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Scope

“Global Perspectives on Japan” focuses on developing a global perspective on the study of Japan and Asia. The journal promotes innovative, interdisciplinary, inter-regional and transnational approaches to Japanese Studies.

The journal aims to be a venue for scholarship in E.M.E.A. region with a special focus on Turkey and neighboring regions. It especially encourages scholars from the Middle East, Balkans, Central Asia and the Mediterranean but also welcomes scholars from other parts of the world.

GPJ invites papers in the fields of history, humanities, and social sciences including topics of the past and the present. In addition to articles, the journal publishes occasional article size translations, book reviews, and surveys of current trends in Japanese and Asian Studies.

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GLOBAL PERSPECTIVES ON JAPAN

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Editor's Note

Erdal Küçükyağcı

Dear Readers,

I am happy to present you the fifth issue of GPJ. I am also honored to announce that our journal has finally succeeded to attain stability in terms of publication frequency thanks to the continued support and generous funding of Toshiba International Foundation (TIFO) and the valuable collaboration of the Japanese Studies Association of Turkey (JAD). We are indebted to TIFO for the trust it has shown us which in turn makes our responsibility heavier, and our determination to produce a better issue each year.

Following two years of uncertainty, pandemic seems to be almost over and I am sure we all hope it will recede into history soon. On the other hand, our world is facing new troubles which come in the form of a war in Ukraine or drought and shortages in food or rising price levels in the coming years. On the bright side, new technological innovations like Metaverse, NFT or Machine Learning are advancing rapidly to change the World as we know it for good. We will see how those advancements will impact and shape academia in the future.

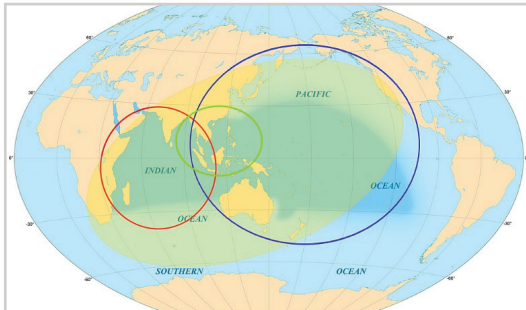


Figure 1: FOIP with ASEAN at the center (Wikipedia)

As for this issue; our overall theme was ‘Japanese Foreign Policy and Geo-strategic Vision’. We have prepared an enhanced content featuring five research articles, six abbreviated translations of selected recent scholarship in Japanese language and a short bibliography on *jiyū de hirakareta Indotaihei-yō senryaku* strategy that is “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (FOIP) of Japan. This new strategy developed jointly by United States and Japan, aims to create an alternative sphere of collaboration through a combination of regional corridors connecting Southeast and South Asia, Indian Ocean and Southeastern Africa with Australasia and the Pacific Ocean. Based on Prime Minister Shinzo Abe’s efforts in 2016, Japan is has been playing an active leading role in this enterprise. The Project has gained momentum with 2019 and bilateral, multilateral contacts meetings and negotiations increased rapidly with Biden administration. ASEAN is designated to be the center of the Project, binding Indian and Pacific oceans, while India is also expected to contribute largely to the synergy created.

In its recent reports; the specifics of the strategy is announced by MOFA as follows:¹

1. Promoting and establishing rule of law, freedom of navigation, market economy, etc. (with a special emphasis on communication and media),
2. Pursuing economic prosperity (with a special emphasis on Improving “connectivity” through infrastructure development such as ports and railways and economic partnership),
3. Securing peace and stability (with a special emphasis on capacity building, humanitarian assistance, and disaster relief as well as anti-piracy, counter-terrorism and non-proliferation).

The document sets the aim of the strategy as to “Improve “connectivity” between Asia and Africa through free and open Indo-Pacific, and, with ASEAN as the hinge of two oceans, promote stability and prosperity of the region as a whole.” A list of ‘connectivity’ corridors are given high priority within the framework:

- a. East-West Economic Corridor: Thilawa (Myanmar) – Da Nang (Vietnam)

1 <https://www.asean.emb-japan.go.jp/files/000352880.pdf> Accessed on 03/03/2022.

- b. Southern Economic Corridor: Dawei (Myanmar) - Ho Chi Minh (Vietnam)
- c. Yangon-Mandalay Railway (Myanmar)
- d. Delhi-Mumbai Industrial Corridor / Mumbai – Ahmedabad Highspeed Railway (India)
- e. Bay of Bengal Industrial Growth Belt / BIG-B (Bangladesh)
- f. Mombasa / Northern Corridor (Kenya)
- g. Nacala Corridor (Mozambique)

Hence, the strategy is planned to increase connectivity between ‘Two Continents’ (Asia and Africa) and “Two Oceans” (Indian and Pacific) via land and maritime routes. Japan has already started investing in large-scale infrastructure projects in these corridors through JICA.

On the other hand, the strategy is not brand new but an updated version of the former “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” championed by Prime Minister Taro Aso in 2006 onwards. Although the Project was left aside within a few years, it had provided the MOFA with an expanded vision. If it could be realized, “the Arc would start from Northern Europe and traverse the Baltic states, Central and South Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the



Figure 02: An Overall View of the Arc.
(Nippon.com)

Middle East, and the Indian subcontinent, then cross Southeast Asia finally to reach Northeast Asia.”² Former Soviet Central Asian countries and Mongolia were not excluded from the scheme of the strategy. The term ‘connectivity’

² https://www.mofa.go.jp/policy/other/bluebook/2007/html/h1/h1_01.html Accessed on 03/03/2022.

had taken stage for the first time and trade routes to boost regional economies and multilateral relations were also prioritized. The main pillars of the Arc were market economy, democracy, rule of law and human rights.

An obvious difference between the two projects is the western part of the 'Arc' which seems to shift towards South towards East Africa instead of the Middle East, Turkey, Balkans and Eastern Europe. Also; while the FOIP has a more concrete approach and entails an actionable roadmap citing specific project names, the Arc was more conceptual than practical.

In fact, all these attempts remind me of yet an earlier Grand Plan designed by Count Ōtani Kōzui (1876-1948), an ex-Shin Buddhist patriarch and Asianist, the subject of my Ph.D. research and his ten volume Kōa Keikaku (A Plan for the Rise of Asia). In his meticulous work published in 1939, Ōtani delves into the resources of each region in East Asia and offers concrete steps to be taken towards economic development and regional prosperity. His proposal for the construction of a railway line binding Tokyo with Berlin via connection to the Berlin-Bagdad Railway is especially noteworthy when the "Belt and Road Initiative" declared by PRC is considered.

As always, our pages are open to all our readers and their contributions to GPJ.

Greetings from a lovely spring night in Istanbul...

Abstracts

Articles

Girls in Sailor Suits: Constructing Soft Power in Japanese Cultural Diplomacy

Kyunghee Pyun

Girls in sailor suits became visual symbols of Japanese modernity and subsequently of post-war Japanese popular culture. In modern Japan, from the 1920s, female students in sailor suits represented the Japanese alliance with European Enlightenment of the nineteenth century, which set itself aside from its competitors in East Asia in the process of modernization. After WWII, however, female characters in sailor suit school uniforms presented inviting access to Japanese popular culture through the genres of anime, manga, J-pop, horror films, and video games. These characters also emerged in a range of cultural categories: contemporary art for the cultural elite, Hollywood films for mass consumption, and the low-brow subculture of pornography. Japanese foreign policy, according to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, focuses on efforts toward peace and disarmament and world economic development. The emphasis on being a ‘member of the West’ in East-West relations is well established in the context of the cultural influence of Japanese popular culture on broad regions beyond Asia-Pacific geopolitics. Girls in sailor suits became an accessible icon of cultural diplomacy, emulating the image of ‘the girl next door’ among fans of Japanese popular culture in the West: they wear school uniforms — a symbol of conformity and group identity — while their American counterparts wear casual jeans and shirts. Although Japan did not plan a geo-strategic vision of Japanese school girls representing its popular culture as a foreign policy, it succeeded in creating an image of accessible, disciplined partners of international cooperation.

Keywords: Cultural diplomacy, soft power, bodily autonomy, sailor suit, conformity, popular culture



The Middle East in 1973–2001 Japanese Foreign Policy: Why and How does a Pacifist State Secure Energy?

Mürsel Doğrul

This article deals with the political-economy of Japan's foreign policy toward the Middle East from 1973 to 2001, focusing on the impact of energy supply. As an unusual example, the foreign and security policies of Japan, a pacifist state, continues to be a popular topic of scholarly researches in the field of International Relations. While the demand for energy has become an essential factor for all countries in modern times, the methods that used meet this need vary by country. In the political crises regarding energy, even aggressive foreign policy instruments were engaged, and alternative foreign policy orientations were discussed. Thus, Japan's foreign policy following the 1973 Oil Crisis is a topic worthy of discussion owing to its special character. The success of Japan, a country where the use of force is rigorously limited by its constitution, in securitizing the Middle East region, has not yet been thoroughly examined. Previous research focused only on these accomplishments in terms of a return to militarism or a commitment to pacifism. However, the underlying philosophy of Japanese aid, as well as the grey zones it provides in foreign policy, have not been extensively addressed. This study contributes a new perspective on energy in Japanese foreign policy from 1973 to 2001. While the political-economy of Japanese diplomacy dates back to the time, the fundamental features of Japanese foreign policy are listed. As a result, Japan's use of economic power with ODA throughout the period became a model for other countries looking to play an active role in the region.

Keywords: Oil Crisis, Middle East, Japan Foreign Policy, ODA, Energy Security



D.T. Suzuki on Swedenborg. An Introduction

Federica Sgarbi

The Japanese Buddhist scholar and philosopher Daisetsu Teitarō Suzuki (1870-1966) is known for his contributions and efforts to promote Zen Buddhism in the West.

However, a field of investigation, diligently cultivated by the religious scholar and somewhat neglected in the relevant literature, is his research on the Swedish mystic Emanuel Swedenborg (1688-1772). Suzuki, a devoted admirer of the European author, considered his works a valuable point of reference for overcoming the profound spiritual crisis widespread in Japan at the end of the 19th century. Therefore, he did

his utmost to make his books known by translating them into Japanese and through his writings. Suzuki's research offers an original contribution to philosophy and the history of religion and an unprecedented interpretation of the figure of Swedenborg, perhaps known more for Kant's criticism of his work than for his theological views. This article aims to introduce these contributions, retracing the life and works of the Swedish mystic, with specific reference to the analogies that Suzuki identified between Swedenborg's and Buddhist thought.

Keywords: Buddhism, Kant, religion, culture, Suzuki Daisetsu, Swedenborg



A Framework for the Post-Industrial World: Japanese approach to AI and Society

Almira Bağlar, Güneş Sargüney

As one of the first countries to publish a comprehensive national AI strategy, Japan has not only pioneered many of the technological advancements, but also contributed tremendously to the popular understanding of the means to create a post-industrial society. In addition to the official documents that frame the upcoming AI revolution in the eyes of the citizens, Japan has been working towards creating a legislative system that covers the issues arising due to the emerging technologies, especially robotics and AI. The purpose of this study is to analyse different aspects of Japan's national AI strategy, and understand why the country prioritises tackling socio-economic issues such as well-ageing and labour shortages by diving deeper into the published documents that constitute the basics of the current and future laws and legislature. Furthermore, the study offers an outlook about the insights to be gained from the Japanese experience, while the country creates a full-fledged legal framework that works with and for our changing social dynamics in the AI-powered future.

Keywords: ageing population, artificial intelligence, robotics, labour shortages



A Collection about the Russo-Japanese War in the Atatürk Library

Muratcan Zorcu

This paper draws attention to a collection of the Atatürk Library in Istanbul because this collection has significant materials about the Russo-Japanese War from 1904

and 1905. Throughout and after the wartime, many of the Ottoman military staff translated military books about the war from different languages, as well as gathered numerous materials like postcards and maps in their own individual collections. It is impossible to highlight that this military staff were not solely from the collapse period of the Ottoman Empire but also were the founding fathers of the new republic in Anatolia and a military group. The Russo-Japanese War shaped the understanding of these figures, such as the top people from Marshall Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk] and General Kazım [Karabekir] to General Fahreddin [Türkkan] Pashas and the ordinary army officers. Pertev Bey [Demirhan], who was sent to this war as an observer by Abdülhamid II, also impacted the Ottoman military staff in the following years because he gave lectures at the Military School in Istanbul. We are able to understand and uncover the dimensions of the impacts of the Russo-Japanese War on the Ottoman military staff with the collection in the Atatürk Library. Accordingly, this collection helps us remember the impacts of the Russo-Japanese War on the mentality of the Ottoman military staff during the late Ottoman period, as well as the early phase of the Turkish Republic.

Keywords: Russo-Japanese War, Ottoman Army, Pertev [Demirhan], Mustafa Kemal [Atatürk], Vladimir Semenov, Atatürk Library

Selected Abbreviated Translations

Japan's Asian Strategy and the Indo-Pacific

Kamiya Matake

(transl. Aynur Erzenoğlu)

The “Indo-Pacific region” is a novel term in the lexicon of the actors on the global stage that has recently risen as the successor of the Asia-Pacific region due to the shift in the balance of geopolitical forces. The region’s expanding demographic, economic, and political potential makes it crucial in shaping the international order. Different actors have different understandings of this geopolitical construct; they also have varying economic and strategic approaches toward it. Japan has become a prominent participant in this region due to the efforts of the Abe administration as well as its geographical location. This paper aims to examine the regional concept of the Indo-Pacific from Japan’s perspective, discuss the future Indo-Pacific vision that is desirable for Japan, and provide policy recommendations that would serve to realize this vision based on the assumption that Japan will pursue such an Indo-

Pacific vision in the future.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific region, Japan, maritime Asia, Abe administration, international relations, strategy



The Japan-U.S. Alliance and East Asian Security

Sako Susumu

(transl. Ayşe Duygu Dayıođlu)

Recently, the national security environment surrounding Japan has become more severe than before. North Korea and China are the cause of such difficult conditions. North Korea is developing nuclear weapons and long-range missiles, and Peoples Republic of China intends to expand its influence in international society. Therefore, Japan is trying to respond these threats, and the United States of America, allied state of Japan, has given up its ‘engagement’ policy towards China. Under the Trump administration, the U.S. has adopted a strong posture towards China. The U.S. presence in East Asia has contributed to keeping this region relatively stable. So, Japan has to maintain cooperation with the U.S. to sustain freedom, prosperity and peace in this region.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, China, US Alliance, engagement policy, security



Geopolitics of the Indo-Pacific Region: Current Status and Prospects of Competition between Major Powers

Yoichi Kato

(transl. Sevgi Zeynelođlu)

The geopolitical and geoeconomic conditions in the Indo-Pacific region have been undergoing a variety of changes at a rapid pace. In this paper, the changes are examined from the perspectives of the four major powers in the region: China’s overreach and revision of the “Belt and Road Initiative” (BRI), United States’ hardening stance toward China, India’s sense of caution toward China, and Japan’s changes in strategy toward China brought about by the “Free and Open Indo-Pacific” (FOIP) strategy. Currently, projects of the BRI are being implemented across a wide

geographical range including the Indo-Pacific region, despite criticisms regarding 'debt traps' and 'new colonialism' from many countries. As China's influence grows, small and medium-sized countries of the region are playing a role in the struggle between United States and Japan's FOIP and China's BRI. China's aim to expand its own national power challenges the previously U.S.-dominated order, while Japan is in a position to advocate maintenance of the existing order and while India sees a multipolar order as more desirable. Although China's growing power in Asia is appearing sooner than expected, it is also evident that the US will not concede its leadership position in the Indo-Pacific. The fundamental question is whether the dominance of the United States that has prevailed since the end of Cold War can be sustained, and if it cannot, how the new order will be formed.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, FOIP, BRI, geopolitics, geoeconomics



**China's Soft-Power in Japan and its Limits
- A Comparison with South Korea's -**

Satoko Yasuno, Yasuko Enomoto

(transl. Elif Alkan)

China and South Korea, appearing as the strong competitors of a soft power rivalry in Eastern Asia, have their peculiar policies in an attempt to attain soft power in the region. Although both countries have a strong potential for soft power, in the context of the Japanese community, China and South Korea intend to elicit positive impressions owing to their soft power strategies. Several public opinion polls and the survey conducted by Tomoko Yasuno and Yasuko Enomoto reveal surprising findings. Impressions of China and Korea are indeed critically poor among Japanese society, as most respondents to multiple surveys state that they are unfriendly to the two countries in question. Yasuno and Enomoto investigate the variables that influence such negative attributions, while elaborating on the Japanese conception of Korea and China further. This paper provides an overview of their hypotheses, findings and interpretations.

Keywords: soft power, South Korea, Japan, China, impressions, web survey, smart power



The Stability of the U.K.'s Involvement in the Indo-Pacific from the Perspective of Consensus Politics and Foreign Policy

Ryosuke Tanaka

(transl. Taha Arda Gün)

The U.K. has been prominently involved in the Indo-Pacific in recent years. Despite being located far away geographically, the U.K. has a significant “tilt” towards the region based on its “Global Britain” initiative that aims to preserve the U.K.’s international influence following Brexit.

The tension in the U.S.-China relations and the shift in Europe’s position towards China have also influenced the U.K.’s strategy. European countries, including the U.K., are currently developing their Indo-Pacific policies. However, the U.K.’s involvement in the Indo-Pacific is not secured by a large population, territory, or exclusive economic zone. Unlike other European countries, the U.K. has not formulated strategic policy documents specific to the Indo-Pacific yet. Therefore, the stability of the U.K.’s involvement in the Indo-Pacific remains questionable.

This paper analyses the stability of the U.K.’s involvement in the Indo-Pacific and examines domestic consensus and foreign policy in the U.K..

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, U.K., Global Britain, consensus politics, foreign policy



Recommendations on Japan’s Foreign Policy towards Indo-Pacific Regional Diplomacy

Tsutomu Kikuchi, Matake Kamiya, Yasuyuki Ishida

(transl. Selin Kütükçü)

Following the overlapping interest on political, economic and security issues in the Indian and Pacific Oceans, an Indo-Pacific strategy started to gain importance in recent years as the region’s strategic importance in terms of maritime security was realized. The power dynamics in the region are expected to affect Japan’s security and prosperity as well. Therefore, the questions of how the regional order will be structured and how to deal with the swing states were included in Japan’s diplomatic agenda.

This research project aims to introduce 16 policy recommendations for Japan’s Indo-Pacific diplomacy as a part of the “Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan’s Foreign

Relations and Security Research Project” to strengthen Japan’s foreign relations with the powers in the region, especially with ASEAN, Australia, and India, to promote a liberal, open, free, rules-based order that is in line with Japan’s interest in responding to China’s growing influence.

This project will provide a new diplomatic approach for Japan by describing appropriate measures to be taken in consideration of requirements, concerns and possible reactions of the countries concerned. Furthermore, the Japan-U.S. alliance will be tackled and emphasized along the way as recommendations are listed and the questions of why this alliance is beneficial for economic development and why it is necessary for Japan to gain sympathy from other countries in the region in order to build and strengthen the foundation of their Indo-Pacific strategy and to improve Japan’s influence on the region will be explained.

Keywords: Indo-Pacific, China, Swing-States, Japan, liberal, ASEAN, rules-based order, United States



A Short Bibliography

Louis Tanaka

Recent publications on ‘Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy’ (FOIP)