we say as Turkey is that what has to be done is to install peace, justice and stability in this region. We do not have an opinion on who will govern in which country. What we say is this: let their respective societies of each country be the sovereign in Iraq and Syria. Let the ballot box be visible. Let there be transparent democracy. Whoever is chosen by the people should govern. Both in Syria and Iraq, let all parts of the society participate in the political system equally, and express themselves.

Within this framework, hopefully, as two countries who have many words for peace in their language, Turkey and Japan will contribute to the world peace. We will try to support world peace as much as we can. We do know that no matter how high the economic development is, unless there is

peace, tranquility, and inter-societal trust and stability, it does not mean anything. Because what brings peace to people is not machines or factories, it is political stability. Together with political stability, it is the toleration in a society that comes, and the ability of people to treat each other with tolerance. In this regard the Japanese have a very nice proverb. I would like to close my speech by quoting it. The Japanese proverb reads: "a good sword is the one left in its scabbard." We would like all wars to come to an end, all swords to be left in their scabbards. We wish there was no place at all for swords. Instead of swords, if only we could communicate through pens, computers, and ideas. But unfortunately swords exist. Since there are swords, then let it be a common characteristic of Turkish and Japanese nations to strive to keep swords in their scabbards.

With these feelings, I extend my affection and respect to you all. It is my sincere wish that these efforts to further Turkish-Japanese relations in its 90th year to be successful. Turkey is defining its 2023 goals. 2023 is the date we would like the New Turkey to be realized. Japan is preparing for the 2020 Olympic Games. These are the dates very close to each other. Hopefully, 2020 will be the date for the emergence of a new Japan as well. I again extend my affection and respect to you all. Have a good day. I sincerely wish that this meeting will be successful.

4. KEYNOTE SPEECHES



Amb. Prof. Shinichi Kitaoka
President of International University of Japan
Emeritus Professor, The University of Tokyo

I am really happy to be here to speak about Japan's foreign and security policy today. Actually this is my third visit to Turkey, but my first visit to Ankara. However, I am not unfamiliar with Turkish affairs, because I have a student in my class from Turkey and I have a colleague from Turkey in my International University of Japan. But still, today's state of Turkey is more than I had expected. I'd like express my highest appreciation and respect for your country for the progress you made in the recent years. And I am really happy to be here when our relationship is moving ahead quite dramatically which was evidenced by the three meetings of the top leaders of the two countries. However as was suggested by Ambassador Yokoi though we have a very good relationship, it is to some extent rather vague or abstract.

But, it is high time to make this abstract friendship to reality, to broaden it not only from economic cooperation but also to a broader political relations and so forth. My task here today is to speak about Japan's foreign security policy in the twenty-first century which is under making by the

Prime Minister Abe. I hope this can be a basis of a new understanding of Japan to create better relationships between the two countries.

Because I am a historian, let me start from the historical background going back to the seventeenth century. At that time there was peace under Tokugawa regime in Japan. It might be interesting to compare the Ottoman Empire and the Tokugawa Japan. Tokugawa Japan was led by Shogunate, and also under him there were roughly three hundred feudal lords. But above the Shogunate, there was the Emperor who gave the authority to the Shogunate. So, the interesting thing was that authority was with the Emperor, and the real power was with the Shogunate.

The most important characteristic of the politics under Tokuwaga regime was the "closed door" policy. Contacts with foreign countries were very much limited to China on trade only, and also to Korea on trade plus limited diplomat interaction, and Dutch in a very limited place.



This is a map of city of Nagasaki. You can see a very small district where there is an area for the Dutch people to live in. This is a very small window for the Japanese people to look into the West. Thus, Japan was, roughly speaking, closed to outer world.

Another interesting characteristic was that peace continued for two and a half centuries in Japan. Therefore there were peace dividends: one was development of agriculture and commerce. The other was a unique culture for the middle class like Kabuki, Ukiyoe, etc. They are tantamount to Shakespeare's plays. And then, most importantly, high literacy; it is estimated that thirty or forty percent of the male adults were able to read and write. And also ten to twenty percent of the female adults were able to read and write. Scholars in the world agree that this is the highest literacy rate in the pre-modern society in any country. This was the basis of Japan's modernization.

But there was a price of peace as well. The military technology went down. The level of Japan's military technology in the early 17th century was about the same as in the mid 19th century, or even worse. Because there was no war, it was not necessary to develop military technology. Military historians of the world agree that Japan

at the beginning of the 17th century was the strongest nation in the world, with more guns than any country, and more advanced technology and tactics. But it was far behind the Western countries in mid-19th century. That's why Japan was forced by the Western countries to open up the country, first by the United States, and then was followed by other countries. And, in order to maintain its independence and to defend itself from the encroachment of the Western countries, Japan decided to change itself to become a different country in many aspects.

The modernization efforts started from 1868. It included the abolition of the feudal system. It also included the abolition of classes. Japan was divided into four classes beforehand: the warrior class, farmers, craftsmen, and merchants. They were abolished and made into one class. These were really very surprising. Tell me the name of the country, if there is any, which abolished the feudal system and the classes within a few years. Also the cabinet system was established in 1885, and the constitution was also written in 1889. This is the second earliest constitution in non-Western world, the first being Turkey. And then, Japan had to not only modernize itself, but also make itself strong not to be encroached. When Japan opened the

country, it had to conclude unequal treaties. Japan did not have tariff autonomy, and there were extra-territoriality, etc. Because of the extraterritoriality Japan

could not make judgment of the foreigners who committed crimes. They were to be judged by the foreign consulates.



Promulgation of the constitution by Meiji Emperor.

Though Japan had to regain its independence and also its autonomy, this was a very difficult task because it was in the age of imperialism. To defend oneself, it was almost impossible other than becoming an imperial power as well. So, in 1894 to 1895, Japan had to struggle with China over the control of the Korean peninsula, and then as a result of victory, Japan gained Taiwan. Then, in 1904 to 1905, Japan had to fight against Russia, in which Japan made a very surprising victory over it. This news was heard by many countries around Russia, such as Finland, Poland, and Turkey, more than other countries. As I hear from my friends, newspapers in Istanbul were covered by the news of Japan's victory over Russia everyday. It gave hope and imagination to the people who were under the pressure from big powers all over the world. Many people who led the former colonial countries to independence movements after World War II were inspired by the victory of Japan at that time. As a result, Japan invaded Korea. But I have to say that Japan made a mistake. Or Japan could not make a just choice after the Russo-Japanese war because it was still weak compared to other countries. Particularly,

Japan had borrowed a lot of money from the US, Great Britain, and France. That's why Japan promised to the British that it would not help India's independence movement. Also Japan promised it would not help any independence movements of Indochina. And, with the US, Japan promised not to help the independence movement of the Philippines. So, though Japan inspired the independence movement of other countries, Japan could not side with those people who were trying to make their countries independent. Japan was also victorious in the First World War. After Japan made the struggle to survive among the big powers, it was given a seat which was among the big countries. But Japan was not treated equally. Because of the heavy debts to the advanced countries, Japan's economy was not very good. Then, there took place the Great Depression in 1929. In this time, great powers like the US, Great Britain, France tried to establish their tariff barriers to block the trade exports from Japan. Then the Japanese leaders, mistakenly decided that Japan has to expand by military force to get resources and to get markets. As a result, Japan went

on to a very wrong war and was defeated in the Pacific War.

The surrender was made in 1945 after two atomic bombs were dropped to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and Soviet Russia invaded into Manchuria. Then punishments continued. In 1946, new constitution was written by Americans, which prohibited any military. But, at that time, the Cold War was beginning to worsen and deepen. Then, in 1950, the Korean War broke out. I believe it is very important that Turkey participated in the Korean War. After the onset of the Korean War, the US changed their mind, thinking Japan should be developed as an ally rather than an enemy to be weakened. The change was gradual, so in 1952, San Francisco Peace Treaty was concluded, and Japan regained its independence.

Then Japan focused on reconstruction, and it gradually proceeded with the peace, and developed relations with other countries. The peace was made with Southeast Asian and South Asian countries in 1950s. Reparations were paid, and they were in kind of transfer of money to buy Japanese goods. So it strengthened the connections between the Southeast Asian and South Asian countries and Japan. Japan also participated as a member of Asian countries in the Bandung Conference in 1955. Reconciliation continued. Treaty with South Korea was concluded in 1965. At that time Japan paid a lot of money to South Korea, which is not usually the case. When a country becomes independent, sometimes the country going through the independence may pay a lot of money for the debts, which were established by the colonial powers. But in this case, Japan gave a lot of economic assistance to Korea. The peace with China was more difficult because in the time of Cold War the US wanted Japan to establish relations with Taiwan. Because of that pressure, Japan concluded a treaty with the Republic of China in 1952. After the Vietnam War, and after US reconciled with China, then

Japan could normalize relations with the People's Republic of China in 1972. It was a slow process.

Anyhow, the core basis of foreign policy of Japan was the US-Japan Security Alliance. The original treaty was concluded in 1951, but it was very much an unequal treaty. For example, it is written that Japan provides bases to the United States. The US accepts these bases, and it can make use of them to defend Japan. It's not an obligation. US *may* be able to use the bases to defend Japan. Also, if there is a civil disturbance or civil war in Japan, and if there is a request made from the Japanese government, then US can help the Japanese government to suppress the riots or disturbances. This is a very unequal agreement. This is the reflection of former enemy countries, and also this is the reflection of a super power versus the defeated country. Some revisions were made in 1960 and it was made a little more equal, but still the inequality remains even today. In 1964 to 72 after many movements and diplomatic negotiations, Okinawa was returned to Japan. Okinawa was put under Japan's administration, and Okinawa was made nuclear free as mainland Japan. Also, the prior consultation clause is one of the most important elements that Japan gained in the revision of the security treaty in 1960. This means that Japan has a say when the US tries to make use of Japan's bases. Japan can tell them what they can and can not do. In other words, there has to be prior consultation before action. But, there are many bases in Japan and it still is not a very equal treaty.

Another important thing was ODA (Official Development Aid) policy. Japan engaged in official development aid from 1950s when Japan was not a member of the OECD. Usually ODA is an activity by the members of OECD countries. But, Japan started well before becoming a member. After Japan was admitted to the OECD, it started to provide ODA firstly to Southeast Asia and South Asia, and

expanded to other areas including Middle East, to Egypt after 1970. Also, Japan began massive assistance to China. This was a kind of reparation, and a kind of friendship with hope for China to develop. Characteristic of Japanese ODA was that it was as in loans. Most part of Japan's loan was to establish infrastructure. For example, Japan's loan to Southeast Asia was used to construct bridges, roads and harbors. These were important for Japanese companies to invest, so that they can build businesses over there, and they can make export from companies in Malaysia, Indonesia, Thailand and so forth. It eventually made Southeast Asia richer than before.

In the 1950s, the level of standard of living in Southeast Asia was roughly equal to that of Africa. But now, as you see, Southeast Asia is much richer. Based on the economic development, there was development of democracy. For example, recently there was another smooth change of power in Indonesia. Smooth election, transfer of power is import in this democratization process. Also the Philippines is democratized. Democratization is continuing in the region. Thanks to Japan's ODA and the rise of the investment and industry in those countries, people became richer, and this became the basis for democracy. A very good rotating cycle is going on in Southeast Asia.

So far, this has been a success story from 1945 to the end of Cold War, 1989. But this is the point where Japan's search for a new role started. A shock came with the impact of the Gulf War when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait. Japan's prosperity depended very much on the stability of the Middle Eastern region, but Japan was unable to do anything other than providing money. Japan gave a lot of money to the liberation effort of Kuwait; 13 billion dollars. But, Japan could not send any soldier to that region. When Kuwait made an advertisement on American newspapers, thanking to the countries that assisted Kuwait, there was no name of Japan. It was

a shock for Japan, and it began to search its role, that it had to do something other than providing money. That is why Japan started its peacekeeping operations in 1992. It also started participating in disaster relief. Japan's Self Defense Forces (SDF) are very well known in their high expertise in disaster relief. But they were never able to go beyond the border even to the Philippines or Indonesia which are disaster prone countries.

But, this was made possible in 1992. These were not smooth decisions. The opposition parties opposed to this decision very much. First, the government party overcame the opposition and then they enacted the laws. The first participation was in the UNTAC (United Nations Transitional Authority in Cambodia). Then, Japan participated in disaster relief in Turkey 1999. The reason for the SDF not being able to go abroad is, as I will talk a little more in detail, the Article 9 of the constitution, which prohibited the military forces. Despite this article, Japan created some kind of military, but it was not allowed to go beyond the border of Japan. That's why Japan was unable to go to any activities beyond the border such as to the Middle East, or to any disaster relief activities. But it was made possible to participate in peacekeeping operations and disaster relief activities after 1992. At that time, there was an interesting debate in Japan; whether the US Japan Security Treaty was still necessary, because the biggest threat, the USSR, was gone. Is it still necessary to have treaty without a potential enemy? The answer was yes, because there was threat from North Korea. North Korea was isolated because of the collapse of the Soviet Russia, and they accelerated their efforts to have nuclear weapons and missile systems. Thus, faced with nuclear and missile threats, the US and Japan discussed and decided to cooperate more to strengthen their relationship. That's what we call the "redefinition of the US-Japan Security Treaty" in 1995. Under the UN framework, Japan has been participating

in other activities like refueling activity for the US and others in the Indian Ocean, and dispatch of Self Defense Forces to Iraq, not for fighting, but for reconstruc-

tion, in 2004. Also, Japan is engaging in counter-piracy activities off the coast of Somalia.



Disaster relief in Turkey

Regarding ODA, there was another change after the Cold War. First of all Japan was number one donor in 1990s, and the scope was expanded to include African countries. Within the concept of Human Security from 1998, it is also providing money for the most afflicted people, the poorest people. Still, because of the economic stagnation started from early 1990s, Japan's total money for ODA is declining. This is a very difficult situation.

Now what is Prime Minister Abe doing? Mr. Abe is trying to change Japan's security policy. First of all, he established National Security Council to provide more integrated defense and foreign policy to the Prime Minister. He also enacted special Secret Protection Law last year to make cooperation deeper with the ally countries. If there is a leak of secret, we cannot make effective cooperation with others. Then we adopted the National Security Strategy in December last year, based on advice by the Council on National Security, which was chaired by myself. We adopted a concept of more proactive contribution to peace. As you may remember, Japan's efforts were up until 1990s confined within the border. We should do more beyond the borders, and participate in international cooperation. This is the key concept. New principle for the export of defense equipment was adopted this year in April. So far, Ja-

pan has never been able to export weapons in substance. But, there are countries that are threatened, then why not export weapons for them to defend themselves against the big powers which are threatening them? Also why not we join the joint production of the weapons among the democratic peace loving countries? So, Japan's weapon policy was changed, which may have a big impact. For example Japan may be able to export some vessels to the Philippines, and to Vietnam or Indonesia, which are threatened by the expansion of the Chinese naval power.

Now, a still very difficult point is the Article 9's second paragraph. Article 9's first paragraph is OK, which is on peaceful solution of international disputes. But, the second paragraph is about Japan not having any army, navy, air force, or any war potential. How can a country defend itself without military? It is an inherent right for any sovereign country to have some military, some minimum military to defend itself. There was a new interpretation of the Article adopted in 1954, but still SDF was confined within Japan's borders. Even in the high time of the Cold War, Japan was together with the US, and also China was with us against the Soviet Russia. So it was enough to defend Japan proper. Within Japan's border, Japan could make enough contribution to the US, Japan, China, and the Western bloc. But, now the time has

changed, and Japan should do more to contribute to the peace. Therefore, we re-interpreted it again so that the collective right of self-defense is possible in today's constitution. As you know, changing the constitution is terribly difficult in Japan, so it is better to have a flexible reinterpretation of the clauses, and if it is too much, then the Supreme Court will say no. So, this makes it possible for Japan to afford more flexibility to Article 9.

Behind this was the Chinese military power. Chinese military budget is expanding in the pace of four times in ten years. This is an enormous pace. Besides this, there is also the issue of Senkaku Islands between Japan and China. No one had any interest in Senkaku Islands that are just rocky islands. No one had any interest in 18 centuries. But, Japan incorporated them to Japan's territory in 1895. Since then, some Japanese people lived on those islands while no Chinese ever lived on the Senkaku Islands. Also, China had made no territorial claim up to 1971. But, they began to make claims later on. Japanese coastal guard vessels are trying to prevent Chinese ships to enter its territory. Chinese are drastically expanding their activities to come into Japan's territorial waters. Chinese hard line attitude is much clearer in South China Sea. In South China Sea, there are many disputes between China and Philippines, China and Vietnam, China and Indonesia. But China continued to expand its control in the region. Now China declares that they are claiming 90 percent of the South China Sea, which includes much of the public sea.

The Chinese development is wonderful. Economic development is welcome, because that means a good customer. Also its military development is unavoidable, we cannot stop it. But, we are more concerned about the manner in which they expand. They just neglect international law, they go beyond the international law, and they are expanding relying on their power. What Japan is committed is the peaceful solution of the disputes. For this purpose, Prime Minister Abe is first of

all trying to strengthen the US-Japan Security Treaty. Also he is expanding, widening, and deepening the ties with Australia, India, Southeast Asian countries, Africa, and Europe. Turkey is of course among very important partners. This is not to confine China. This is to encourage China to be a law-abiding country, a good member of the international society. What is important to us is that, after two great wars in the 20th century, human beings come to agreement that no disputes should be solved by military force. International disputes should be solved by international law, International Court of Justice, negotiation, or arbitration, but not by force. This is important commitment of Japan after the terrible experiences in the war. Our commitment to international law is very serious.

Now, what we are looking into is the future. One economic historian, Angus Maddison, once said that in 1826 the biggest economic power in the world was China, followed by India. But this was the starting point of dominance of the Western powers. Western powers developed and then dominated the world, from the mid-19th century. But, this is ending. Therefore, the future will not be like that. There should be the rise of non-Western countries, I am quite sure. But, that should not be the repetition of the early 19th century. We are not returning to 1826. The modern values such as human rights, the rule of law, democracy should be incorporated as the basis of international system in the 21st century. This is what Japan commits. Japan, as a country among the prosperous countries that came from the backward world, discriminated many times by the advanced countries, have memory and experience of being discriminated, and also being admired as an advanced country. So, Japan could be a good facilitator and leader to create this kind of coexistence, a new world in which many civilizations could coexist with modern values like human rights, rule of law, democracy. This is our goal in the 21st century. I hope that we can share this goal with Turkish friends.



Doç. Dr. Mesut Özcan

Director of Diplomacy Academy

Dear Ambassador, dear guests, we thank you for your participation at this symposium prepared for the 90th anniversary of Turkey-Japan relations.

Today I will make a presentation on the Turkish Foreign Policy of a shorter period of time, covering years following 1990 and in particular the post-Cold War period. Prof. Kitaoka in his speech has made some comments on what it means to Japan to perceive threat from Russia, with his illustration of the Russo-Japanese War. When we take a look at the Turkish-Russian relations, we see that similar concerns and similar relations also hold true for Turkey. We see that this factor has also influenced Turkish foreign policy in particular throughout the Cold War in the post-1945 period. In the post-Cold War era, we see the continuation of a security concern, a search for security in Turkey. In general, there is a relaxation with regard to security in the world following the end of the Cold War.

However, unfortunately this is not valid for Turkey. There is a myriad of reasons for this. First and foremost are the instabilities that occurred in Turkey's close neighborhood. Those regional issues and instabilities that emerged especially in the Balkans, the Middle East and the Caucasus throughout the early 1990s demonstrate us that security concerns in Turkish foreign policy have continued although the Cold War ended. As we all recall, if we take under consideration the Iraqi invasion of Kuwait and events that took place following that, events that occurred during and after the dissolution of Yugoslavia in the Balkans, and in the Caucasus conflicts between both Azerbaijan

and Armenia, and problems in Georgia, we see ongoing security concerns prevailing in Turkish foreign policy despite the end of the Cold War. This is why such security concerns push Turkey towards regarding these issues as more important than matters in economy and diplomacy. In this period, we see Turkey following a foreign policy throughout the 1990s, trying to find resolution to the security issues around the country, and to develop and utilize the role of the international organizations to the extent that it was possible. We see Turkey giving support to United Nations' intervention during the Gulf War, and to international organizations such as the UN and NATO both in Bosnia and then in Kosovo to resolve problems in the Balkans. In a similar vein, both international organizations such as OSCE in the Caucasus and then through bilateral means, we see Turkey trying to bring the international organizations into the scene for conflict resolution. And in the same period, similar to the Japanese case that Prof. Kitaoka has noted, Turkey supported peacekeeping missions in various places in an increasing manner. We see Turkey supporting peacekeeping missions in the Balkans, in Palestine, or later in different places in Africa, similar to the peacekeeping efforts joined by Japan.

For Turkey, in addition to these external security concerns, domestic security concerns such as the security threat posed by the PKK throughout the 1990s also influenced both domestic and foreign policies of the country. Therefore, throughout the 1990s it is possible to claim the existence of the influence of security concerns. Following 1999 we witness a change. I emphasize 1999, as two important, historical

events that took place in that year, which influenced the Turkish foreign policy afterwards. One of them is the capture of Ocalan and the relative decrease in security concerns and the emergence of the possibility of utilizing different tools in foreign policy. Another one is the EU agenda's becoming more important both for our foreign and domestic politics following Turkey's nomination as the candidate country to the EU. After 1999, throughout the 2000s, as with the relative decrease in security concerns, we see the increasing importance being attached to economy and diplomacy. And again throughout the 2000s, another remarkable development in Turkish foreign policy has been regionalization. That is, the possibility of establishing closer contacts with its immediate neighborhood was born for Turkey. In domestic politics, henceforth, steps compatible with the EU agenda become possible.

So in general, what developments are taking place in Turkish foreign policy with regard to regionalization? First, we see the possibility of enhanced political interaction with its immediate vicinity. What sort of a political interaction is out there? Turkey is establishing closer relations with its immediate neighborhood through establishing high-level strategic partnerships. We see that this is not directed towards a particular region. As there are examples in the Middle East, we can also see other examples of it in the Balkans and the ex-USSR geography. The aim here has been to cut off the support that the PKK has received throughout the 1990s by some of our close neighbors. In this regard, with countries to the south of Turkey such as Syria, Iraq as well as Jordan and Lebanon and those in the USSR geography such as Ukraine, Georgia, Azerbaijan and Tajikistan, Turkey tried to establish such mechanisms. When we take a look at the Balkans, toward the West, we see attempts being made to establish similar mechanisms with countries like Greece and Bulgaria. The goal here is to establish a dialog

mechanism to talk about mutual matters and cooperation areas where possible.

Another reflection of this has been regionalization, and this takes us to the topic of economic interactions. On the economic pillar, we see the 2001 crisis as especially influential. Because in the 1990s, there has been various economic crises occurring one after another in Turkey. The latest of them was in 2001 and the economy shrunk by 12 percent. With the impact of the 2001 economic crisis, Turkey tried to get involved and interact more with its vicinity. It started to follow a policy aiming to enhance trade with its immediate neighborhood. Exporters were being supported and a number of Free Trade Agreements were signed for this goal. Since the beginning of 1996, Turkey has been a Customs Union member, so it does not need such agreements with the EU. So Turkey signed Free Trade Agreements with its immediate neighborhood that are not members of the Customs Union. It is possible to explain this through some examples. In 2001, just before the 2001 crisis, the EU accounted for 50-53% of Turkish trade. Following this, due to Turkey's increasing trade relations with the Middle East, Russia and the Balkans and other places, we see this ratio decreasing to 38%. So a 15-point decrease is out there. However in the last couple of years, we see this ratio increasing in favor of Turkey-EU trade relations. What I would like to emphasize here is that throughout the 2000s Turkish policies to develop economic relations have influenced its foreign policy in other aspects. There are articles published on these issues. For instance Kemal Kirisci's article "The transformation of Turkish foreign policy: The rise of the trading state" is an example. In an increasing manner, we witness an area in which security concerns are decreasing and economic factors are becoming more influential. A third pillar that supports the political and economic pillars has been the cultural opening carried out throughout the 2000s, aiming to increase Turkey's interaction

with its near neighborhood. This has been a period in which regionalization was realized through cultural means in the immediate vicinity. At this point, while we see increased inter-societal interaction thanks to the abolishment of the visas, we also see new tools being utilized as well. Similar to what major powers such as Britain, Germany and the United States do, Turkey has started to establish Yunus Emre Culture Centers with the aim to make cultural diplomacy a more frequently resorted tool of Turkish foreign policy. We actually see an example of this in Japan also. In addition to political and diplomatic relations between Japan and Turkey, we see Yunus Emre Culture Center opened also in Tokyo, Japan so as to enhance cultural interaction between the two nations.

In this regard we see regionalization efforts of Turkey replacing security concerns as they decreased in the 2000s. With this regionalization effort, mutual political dialogue, economic cooperation, and cultural interaction became possible. There is yet another development that took place in the 2000s, which is opening to far destinations. Especially Latin America and Far East Asia. Hence we see Japan included in this as Turkey puts more effort diplomatically to enhance relations. We see the establishment of diplomatic missions in places where previously there was none. We see attempts to develop trade relations. In this regard, issues and places, which previously occupied less place in Turkish foreign policy are more important now. Another development that is worth pointing out is Turkey's efforts to increase its role in international organizations. Utilizing tools such as becoming a non-permanent member of the UN Security Council, or providing the possibility of an enhanced representation in various international organizations, Turkey has been trying to emphasize its foreign policy priorities on international platforms.

There are also other tools of Turkish foreign policy as Deputy Prime Minister

Kurtulmus pointed out, such as TIKA or The Department of Turks Abroad and Related Communities. In this regard, Turkey is placing more importance to aid. Of course, Japan has a more institutional structure in this regard, and more experience. Turkey is a new actor in this sense. Turkey is also trying to increase its capabilities in international aid matters. We see Turkey utilizing foreign aid as a tool of its foreign policy both in its immediate vicinity and in further destinations such as Africa. Turkey is doing this not only through its state institutions, but also through the help of non-governmental organizations of Turkish origin as well. In this regard, it is possible to claim that there is an approximation between Turkey and Japan with regard to the foreign policy tools utilized.

Also as a final point, I would like to add that another foreign policy tool that Turkey has been utilizing recently is international mediation and conflict resolution mechanisms. Turkey works closely with countries like Norway and Finland who have experiences in this matters to enhance its capabilities, thus aiming to become more influential in resolution of matters that surround the country. However, as I have noted in the beginning of my talk, those security issues that emerged in our close vicinity in the 1990s have not been resolved yet. Although partial stability has been brought to the Balkans with the EU and NATO expansion, and granting them of membership perspectives, the same unfortunately cannot be claimed for the Middle East and the Caucasus. Especially problems in the Middle East, continue to be a threat for Turkish foreign policy. Although there are no events occurring in the Caucasus at the same level to those in the Middle East, as you will recall, last month border conflicts erupted between Armenia and Azerbaijan on the ceasefire line. This shows that, we are in an environment where frozen matters are yet to be resolved. In this regard, while on the one hand Turkey tries regionalization,

conflicts in our immediate vicinity create an atmosphere that serves as a reminder of the fact that those conflicts are not yet resolved. This is why we see security issues still influencing Turkish foreign policy.

As I am ending my talk, I thank all of you for your participation on the occasion of

the 90th anniversary of Republic of Turkey-Japan diplomatic relations. I hope that all discussions and panels will be very fruitful and will bear positive results, informative results for us all. Thank you once again.

5. PANEL PRESENTATIONS



Ltg. [Ret.] Prof. Noboru Yamaguchi
National Defence Academy of Japan

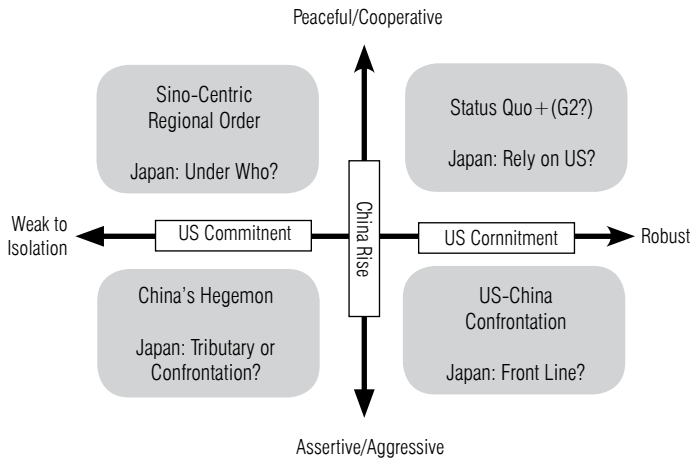
This is my first time to be in this country. I am particularly glad to see people this friendly and I am very glad to speak to such a warm audience.

My topic is China's rise, U.S. rebalance towards the Asia Pacific region, and the US-Japan defense alliance. As Prof. Kitaoaka has mentioned, Japan's defense policy after 1945 is very distinctive and peaceful. Particularly after the 1950's, Japan's defense policy derived on a couple of elements. First one is; Japan was so devastated after the war that "economy first" became a major a basis of policy. Japan did not have capacity to spend much on military. Secondly, we decided to depend on U.S. military presence in the region. So, reliance on US defense commitment to the region and defense build up of our own, (even though the amount was small:

while Turkey also had to spend over two percent of GDP on military expenditure, Japan have been spending just below one percent) and better economy were main aims.

After the Cold War ended, we started to face a new set of strategic environment. My question is on China and the United States. Before getting into the point I have to warn you that I am a very much optimistic and simple soldier. So I do not see anything beyond two dimensions. In the following figure, from left to right, it shows how strong the U.S. commitment will be in the Asia Pacific region and to the region close to Japan. From top to bottom, it shows whether China will rise as an accommodative country (on the top), to whether it will turn as an aggressive and authoritative country (on the bottom).

Cooperative v.s. Aggressive “Rise” Robust “Rebalance” v.s. Isolationism



My hope is that the U.S. will remain committed to the region and China will remain nice. That is my dream. On the other hand, in a scenario presented on the opposite side of the graph, in the case that the U.S. commitment is gone and China rising as a very nasty and aggressive entity, it is a nightmare. In the case of a nicer China without U.S. commitment, it would mean a kind of Sino-centric East Asia. The scenario presented at the bottom right is a confrontation model of the U.S. and China, and that means that Japan is going to be on the front line. I am not telling what will happen in the future, but rather, I am telling you that right side above is a place we need to aim. How to keep the U.S. commitment to the region is one of the issues for us, and how to shape China's course to a better and nice China is another issue. China's military expenditure grew rapidly and it has become 18 times larger in the last twenty years. It's a lot. But on the other side of the coin, performance of the military forces depends more on how much you have been spending in the last twenty-thirty years rather than the fact that you have been spending so much only this last one year. Accumulation is important. In that sense the good news is,

what Japan has been spending in the last twenty years is almost flat. We have had good accumulation. There was only one country, even after the Cold War ended, kept on increasing its military expansion. Do you know which? My students usually say North Korean or China, but it is Japan. Because of bureaucratic inertia, we kept spending and we kept increasing military expenditure up until the end of the bubble economy. Because of that, we have pretty good accumulation but stockpile of that money is running away. Therefore, it is almost time that we had to go up again. Abe administration has decided to increase defense budget. That is good news.

Not necessarily all Japanese know that Japan-U.S. security treaty has two very-important articles: they are Article 5 and Article 6. Article 5 is the most important. It is for the defense of Japan. U.S. and Japan are going to defend Japan. But there are three conditions. First one is, the area to be protected must be under Japanese administration. In this context, Senkaku Islands were under the U.S. military administration until 1972, when Okinawa was returned to Japan. So it is clear that Japan has administrative control over

the Senkaku Islands. Second condition is that it must be an armed attack. Fishing boat slamming into coast guard is not an armed attack. Hong Kong activists' swim on to the island from fishing boats is not an armed attack. Those are the things the Japanese government is supposed to take care. And thirdly, if there is an armed attack, not necessarily on Senkaku but any place in Japan, there must be a joint action. Sometimes, people ask the question whether the U.S. is ready to defend some islands or not. My answer is; the question is wrong. It depends. If Japan does not stand up to protect its own territory, the U.S. has no reason to stand up to protect us. Joint action is the key.

And as to the American commitment to Asia, Obama administration has been making it clear that America is going to remain committed, particularly from 2011 when their Secretary of State Ms. Clinton wrote a very excellent piece in the journal *Foreign Policy*. The U.S. is for sure coming back to the Asia Pacific region. And, this is my interpretation: if you look at U.S. force structure deployed around Iran, Iraq and Afghanistan, the U.S. has been deploying nearly 200,000 service members for almost 10 years. If you have 200,000 troops there, you have to use other assets to rotate them. In all, this amounts to 0.6 mil-

lion people committed to those areas. That is over. In 2012, it became 77,000, and at the end of last year it became 53,000. So, burden of Middle East on American shoulders is much lighter right now. This means that the U.S. can come back to, not necessary to Asia-Pacific region, but to a rather normal posture.

Let me end my remarks by talking about the relation between Japan's defense policy and U.S. strategy. American military is very much concerned about operations under anti-access area denial environment. They are worried about, for instance, when U.S. naval forces including aircraft carriers are operating in the area west of second island chain, between Guam and Okinawa for example, Chinese submarines and other naval potentials as well as bombers and anti-ship missiles can affect American operations. To overcome that kind of environment, Japan's defense posture in south western islands makes very good sense. If we have a better posture in defense in southwest islands, this means that Japan's Self Defense Forces are going to put down an umbrella for the U.S. forces deployed in this area. If the U.S. forces are deployed more to this area, it may be easier for Japan to defend itself. Then the deployment of follow-on forces will be far easier.



Prof. Selçuk Çolakoğlu
Yıldırım Betazıt Unhiversity

In this meeting we try to raise the awareness about Asia in Turkey together with our colleagues. So I will try to analyze Turkey's policy toward East Asia in general, not only in particular to Northeast Asia because Northeast Asia is not a much known frame in Turkey. As we know for international literature, when we talk about Northeast Asia that means Japan China and the two Koreas, Taiwan and may be Russian and the United States. When we talk about Asia usually we mean Northeast Asia to ASEAN countries, which is in Southeast Asia and South Asia. When we look at Turkey's foreign policy or Turkey's look to Asia in general since the beginning of cold war we can divide it into four periods. The first one is the early period of the cold war. During that period Turkey has a security dimension for its foreign policy, so solidarity with pro-Western regimes in Asia and solidarity against communist countries. In these regards, Turkey sent troops to the Korean War and actively participated to defend the South Korea at the time. Turkey had a solidarity policy with Japan, South Korea, Nationalist China in Taiwan, the Philippines, Thailand, and Pakistan. There is a pure security look to Asia in general but economic and cultural exchanges remained very limited.

The second period of Cold War started with the Sino-American normalization in the early 1970's. After the this strategic turning point, Turkey also had normalized its relations with the People of Republic of China (PRC) and closed its embassy in Taipei and opened in Beijing. Turkey's look to Asia has turned from security perspective to economic one. Asia had very successful development models starting with Japan and also the four Asian Tigers

of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong. Therefore, Turkey's main focus was on economy at this period during 1970s and 1980s. There was an increasing awareness and partnership particularly with Japan at the time.

The third period has started with the end of cold war and the dissolution of the Soviet Union. We witness the out-break of independent countries, mostly Turkic, in Central Asia and the Caucasus. So Turkey had much of its focus on these regions as a foreign policy priority. At the same time Turkey tried to develop a bridge from West Asia where it is, to East Asia, defined with the rhetoric of building contemporary silk-road and so on. Turkey had also paid more attention to rising China and other Asian countries. However, because of the economic crises and such shortcomings at the time, Turkey could not develop strong economic relations with Asian countries during the 1990s.

When we look at the fourth period starting with early 2000s, there is an increasing economic capacity. So the economic capacity became the key to developing relations with Asian countries. All the time Turkey paid more attention to Asia only at the political level, but with poor economic cooperation. During that last decade Turkey has succeed to build up its economic capacity and there is also an increasing partnership with Asia. Moreover, there is an increasing profile of Turkey in international organizations. For example, Turkey has become U.N. Security Council non-permanent member in 2009-2010 and adopted a very active foreign policy within the Organization of Islamic Cooperation (OIC). Turkey has also become

observing country for the Arab League and the African Union, and Turkey signed a cooperation agreement with ASEAN in the 2010 Hanoi summit, in which Ahmet Davutoğlu also participated this signing ceremony as the foreign minister. Besides, Turkey has finally become a dialogue partner for the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2012. All these show a rising appearance in international arena for Asian countries and Asian institutions by Turkey. These have led to development of some strong partnerships with Asia.

When we look at trade figures, Turkey has very strong economic relations with Asian countries. Japan is the key country. Turkey has developed strong trade relations with Japan and also Japanese FDI came to Turkey for years. Until the year 2000 Japan was the leading Asian trade partner for Turkey. But starting with 2000 there is a decreasing role for Japan in Turkey's trade partnership with Asia. China has become number one trade partner. South Korea and India also passed Japan. So Japan is now number four trade partner for Turkey in Asia. In this regard, we need to focus on why Japan decreases in Turkey's trade during the last decade. On the other hand, Turkey developed strong economic

relationship with other Asian countries. In that regard, China has become number three economic partner for Turkey in its world trade since 2008.

There are also a lot of high level visits from Turkey to Asian countries and from Asian countries to Turkey. There are many signed deals, agreements and also cooperation on different levels, from the state level to NGO level. While it is true that relations have developed with Asian countries in other important dimensions as well, for true continuity and sustainability of the relationship there is the problem of the lack of a road map, which is another challenge for Turkey to maintain sustainable relations with Asian countries. During the last decade and especially in recent years Turkey had an Asian opening policy and opened embassies in some countries like Myanmar, Cambodia, Brunei, Nepal, Sri Lanka and etc. Those countries also adopted a policy to open embassies in Ankara, Turkey. So there are lots of connections, developments in relations which can be perceived as a good achievement for Turkey's Asian policy. On the other hand, we need to focus on some strategic plan to further develop, maintain and sustain these relationships.



Prof. Masanori Naito
Doshisha University

Starting my words I would like to express my congratulations on the safe release of all the hostages who were held by ISIS. We Japanese would also like to share this happiness with you. "Gözünüz aydın". It is quite an honor for me to be able to address you in this symposium, which is aiming at strengthening academic relations between Turkey and Japan.

I believe that the Republic of Turkey's role for ensuring stability in the Middle East and Eurasia could be evaluated as such: it is a bridge between the Muslim East and the West, it's a bridge in dialogue between Palestinian people and Israel, it is vital in its assistance to desperate people in Gaza, in being a deterrent power facing the fragile situation in Caucasasia, in providing security for the energy corridor extending from Central Asia to Middle East, in being a deterrent power against the possible nuclear rearmament of Iran, in being a guarantor country providing security for the lives and properties of Turkish people in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus, in playing a key role for the stability and development of Afghanistan, etc. But in the latest development, Turkey has become the biggest and most serious country that has supported approximately one million refugees who had to run away from Syria, which has fallen into chaos. And immediately after war, Iraq, facing the immanent danger of breaking apart as a result of its sectarian politics, which led way to the emergence of ISIS, ended up in being the most fragile country. Turkey, as a neighboring country, in order to keep the unity of Iraq, is trying to maintain deterrence capacity, but unfortunately it also faces serious challenges. So in recent years Turkey remained as the last country ruled

by law. And indeed, Turkey has been the only country demonstrating humanitarian justice to the world.

What are to sources of this attitude? In my opinion the first is the fact that most of its citizens are Muslims, and secondly it is the unitary structure of the country. The fact is that, Turkey has managed to realize democracy, which does not exist in none of the other Muslim countries. In the Islamic world Turkey is the only country which managed to develop a type of democracy suitable to Muslims. During the process of Arab Spring, Egyptian people who were under authoritarian rule for thirty years selected their president for the first time. Unfortunately the Egyptian army removed this with a coup d'état and gave capital sentences to Muslim Brotherhood for providing the support for the elected president. This has shown that the forces obstructing the development of democracy in Middle East countries are very strong. Because of the coup in Egypt Turkey lost its biggest potential ally in the region. This is disheartening. Obviously it is very difficult to achieve stability in this fluid region. Therefore the role that Turkey must and will play is quite obvious. Turkey, as the only democratic, secular, social, state with the rule-of-law in Middle East, and also a Muslim country with a sound unitary structure, is the only hope and inspiration for the people of Iraq, Syria, Mosul, Palestine, Libya, Somalia, Yemen, and Afghanistan, which are in chaos. For the wounded children of Gaza, for the people of Egypt under oppression of coup, Turkey will continue to provide its support and by this way will show the right way to all Turkish and Muslim youth for understanding what is just.

In 2009 the Turkish Prime Minister R.T.Erdoğan's open and clear attitude in Davos is a proof of this. Unfortunately the number of countries giving support to Turkey's just attitude is decreasing. Also in Turkey, there are people who say that Turkey had lost allies. However, as a Japanese scholar, would like to emphasize that in order to build real and sincere friendly relations, justice and morality are most important. Even if it remains as the only country distributing justice in line with its beliefs, new Turkey's attitude will be very prominent.

Within such chaos in the region it is not possible to evaluate all of Turkey's relations one by one. Thus I would like to focus on the recent developments. It is about the ISIS and its violent behavior, which threatens not only Turkey but all the world. Maybe it is kind of wrong for me to address such a sensitive subject, but I would like to remind you that Turkey could not easily respond to Obama's call for military coalition. Of course it was the kidnapping of 49 Turkish citizens including the Council General of Mosul that was the reason of this sensibility. I would like to criticize Western countries for their lacking in vision in the struggle against ISIS. President Obama has called ISIS a cancer. If there is a cancer, of course, it can be taken out surgically. But this is only theoretical. What will happen if the patient cannot survive the operation? Turkey should be shown respect, as it is very sensitive to a military operation. UK Prime Minister Cameron has called ISIS's beheading of a journalist as a demonic act. Of course, he is right. But then, when 500 children were killed in Gaza last August, why didn't he call it a demonic act? This hypocritical attitude is increasing the likelihood of young Muslims to turn as Jihadists. I would like to remind another point. During the gulf war Turkey did not join US's coalition of the willing. And also after 9-11 Turkey did not provide support to the military operations against Afghanistan. Of course Turkey has greatly contributed to security

effort by joining ISAF. In 2003, in Iraq war, after very long discussions in the Turkish Grand National Assembly, Turkey did not heed to US's call. Turkey is the most important ally of US in the region. Despite this Turkey has always considered sensibilities in the region with great care. And especially when the present government is concerned, I find it logical and rational for the decisions to be made in accordance with the sense of Islamic justice. What kind of a constructive role Turkey will continue to play in the security of the region in the future? On this point, the size of the military force or political profile will not give a sufficient answer. With no doubt, the only way that this end could be achieved is through the unification of civil society with the fundamental principles of the country in a way that is perceived as appropriate by the civilized world.

Last but not least, there is no problem between Turkey and Japan. Actually they are acting together as bridges between Western and Eastern world. We have different geographical positions but we try to be bridges. So we have to further strengthen our relationship. If the foundations of the bridge are not strong, it could collapse by even a faint wind. However if the bases are strong, no matter what kind of a storm there is, the bridge will survive. So since the beginning Japan and Turkey has based their relations on mutual humanitarian aid, which I believe is very important. Japanese people never forget that in 1985, during the Iran and Iraq war, the late Turkish president Turgut Özal has commissioned an airplane to rescue Japanese citizens from Tehran when many Turkish citizens were left behind there. Turkish Airlines planes took the risk of an attack by the Iraqi army and helped Japanese families. And no voice of criticism was heard in Turkey against Turgut Özal's decision. This shows that Turkish people did not forget the rescue and aid by the Japanese people to the Turkish sailors after the Ertuğrul Tragedy, which happened almost one hundred and twenty five years ago.

Such a firm attitude shows that Turkey's actions in the region are beneficial for humanity. This, in turn, has its source in the basic belief in mutual help and solidarity among Turkish Muslims. It is an attitude

specific to the new Turkey, which plays an indispensable role in the region with the disciplined and honest behavior of its religious and faithful people.



Dr. Bahadır Pehlivan Türk

TOBB University of Economy and Technology

In this presentation I would like to talk about current relations between modern Turkey and Japan and make a comparison of their political positions in their respective regions. And also, I would like to make some proposals on how Japan and Turkey can partner with each other to increase their influence in confronting various world problems.

Those of us who study Turkey and Japan relations are a little bothered but by what we can call 'romantisizm', a label brought by Prof. Selçuk Esembl, in relations. In every meeting between Turkey and Japan there is a dominance of a discourse on comradeship between two people, about how they made sacrifices for each other and how they have helped each other, etc. We who are deep in the study of Japan and Turkey relations are a little bothered by this, because we know that even though the Turkish and Japan relationships are warm and very good diplomatically, they lack substance. We don't really do very much in political terms, economic relations are weak, and there is so much potential unrealized. As a matter of fact, this symposium is a part of the effort to substantiate Turkish-Japanese relations, and to go beyond the romantic discourse.

In my research on modern Turkish and Japanese relations, I found that in history when some certain conditions appear, Turkey moves to strengthen its relations with Japan. I found out that there were three conditions, and when at least two of them are met, Turkey and Japan get more interested in developing relations with each other. First one is when there is a shift in the Western power position in the world, that is to say, when the power

balance changes within the Western world, or when Western power position changes vis-à-vis the rest of the world. Secondly, when both countries' foreign policies enter a stage of activism, which frequently coincides with these times of power shift, they again turn to each other. One can find this in Sultan Abdulhamid's era, during Turgut Ozal's premiership, and now in the current era. And thirdly, at times when Turkey and Japan are engaged in an effort to redefine the ideational bases for their foreign policy; when they try to find an identity for their foreign policies, they turn to each other. So when we are trying to understand ourselves, when we are trying to reposition ourselves vis-à-vis the West, it seems Turkey and Japan come to be more interested with each other.

We can say that now is such a time. There are wide discussions about a perception of a decline of Western power position in relation to the rest of the world, which can be proved in economic terms at least. There is a social identity change in both Japan's foreign policy and Turkey's foreign policy. And both countries have entered a stage of activism in the last few years. I want to compare this activism a little bit. For Japan, the discussions on activism intensify with the Abe administration. To be fair Japanese foreign policy has been active before Mr.Abe. The difference is that, Japan has been active in multilateral terms; as a global citizen Japan promoted regional integration and was a very influential actor in international organizations. What changed with Abe administration is that it also focuses on bilateral relations.

What is important here is that when you look at Japan's foreign policy it has a very

clear goal: Japan is a promoter of regional integration. Japan has been very important in creating the success of East Asia. I would like to make a comparison between East Asia as a region and Middle East as a region. Today when we talk about East Asia we talk about success: high growth rates, hundreds of millions of populations raising from the level of absolute poverty to middle class status, a number of countries rising from middle income level to high income level, Asia becoming the center of production for manufactures in the world, Korea, Japan, Taiwan, and Singapore being branded as leaders in technological innovation, creating products we all use in our daily lives, and etc. All these nice success stories are there. Come to Middle East: we talk about war, massacre, religious conflicts, ethnic conflicts, despotic regimes, terror, appalling level of poverty in some countries, etc. All the nasty things we hear. There is a drastic difference between the two regions.

However, this has not been the case all the time. As a matter of fact during the Cold War Asia was a much more violent place than the Middle East is now. In Cambodia for instance $\frac{1}{4}$ of the population was decimated, massacred in a civil war. It was a self-genocide. Compared to Cambodia, situation in Syria it is not as bad, let me say yet, today. In Cambodia, there was the Pol Pot regime, a fundamentalist communist regime, in some way similar to religious fundamentalist ISIS group in Syria. And it is very worrying to think that same horrors might repeat in the Middle East. It was not only the Cambodia. Vietnam was in war for decades, Indonesia had insurgency against Malaysia and Philippines, called Konfrontasi. Thailand, among other countries, was in continuing cycles of violent coups, and the area was infested with many types of civil conflict. One could say that the whole region resembled a war zone, with coup d'états, civil strife, genocides, massacres, and all in high levels of absolute poverty.

It changed so much! Look how we are talking about Asia today. Japan had a very important role in creating this change. Japanese government was very active behind the scenes in multilateral forums, in creating a region. It started bottom up. Japanese companies, who were very important in creating production networks and production chains, started to invest into the region. As Prof. Kitaoka mentioned, Japanese government gave ODA (Official Development Assistance) to Asian countries. It promoted and founded regional integration efforts. Japanese government also applied trade policies that would integrate the region. So no matter how much one prefers to look at international relations through a security and self-interest conscious Realist framework, here is the fact that international trade, investment, integration of economies, and regional institutionalism brought harmony to Asia and it expanded the zone of peace. Yes, it didn't solve problems completely. There are still potential conflict points in Asia. But now the situation is much different in comparison to Cold War era.

I always had this dream that maybe Turkey could play a role like this in the Middle East. Now regionalism is the future of the world, we know the success of EU in bringing peace to Europe, NAFTA is there in North America, there is Mercosur and other initiatives in South America, ASEAN in Southeast Asia and ASEAN+ initiatives for East Asia, there are CIS and SCO in Central Asia, and etc. Even in Africa there are regional integration schemes such as African Union and EAC. And in Middle East, well, there is nothing. Initiatives such as D8, Arab League, and OIC did not work, probably because they were not able to separate political issues from economic issues and remained as talking shops. There is a gaping hole in Middle East. There is no region in Middle East. There is no serious effort to push countries into integration. Turkey tried to play this role a few years ago but it was at the

onset of the Arab Spring, so it didn't go anywhere.

What I am trying to say here is that Turkey can learn a lot from the Japanese experience. Not forgetting that Turkey is limited in its capacity, it still can try to emulate Japanese success in East Asia to create a Middle East integrated region. It can try to make economies more depended on each other, promote people visiting other Middle Eastern countries (there is even no student exchange program in Middle East), promote cultural understanding and other type of exchanges. When saying these, I do not mean that Turkey should go on and try to build a Middle East Union in competition to EU. What I mean is not different than what Japan did in East Asia; promoting interdependence to create a region based on economic exchanges and individual-to-individual organic connections. What level of political harmonization this could lead to is a question for East Asia and EU experiments as well.

So my proposal is, for Turkey to promote regional integration, it should try to learn something from Japanese experience, and if possible, convince Japan to be a partner to help create a region here in the Middle East. It is true that there are serious differences between Japan and Turkey in terms of capacity. Even up until early 2000s Japanese economy was larger than the rest of East Asia economies combined in real

terms. Turkey does not enjoy such a dominant position in the Middle East economy. But still, even though they are handicaps, maybe with support from Japan and other countries, Turkey should, I believe, try to create a region in the Middle East. If we could manage to create interdependence, try to create economic networks such as networks of production, and also create a human network, maybe Middle East one day will be more like East Asia and will rise up from the hellish situation it is in right now to create its own success in the end.

Prof. Kitaoka said in his keynote speech that Turkey and Japan can cooperate in global governance. This is also very important. I think countries like Turkey and Japan have more advantage in this new world where international organizations are more influential. They can be much more effective through multilateral channels by cooperating with each other within international organizations to promote peace and development in the rest of the world. As a matter of fact, the both countries share the same global political values. Their cultural values might be different, their family values might be a bit different, but both countries share the same democratic ideals and I believe that there is a huge potential for Turkey and Japan to make a change in the world and also in the region. I hope they will find a way to turn this into a reality.



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I am a research fellow of Japan Society for Promotion of Sciences (JSPS). I am very glad to participate this memorial joint symposium. I would like to express my thanks to organizers especially Ambassador Yokoi, sponsors of the symposium, and distinguished guests and audiences. I got PhD from Middle East Technical University (METU) in 2011 and I have stayed in Ankara for approximately 5 years. Here is for me my second hometown so I am very happy to come back to Ankara.

And today in my presentation, I will mainly talk about the possibility of diplomatic cooperation between Turkey and Japan in the area of humanitarian diplomacies. In the opening speech, as Minister Kurtulmuş mentioned, now human diplomacy is a very important issue in this region especially in Turkey, and Prof. Kitaoka and Prof. Ozcan pointed us that both Turkey and Japan have made attempts to contribute to the stability of the region and the world. According to recent UNHCR reports, as Prof. Naito also mentioned, total number of registered Syrian refugees in Turkey is now 843.000. In addition, it is estimated that more than 500.000 unknown refugees came to Turkey. Turkish government provides camps located in 10 provinces for protecting Syrian refugees. Turkish government has also established 25 internally displaced persons (IDPs) camps around the borders for protecting Syrian refugees. This operation is named as 'zero-point operation'. In addition to protecting Syrian refugees recently Turkey has given aid to Iraqi Turkmens and Yazidi who escaped from IS attacks.

Japanese government has also carried out humanitarian aid to Syrian refugees.

Specifically Japanese government has provided 800 tents, 10,000 jerry cans, 10,000 blankets and 10,000 sleeping mats to Syrian refugees. Besides, Japanese government has contributed grant aid up to 155 million US dollars for Syrian refugees. In respect to humanitarian diplomacy, besides Syria, Turkey and Japan provided grant aid for Somalia, and they also cooperated to educate Afghanistan police. These evidences show that these countries actively commit to implementation of humanitarian diplomacies. So in this presentation I briefly make an overview of the concept of humanitarian diplomacy, and the characteristics of Turkish and Japanese humanitarian diplomacies.

I briefly summarize the concept of humanitarian diplomacy in four points. Firstly, humanitarian diplomacy has gathered attention since the end of the Cold War. Secondly the main object of humanitarian diplomacy is not so much the sovereign states but individual human beings. Thirdly, the aim of humanitarian diplomacy is human security, which is to protect peace from stress and difficult situations, and to empower people independently. Fourth, humanitarian diplomacy is a characteristic of developed or democratic countries. In other words humanitarian diplomacy is one of the standards of being developed or democratic country.

Next, I will overview the ideas of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. According to Prime Minister Davutoğlu, humanitarian diplomacy is one of the key explanatory principles of Turkish foreign policy, probably the most significant one in this period. In Turkish case, the importance of humanitarian diplomacy is mentioned

since 2011. For example, Turkey claimed to open up the policy for Syrian refugees from spring 2011. Turkey was the host country of the fourth UN Conference on the Least Developed Countries, so-called LDC, held in May 2011. Turkey also provided financial aid for Somalia in August 2011. The theme of the yearly Ambassadors Conference, which decides the foreign policy aim for each year in Turkey, held in January 2013, was humanitarian diplomacy. The aim of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy has three aspects. First is to provide better service to Turkish citizens. Second, to pay attention to crisis areas. And third, to participate in the humanitarian activities within the UN system. These are the main aims of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. In addition, the main actors of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy are Turkish Cooperation and Development Agency (TİKA) and The Disasters and Emergency Management Presidency, Turkish Red Crescent and various NGOs. Now, prime ministry is a platform for Justice and Development Party's humanitarian diplomacy. So now, in my understanding, coordinator of humanitarian diplomacy is prime ministry.

Next I take a brief look at Japanese humanitarian diplomacy. Japan is one of the leading countries, which has adopted humanitarian diplomacy since the end of the Cold War. Broadly speaking, Japanese humanitarian diplomacy has three characteristics. First is to contribute to UN Peace keeping, to include not only the contribution of civilian personnel but also Japanese Self Defense Forces. Second is to support the concept of humanitarian security and to contribute to the establishment of commission of human security in UN in early 2000s. Third aspect is to implement ODA projects through Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA).

Lastly, I make a brief comparison between Turkey and Japanese humanitarian diplomacies. According to Human Development Report of 1994 freedom from want and freedom from fear are two pillars of humanitarian diplomacy and human security. Humanitarian diplomacy initiated by the Japanese government is based on freedom from want. In other words Japanese government put importance on aid policies on economic and social areas. In contrast, for example, Canada and Norway have adapted freedom from fear as a main topic of human security. Though, considering the case of Turkey, Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy covers both freedom from want, for example, TİKA's activity; aid policy, and freedom from fear, for example Turkish Red Crescent activity in Syria

For conclusion, Japan has know-how for human security, humanitarian diplomacy especially at policies. Turkey has know-how about the situation of neighboring regions including Syria and Iraq. Both countries are candidates for seats reserved as non-permanent members in UNSC for the term 2015 to 2016. So, humanitarian diplomacy is one of the attractive areas for Turkey and Japan to cooperate with each other. And JICA and TİKA have set joint meetings for many years. But in addition to this cooperation, I particularly suggest that both governments should work together for taking care of Syrian refugees especially who are outside the camps in Turkey. Because now, in my understanding, Turkey's capacity for receiving refugees is reaching its limit. A lot of troubles happen in many cities, not only border cities but also in big cities like Ankara and Istanbul. So for Japan, it looks as a suitable choice to assist Turkey's open policy. So maybe, I believe that, humanitarian diplomacy is one of the most attractive areas for both countries.

6. POLICY PROPOSAL FOR DEVELOPING TURKEY-JAPAN RELATIONS

After the diplomatic seminar, a brainstorming session was held where the experts from Turkey and Japan coming from academic and bureaucratic circles discussed the issues of global governance, security environment of the two countries, bilateral issues, overall foreign policy directions, and challenges that two countries face. Majority of the discussions focused on possible avenues for cooperation to lead the way for the future of Turkey – Japan relations, and tried to pave the road to establish common goals and tasks. This part of the report summarizes these discussions, and in the end presents a policy proposal to both countries' governments to develop necessary mechanisms to vitalize bilateral partnership in a number of issue areas.

6.1. Discussion of afternoon session closed workshop

One of the major topics was the issue of UNSC reform. It was highlighted that Japan was a major drawing force on Security Council reform. In the past, Japan has backed a proposal advocating the expansion of permanent and non-permanent seats. However Turkey has backed a different US-led reform proposal which advocated the creation of four years re-electable semi-permanent seats. In the end both proposals could not gain much

ground in the UN. In this meeting another proposal, which has the first proposal as its starting point and which could be supported by Turkey, was put on the table. This proposal, which can be taken as a middle way to go in between the two proposals, envisioned the creation of several longer-term seats called semi-permanencies. These seats carry a weight which could be regarded as between permanent and semi-permanent seats. Also mentioned that it is possible to try this system for ten years and at the end of this time, it can be reviewed. As a result of the review some countries can be upgraded to permanencies.

In the discussions Japan's large contribution to UN and its prominent international role was acknowledged. Yet the difficulty of UNSC reform was underlined by pointing to various economic and social troubles occupying the world agenda. Other difficulties were also mentioned such as the difficulty for finding a formula that can represent Islamic world. The reluctance of the current UNSC permanent members for reform was also pointed out, as privileged countries do not like to share their privilege with other countries. The lack of consensus among countries demanding change is another problem as well. Yet, there was a convergence of views that UNSC system needed to be changed, especially towards confining the usage of

veto and expanding the system to have more voices from other affluent democratic countries akin to the system in G-20. It is also pointed out that current system does not let many small and medium powers to have a voice. This problem becomes even more conspicuous when some of the permanent members, which are supposed to be the guarantors of international law, are not sensitive to breaking the rule of law themselves. It is also highlighted that as Japan already, and Turkey recently is climbing the ladders to be among the top donors of aid in the world, there is a need for good international citizens like these two countries to have a more say in UNSC. There are reform processes in other international institutions such as G20 or IMF, and it is proposed that Turkey and Japan could cooperate to engage with these other institutions to provide leverage for the UNSC reform process. Various types of groupings such as MIKTA, etc could be platforms for this effort as well. Devolving powers to other agencies such as General Assembly and more democratic election of the Secretary General were also proposed in the discussions.

It is also emphasized by various discussants from both sides that both Turkish and Japanese governments have to be more careful in their domestic and foreign policies to improve and maintain their image as good international citizens, so that they can be more effective in international affairs, including the issue of UNSC reform. As the American led Western world is declining and being replaced by a world of regions with different rising powers, it is more vital for countries like Japan and Turkey, countries as established and rising middle powers, to cooperate with each other in order to carry important international institutions such as UN's effectiveness further than the discursive value it has now. It is pointed out that influence in the world and civil international diplomacies can be realized by healthy civil societies. Thus, various domestic NGOs in both countries should be strengthened and in-

ternationalized. As a part of this effort it is proposed that both governments should foster partnerships between Turkish and Japanese NGOs.

Participants also pointed to the serious refugee problem Turkey is facing as a result of the situation in Syria and Iraq. In this respect both EU and OIC were ineffective in relieving the problem. OIC remains as a weak and ineffectual regional grouping. Yet, in the last election of its secretary general position, when first time someone from Turkey was elected to this post, it was also the first time that the election process was made by democratic methods, using a ballot box. This is a small example showing that both countries can play important roles in not only promoting democracy in their respective regions but democratizing international organizations as well. However development of strong international support for crises situations in the region will probably take years, and the refugee problem is a very immediate problem Turkey is facing. Both countries have cooperated before for such emergencies. Both countries have engaged in post-conflict reconstruction before. Both Turkey and Japan have similar perspectives and have focused on reconstruction together as they did in the training of the Afghan police and security personnel. Again, this time in the case of Iraq and Syria, both countries can cooperate for national reconciliation, reconstruction of societies, and reconstruction of the political system after the crisis is over. These kinds of partnerships are necessary to prevent the region to become a breeding ground for radicalization again. There is a need for a comprehensive strategy that takes into account of the specific socioeconomic and political conditions of the region where Turkey has some experience. This is an issue where two countries can come together to talk and bring their comparative advantages for the solution of problems. Until 2014 Japan has provided 420 million US\$ to help Syrian refugees of which 240 million US\$ was provided

through UN related institutions such as UNHCR, WFP, etc. And of that amount 24-30 million US\$ has been allocated to UN organizations in Turkey. Turkey carried most of the burden alone without help from other countries in the beginning. But as the situation continued, Turkey expanded its cooperation with international actors and is expected to expand further. This can be very beneficial. For instance registration of Syrian refugees, including the ones outside of the camps is done by AFAD. So there is now a database where all humanitarian help organizations can use, including Japanese NGOs, to make their aid work more efficient. Today Turkey is coordinating its assistance to Syrian refugees together with the international agencies including those from Japan. These partnerships, especially with Japan, can be enhanced further.

6.2. Policy Proposal and identification of possible avenues for cooperation

The discussions of the workshop dwelled on the following global, regional, and bilateral issues as possible areas where Turkey and Japan could form partnerships. Including the ones summarized above, these were:

1. Cooperation in the UNSC reform initiatives
2. Cooperation on global governance including other issues, such as non-traditional security threats (i.e. environment, human trafficking, economic security, etc.)
3. Harmonization of global ODA policies and a related partnership between Turkish and Japanese aid agencies of TIKA and JAICA and others
4. Cooperation on the Syrian refugee problem
5. Partnership in the post-conflict reconciliation, reconstruction and peace-building in Syria and Iraq
6. Turkish-Japanese cooperation on the Middle East region in general
7. Partnership in the Alliance of Civilizations initiative
8. Improvement of social and cultural relations between the two countries (improving relations between civil societies [i.e. NGOs])
9. Deepening of relations between governmental agencies

In order to be able to initiate partnerships in these issues, we propose to help creation of transnational epistemic communities in different fields between Turkey and Japan. In order to substantiate Turkey-Japan relations, it is necessary to compartmentalize issues and form study groups focusing on different issues separately. It is also proposed that, through following the path of pragmatic multilateralism which is open to third countries as well, it might be possible to be more effective in not only solving regional problems but to plant the seeds of a mechanism that can lead towards integration in the Middle East region as well. So the starting point is to find pragmatic bonds which will link Turkey and Japan.

Following these thoughts, the formation of following study groups are proposed:

1. **A Study Group on Global Governance.** This study group is to include the issue of Turkey-Japan partnership in UNSC reform among other global issues. In the current rapidly changing world where the influence of traditional great powers are in retreat and new challenges face humanity, international organizations are becoming more and more important. In this sense, countries such as Turkey and Japan who are from different regions yet sharing similar norms and values, should try to be more active in forging partnerships with each other in various multilateral forums in order to

- be more creative in dealing with these new challenges.
2. An **academic Study Group on regional integration in the Middle East.** Japan and its path of Yoshida Doctrine was very influential in creating an East Asia region, which lifted the East Asian countries from the chaos and poverty of Cold War years to rapidly developing success stories of today. This group can study Japanese policies in this effect and discuss how such a success can be emulated in Middle East with Turkey's, Japan's, and third countries cooperation. It can also function as a forum to share Turkish and Japanese views about the region to benefit from each other's experience.
 3. A **Study Group on Central Asia** can work on developing policy prescriptions for Turkey and Japan towards this region. Such a study group can work on a wide range of issues, ranging from security matters to regional human rights issues. It can also function as a forum to exchange ideas on how to harmonize their foreign policies towards great powers, notably China and Russia.
 4. A specific **Study Group on dealing with the situation in Syria and Iraq.** The general expectation is that the civil war and the dire situations in Syria and Iraq will continue for more years. The regional institutions are insufficient to deal with this problem and more international coordination will be necessary. Even if civil war recedes, these countries still face the daunting tasks of reconstruction, reconciliation, and rebuilding of their institutions. Turkey and Japan have engaged in post-conflict reconstruction before and they can cooperate again to aid these countries towards positive peace. A platform is necessary to exchange views and coordinate efforts.
 5. A **Study Group on developing political, economic, and cultural bilateral relations.** While Turkey and Japan has perfect diplomatic relations, in this symposium it is highlighted frequently that these relations lack substance. This study group is to be a forum to widen and deepen bilateral relations and probe new avenues for cooperation. The first task of this group is to determine possible issue areas to develop relations, create an inventory of Turkish and Japanese NGOs and governmental institutes, do a pairing of them on specific issue areas, and initiate contacts. Another task of this group is to find out various problems in relations, such as cultural differences that inhibit development of bilateral relations, and study them in order to find solutions.
 6. A **Study Group on Japanese and Turkish ODA policies.** Both countries engage in ODA activity through various governmental agencies such as JICA and TIKA among others. These activities are an important part of their foreign policy and a source of prestige. Yet, both countries still face suspicion from some countries in their respective regions. Despite these efforts, both countries sometimes suffer a distorted image in the world. A harmonization of ODA policies can make them more effective. Also, Japanese-Turkish partnerships in this field can add to the international citizen image of these countries as well. These efforts could also be placed under the banner of Alliance of Civilizations. This forum aims to investigate the ways to make aid policies of the two countries more effective and more visible.
- Japan and Turkey have great potential in solving various challenges facing the changing world. Deepening of the partnerships between the two countries can enhance their effectiveness considerably.

There is a need to make follow-up meetings to this symposium in order to realize this potential, and to create and vitalize the above proposed study groups. It is also necessary that the members of these study groups to be chosen among experts from civil society and governmental agencies, and have to be funded so that both sides can meet in reasonable time periods. For this effect, support especially from both governments, but also from business world, private research institutes, and

universities is needed. For this purpose it is proposed that two follow-up meetings are to be held separately in Turkey and Japan to form the Turkish and Japanese counterparts of these study groups and probe funding possibilities to hold joint meetings. It is hoped that, with the boost from various disciplines and institutions, Japanese-Turkish relations can prosper to help both countries realize the potential they have in the world.



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