

SRC プレシンプ国際会議

# ユーラシアから見た 中東難民と欧州統合

## Middle Eastern Migration/Refugees and European Integration from Eurasian Viewpoints

The poster contains the following information:

- 主催:** SRCプレ・シンプ国際会議
- タイトル:** ユーラシアから見た中東難民と欧州統合 / Middle Eastern Migration/Refugees and European Integration from Eurasian viewpoints
- プログラム:**
  - 開会の辞 / Opening Remarks:** 井上 勉 (北海道大学名誉教授)
  - First session: 11:00-13:00 "Middle East and Europe: A historical perspective" (歴史から見た中東と欧州)**
    - 司会: 家田 修 (Hokudai)
    - 報告者: 黒木 文彦 (Tokyo Univ.)
    - Basak Kulu (Istanbul Univ.)
    - 遠藤 乾 (北海道大学)
    - 野坂 潤子 (Hokudai)
    - 討論者: 佐藤 誠哉 (Hokudai)
  - Second session: 11:00-13:00 "Middle East refugees and European integration" (中東難民と欧州の現在) (ラウンドテーブル)**
    - 司会: 哲川 修吾 (北海道大学)
    - 報告者: 今井 宏平 (Hokudai)
    - 家田 修 (Hokudai)
    - Istvan Szerdahelyi (Hokudai)
    - Bostjan Bertalanic (Hokudai)
    - 仙石 学 (SRC)
  - Third session: 14:15-16:00 "Refugee issue and the world" (難民問題と世界)**
    - 司会: 大津 厚
    - 報告者: Hans Carl Freiherr von Werthern (Hokudai)
    - 梅原 孝哉 (Hokudai)
    - 廣田 栄夫 (Hokudai)
    - 久保山 崇 (Hokudai)
    - トルコ大使館
- アクセス:** 北海道大学 学術交流館
- 日時:** 12/9 (wed.) 9:00~16:00
- 場所:** 北海道大学学術交流館
- 会議言語:** 英語 (通訳なし)
- 後援:** 札幌の南洋研究: 東洋世界の成立と日本 基礎研究日: 多層的な民族共生への道
- 組織担当者:** 家田 修・仙石 学・遠藤 乾・櫻本 聡・金山 浩司
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Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University

Conference Hall, December 9, 2015

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*Not for Citation*

# Program

Opening Remarks with silent prayer for all the concerned victims  
INOUE Koich, Hokkaido University (Professor Emeritus)

First Session: 9:00-11:00  
"Middle East and Europe in a historical perspective"

Chair: IEDA Osamu

KUROKI Hidemitsu: **An inevitable wave?: Syrian (and Lebanese) migrants to Europe in historical context**

NOSAKA-SAHARA Junko, **Rethinking 200 years of refugees and migrants on the Black Sea coast**

Basak KALE, **Comparing Migration Management through the lenses of mass refugee movements: EU and Turkey** (online presentaion through Skype)

EMDO Ken, **European integration in the face of the refugee crisis**

Discussant: Sahara Tetsuya

Second session: 11:10-13:20  
"Middle East refugees and European integration" (Roundtable)

Chair: MINAGAWA Shugo

IMAI Kohei: **The effectiveness and limit of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy - The case of response to Syrian refugee-**

SZERDAHELYI István, Hungarian Ambassador to Japan

Bostjan BELTALANIC: **The refugee situation from the Slovenian and wider Balkan perspective**

KUBOYAMA Ryo: **Refugee Policy and Politics in Germany**

SENGOKU Manabu: **European migrant crisis and general election in Poland**

Lunch time: 13:20-14:15

Third session: 14:15-16:00  
"Refugee issue and the world" (Roundtable)

Chair: OTSURU Atsushi

Hans Carl von WERTHERN , Ambassador of Federal Republic of Germany to Japan

UMEHARA Toshiya, **Year 2015 for EU: An 'Annus Horribilis' or Beginning of the End**

MORITA Tsuneo: **Reality seen from Hungary**

NISHIKIDA Aiko: **The choice to move: Palestinian refugees' migration to European countries**

Deha ERPEK (Minister Counsellor of Turkish Embassy)

# Abstract (not for citation)

報告要旨集 Summaries

第一セッション Session One

黒木英充 (東京外国語大学) Hidemitsu KUROKI

"An inevitable wave?: Svrian (and Lebanese) migrants to Europe  
in historical context"

野坂潤子 (ビルケント大学) Junko NOSAKA

"Rethinking the 200 Years of Refugees and Migrants on the Black Sea Coast"

The migration of large numbers of people is one of the most important indicators showing the transformation socio-political structure in the world. Historically, we have seen the phenomena of mass migration at the decisive turning points of the world history. The migration from the North coast of the Black Sea to the Ottoman Empire starting in the late 18th century and reaching its peak in the 1860s was one of the most symbolic cases. Starting from the migration of Crimean Tatars after Russian annexation of the Crimean Khanate in 1783, according to some scholars, approximately 2 million people of various Caucasian nations, mainly Circassians, had migrated to the Ottoman Empire by the end of the 1860s. The most intensive phase was recorded between the end of Crimean war in 1856 and the end of Caucasian War in 1864.

The processes and backgrounds of those migrations encompassed quite diverse contexts and conditions, conventionally two different arguments dominate the historical writings and literature. Turkish and pro-Turkish point of view generally underscore that the authorities of Russian Empire tried to enforce a certain consistent demographic policy of ethnic cleansing by expelling Muslim peoples who had been disobedient to Russian rule. Russian or Russophile assessment emphasize that such a huge scale of migration could not have occurred without provocations on the Ottoman side. There were arguably certain arrangements between the Russian and the Ottoman authorities. Christians of various ethnic backgrounds, for instance, migrated from the Ottoman territories to Russia almost simultaneously with those Muslim migrations. Bulgarians colonized themselves along the Russian Black Sea coast during the 18th and 19th centuries, accentuated by a series of Russo-Turkish wars (1768-74, 1787-91, 1806-12, 1828-29, 1853-56, 1877-78).

In those cases, there were certain understandings or tacit agreements between the Ottomans and Romanovs. Regardless the discussion whichever sides played more provocative roles in each case, it is of no doubt the demographic structure around the Black Sea violently changed during the 19th century. In addition, many migrants had to suffer from constant relocations, such as those who settled in the Balkans were subsequently forced to move to Anatolia as a result of the independence of Bulgaria.

The process continued well into the 20th century. So called the White émigrés migrated from Russia during the civil war that followed the 1917 Revolution. Many of them moved to the Balkans and the Western Europe via Istanbul. Under the Soviet rule, Chechens, Ingushes, Crimean

Tatars, and Meskhetian Turks were deported from their homeland in the Caucasus or the Black Sea coast to Central Asia and Siberia in the last days of the World War II. Even recently, as a result of Chechen wars since the 1990s, many Chechens took refuge in Turkey.

In short, in the last 200 years, the vicinity of the Black Sea saw a long-lasting wave of mass migration. Those migrants have built their Diaspora communities across the international borders. Those communities were often politicized and constituted the hot bed of trans-border nationalism or other forms of trans-border movement. So far the focus of academic discussion is still centered on the witch-hunt like search for the perpetrators of forced deportation, though. It is rather more important, from the contemporary point of view, to focus on the spread of human resources and the concomitant transfer of technology or information as a result of migrations.

**Basak Kale** (中東工科大学)

**“Comparing Migration Management through the lenses of mass refugee movements: EU and Turkey”**

Migration is a challenging issue affecting states around the globe. The recent refugee crisis in the Mediterranean has shown that refugee and asylum issues will be affecting solidarity among the EU member states. The mismanagement of the refugee crisis is providing a deeper philosophical, moral and ethical challenge for the foundations of the Union than the challenges brought by the Eurozone crisis. The recent terrorist attacks in Paris also bring further challenges of security, migration, identity, and solidarity. Turkey as a transit and destination country has reached its limitations on handling more than 2 million Syrian refugees. This presentation aims to bring those discussions under a systematic analysis and show how the Syrian refugee crisis can provide an opportunity for the development an effective and durable international burden-sharing regime both at the regional and global level. The lack of commitment for burden sharing puts receiving countries under immense financial, political and social pressures, which have direct consequence on the humanitarian assistance that refugees can receive. The EU's responses to this crisis also provided a general outlook on how cooperation in this field can shape the direction of European integration. Addressing these fundamental questions the paper will present the possible mechanisms such as financial support, quotas, transfer of know-how and sharing best practices can provide cooperation in this critical field.

**遠藤乾** (北海道大学) **Ken ENDO**

**‘European integration in the face of the refugee crisis’**

This presentation is intended to explore the state of European integration in the face of the refugee crisis. It first attempts to situate the current crisis within the context of preceding crises faced by the EU. It will be characterised as the first-class external challenge, which the EU has not been historically made to suitably meet. Even worse, the EU constitutes itself as part of the problem, rather than the solution, as it is unable to control the inflow of migrants/refugees; and at least three of 10-odd terrorists at Paris disguised themselves as refugees travelling through the Balkan route. A dysfunctional Schengen points to its retreat or reorganisation. The post-11/13 recourse by France to TEU Art. 42.7 may increase pan-EU collective risk for another terrorist attack. Yet, the current crisis will not by itself lead to the collapse of the EU. The real challenge lies in the domestic sphere. If this external crisis is ‘translated’ into the internal decay, the crisis could be an existential one. Whilst the rise of populist and

Euro-sceptics forces are often overplayed, they are certainly empowered by the massive arrival of migrants/refugees and may indeed come to hit the entire project of European construction. The Brexit would cut the EU's presence down to size; and the worst (though unlikely) scenario would be the shaking of the hitherto stable German democracy.

第二セッション Session Two

今井宏平 (明治大学) Kohei IMAI

**The effectiveness and limit of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy-The case of response to Syrian refugees-**

At the fifth conference of Turkish ambassadors held in January 2013 then Turkish Foreign Minister / current Prime Minister Ahmet Davutoğlu declared that the pillar of the nation's foreign policy would be "humanitarian diplomacy". According to Davutoğlu, the Turkish government and citizens should tackle, with urgency, humanitarian crises like that resulting from the civil war, natural disasters, and refugee issues. For suggesting the idea of humanitarian diplomacy, he doubtlessly thought primarily of Syrian refugees.

In the wake of the outbreak of the Syrian Crisis in March 2011, millions of Syrian refugees fled their country (7,632,500) and flowed into neighboring countries like Iraq (244,765), Jordan (632,762), Lebanon (1,075,637), and Turkey (2,181,293). Turkish government has adopted "open-door policy" and accepted Syrian refugees as "guests". Turkish Prime Ministry's Disaster and Emergency Management Presidency (AFAD), Turkish Red Crescent Society, and several NGOs have mainly dealt with the refugee population in Turkey. So far, Turkish government has created twenty five refugee camps and implemented so-called "Zero-point action", which AFAD and Turkish Red Crescent Society have crossed the border for protecting Syrians near Kilis, Gaziantep, Şanlıurfa, and Hataş. Syrian refugees can receive "safety" in Turkey.

However, prolonged Syrian Crisis has produced a lot of difficulties for both Turkish government and Syrian refugees in Turkey. Economically, Syrian refugees put pressure on governmental financial resource. Also, a large number of refugees in Turkey live outside the camps. In several cities, flow of Syrian refugees causes friction with Turkish society. On the other hand, Syrian refugees cannot satisfied with "guests" status. Now, it is difficult for Syrian refugees to get a high-income job and to earn higher education in Turkey. Therefore, a considerable number of Syrian refugees have attempted to move from Turkey to European countries.

The aim of this presentation is to explore the effectiveness and limit of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy toward the Syrian refugees. First of all, it overviews the concept of Turkey's humanitarian diplomacy. Second part outlines the situation of Syrian refugees in Turkey. Third part focuses on the activities of AFAD and several NGOs. In addition, this presentation briefly sums up the recent cooperation between Turkey and European Union for aiding Syrian refugees.

Bostjan Bertalanic (城西大学)

**"Slovenia on the Balkan Route:  
A Small Country Perspective of the European Refugee Crisis"**

Slovenia as the smallest country on the Balkan migratory route faced the European refugee crisis through three separate stages. In my presentation I intend to explain how did Slovenia address this situation and what have

been the results and problems of the Slovenian approach. I will address every stage and describe the unfolding of the crisis comparatively on three levels: the Slovenian country level, the Western Balkan sub-regional level and the wider European institutional level.

I set the beginning of the first stage with the conclusion of the Conference on the Western Balkans held in Vienna at the end of this August, when it was agreed that the Western Balkan route has become the primary transit of migratory flows from the Eastern Mediterranean to the EU.

The second stage was set off by the closure of the Hungarian border with Croatia and the consequent redirection of the main flow of refugees through Slovenia. This was THE shock wave that forced Slovenia to activate the European civil protection mechanism and called for a special EU-Balkan mini-summit over the refugee crisis.

In the third stage, although the flow of refugees/migrants was relatively stabilized, Slovenia began building a fence along the border with Croatia. It also jumpstarted a separate non-EU sub-regional coordination mechanism which aims at improving police coordination and border protection measures between Balkan states.

In the end, I would like to argue how all three stages have been characterized by building up of tensions in the sub-region and a growing disillusion towards the EU's weak and divided response to the crisis.

**久保山亮** (専修大学) **Ryo KUBOYAMA**

#### **Development of Refugee Policy and Civil Society in Germany**

My presentation focuses on the cases of Germany, the phase of policy development and the aspect of civil society's approach to accept and help the refugees.

It is not until the 25. August, the decision of the prime minister Merkel to suspend Dublin System regarding the Syrian refugees and accept them to German that Germany began to tackle on the problem of the Syrian refugees. For example, German ministers of interior decided to accept 10,000 Syrian refugees in the scheme of humanitarian Protection already in December 2013. Federal Office for Migration and Refugees also already in November last year, decided that the Office no longer examine individual applications for asylum by the Syrian refugees, but automatically grant the status of refugees to be protected according to the International Convention on Refugee Status to all refugees from Syria.

In the first half of this presentation, I trace the recent development of the German government's policy for the refugees, especially from Syria. In the last half of the presentation, I will deal with the problems of social integration of the Syrian refugees, particularly the integration to the labour market, and then various approaches from the side of civil society to refugees, emphasizing that civil society has fostered the mature political and social culture to accept and care refugees. I also introduce an example of small local community with the problems of declining population and increase in vacant houses to actively accept refugees.

**仙石学** (SRC) **Manabu SENGOKU**

#### **European migrant/refugee crisis and general election in Poland: does the refugee issue matter?**

My presentation would focus on the effect of the migrant/refugee crisis upon the general election in Poland held this October. And the main topics is that though the migrant/refugee crisis has not decisively affected the results of the general election, the opposition party PiS could obtain landslide

victory by this crisis, as PiS could attract more support from those who had a negative attitude to refugees

The political environment had changed since the presidential election in May. This time younger people, who had been dissatisfied with the liberal economic policies of PO, had voted for the Kukiz, who insisted destruction of the established party politics, and the incumbent Komorowski had lost the election because of this loss of support from younger generation. After the migrant/refugee crisis had gradually begun surfacing in August, Polish society had been polarized whether they should accept the quota of refugees. And at the general election in October, though the main factor that affected the results of the election was the difference of electoral campaign between PiS and PO, it also became clear that those who disagree with the reception of refugees had a strong tendency to go for a vote and vote for PiS, and this helped PiS to obtain a so-called landslide victory.

第三セッション

梅原季哉 (朝日新聞 欧州総局長) Toshiya UMEHARA

“Year 2015 for EU

An ‘Annus Horribilis’ or Beginning of The End?”

European Union and its direction of integration has suffered multiple blows of considerable degree in this year. Those are namely; the Greek financial crisis, the Mediterranean refugee crisis, and two terror attacks on Paris in January and November.

Each has a negative impact on a particular area of European integration EU has achieved in the last six decades: Greek financial crisis degraded the confidence on Euro, the common currency. The refugee crisis has developed into a serious shaking up of the principle of freedom of movement. The terror attacks, especially the latest one, pose important questions as to the validity of EU’s common foreign and security policy (CFSP).

The three crises came together not coincidentally but are somehow interrelated in their backgrounds. A particular common feature one can observe out of these is the way politicians, especially of populist parties of both left and right are using these crises as their springboard to enhance their political clout by denouncing EU as a superstate, a symbol of established European political elites.

Together these crises have a fair degree of potential to derail the existing course of European integration and already there have emerged some discourses that maybe we are witnessing the beginning of the end of EU as we know it. Given the ability EU has shown in its history to come up with political compromises, it is still way too early to write up a political obituary of EU. Yet it is certain that EU is currently suffering several levels of identity crises. With the possibility of concerning parties’ making miscalculations with each other’s intentions, further worsening of EU politics or even moves towards disintegration cannot be overruled.

Finally for Japan, these issues might look remote. Yet all three crises have global implications and important lessons can be learnt from experiences of EU on how to resist nationalist and/or populist temptations and tackle trans-border agendas.

盛田常夫 (立山 R&D ヨーロッパ KFT) Tsuneo MORITA

Reality Seen from Hungary (summary)

Hungary was severely criticized in its attitude and manners to receive

asylum seekers and migrants from Syria and other countries in September 2015, when mass flow of migrants to Europe began. Especially politicians of neighboring countries violently denounced Hungarian government for tightening border control by constructing wire fence along Serbian border. Most denouncement is based on some ideological prejudice that Hungarian government has been conducting very narrow nationalistic policy in sacrificing EU common policy. However, as the present situation shows, every politician, even Hungarian politicians too, underestimated the scale of migration of this year, and not well be prepared for the mass inflow of migrants. Nevertheless, not only politician, but international media, for example CNN also continuously criticizes Hungarian government, even with inventing false story of merciless Hungary.

What was the truth on Hungary in turbulent September 2015? Why did CNN create false story? What is the main cause of mass migration movement in 2015? It is clear that mass flow of asylum seekers from Syria, Iraq and Afghanistan in these years are the result of destruction of Muslim society by the US and its alliance, and especially air strikes executed by the US since Sept. 2014 has brought with mass flow of migrants in this year. It is also true that there are several organizations who are helping and assisting smuggling of migrants. What is the intention of Georgy Soros who strongly assists migrants to Europe? How can we judge the present mass flow of migrants from historical perspective?

錦田愛子 (東京外国語大学) Aiko NISHIKIDA

#### **The choice to move – Palestinian refugees' migration to European countries”**

There was unprecedented attention paid toward refugees from the Middle East in the summer 2015. Both governments and civilians of the pivotal EU countries proclaimed support to Syrians who fled overseas from conflicts. However, such phenomenon is neither new nor limited to Syrians: there had been exactly the same stream of people seeking refuge from several Middle Eastern countries since long time ago. Palestinians were one of them who have tried to reach EU countries through Libya, Greece and Turkey. This paper focuses on these cases and tries to clarify their motivation, situation of resettlement, and problems they face in the host country. The analysis suggests chronic and structural hardship of the Palestinians in Lebanon which propels people to move to the other countries. In their case, it is difficult to differentiate between being refugees and migrants as their background overlaps both situation. Citizenship and family reunification are the significant factors which influence their choice of destination. The process of migration is uncertain, and even if they could move successfully, they continue to suffer from legal and social discrimination. Their trajectory of move indicates fundamental issues on refugees. The cause of refuge is not only war, poverty and natural disaster, but failure of absorption into state governance. All what they need is citizenship, security and social welfare. In their despair to self-determination, people decide to move to a stable country in Europe.

# Panelists

## 井上 紘一 (北海道大学名誉教授) Koichi INOUE

Koichi INOUE is Professor Emeritus of Hokkaido University. After obtaining M.A. at Graduate School of Sociology, University of Tokyo, he was assistant at Research Institute of Northern Cultures, Faculty of Letters, Hokkaido University (1975-1983), taught at Department of International Studies, Chubu University (1983-1987), Kansai University of Foreign Studies (2004-2011), and was a research fellow at Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University (1994-2004). He was Director at the Slavic Research Center (1998-2000). He specializes in cultural anthropology, and Siberian studies in particular. His main publications are: 'Quest for Models of Coexistence: National and Ethnic Dimensions of Changes in the Slavic Eurasian World' (SRC, 1998); 'Sakhalin Ainu Folk Craft' (2002); 'A Critical Biography of Bronisław Piłsudski' (Saitama Univ., 2010); and 'Bronisław Piłsudski's Sakhalin Ethnography' (forthcoming).

## 第一セッション

### 司会: 家田修 (SRC) Osamu IEDA

Osamu Ieda is professor at SRC, Hokkaido University, specializing in East European studies, especially in Hungary. He graduated from Tokyo University, and studied European economic history at the graduate school of economics, Tokyo University (Dr. of economics, 1987). Assistant fellow at Hiroshima University (1986-1990), member of SRC, Hokkaido University (1990-). Research fellow at St. Anthony's College of Oxford University (2001-2002). Visiting professor at the Research Institute of Humanity and Nature (2008-2012). Editor-author of *Beyond Sovereignty: from Status Law to Transnational Citizenship?* SRC, 2006; *Transboundary Symbiosis over the Danube: EU integration between Slovakia and Hungary from a local border perspective*, SRC, 2014; *Transboundary Symbiosis over the Danube : Symbiosis in the Mid-Danube Region*, SRC, 2015. O. Ieda, Catastrophe and reconstruction from a regional and humanitarian perspective: Chernobyl, Ajka, and Fukushima, *In the light of history* : edited by Chatthip Nartsupha and Chris Baker, Sangsan, 2015

### 黒木 英充 (東京外国語大学) Hidemitsu KUROKI

Hidemitsu Kuroki is Professor at Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa (ILCAA), Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. His specialty is Ottoman history of Syria and Lebanon. He has been Head of Japan Center for Middle Eastern Studies, ILCAA's research station in Beirut, since 2006, and is a member of board of directors of Japan Association for Middle East Studies. He graduated The University of Tokyo in 1985 and gained MA from the same university in 1987. His positions were Research Associate, The University of Tokyo (1987-89), Assistant Professor, ILCAA (1989-1996), Associate Professor (1996-2005), and Professor (2005-the present time). Besides works in Japanese, his publications include; H. Kuroki (ed.), *Human Mobility and Multiethnic Coexistence in Middle Eastern Urban Societies 1: Tehran, Aleppo, Istanbul, and Beirut* (Tokyo, 2015); "Account Books of Oppression and Bargaining: the Struggle for Justice and Profit in Ottoman Aleppo, 1784-90" in P. Sluglett & S. Weber (eds.), *Syria and Bilad al-Sham Under Ottoman Rule: Essays in Honour of Abdul-Karim Rafeq* (Leiden, 2010); H. Kuroki (ed.), *The Influence of Human Mobility in Muslim Societies* (London, 2003); "The 1819-20 Aleppo Disturbance As Reported by a French Dragoman," *Mediterranean World* 16(2001); "Events in Aleppo During Napoleon's Expedition of Egypt," *Bulletin d'Etudes Orientales* 51(1999); "The 1850 Aleppo Disturbance Reconsidered," *Acta*

Road to a M

*Viennensia Ottomanica, Akten des 13. CIEPO-Symposiums vom 21. bis 25. September 1998 in Wien* (1999); “Zimmis in Mid-Nineteenth Century Aleppo: An Analysis of *Cizye Defteris*,” *Essays on Ottoman Civilization, Archiv Orientalni, Supplementa* 8(1998); “The Orthodox-Catholic Clash in Aleppo in 1818,” *Orient* 29 (1993).

**野坂潤子 (ビルケント大学) Junko NOSAKA-SAHARA**

Affiliation: Bilkent University, Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences, Department of History

**EDUCATION**

**Doctoral Program:**

Bilkent University, Turkey, 2012-  
Graduate School of Economics and Social Sciences  
Department of History

Tokyo Metropolitan University, Japan, 1996-2005.

Graduate School of Humanities

Department of History (Doctoral Course),

**Master's Program:**

Hokkaido University, Japan, 1988-1994.

Graduate School of Letters

*Master of Arts (Western History)*,

Interrupted due to Research Program in Sankt Petersburg State University, Russian Federation, 1992-1994.

Faculty of History

Research Student (Japan-Russia Student Exchange Program)

**Undergraduate Degree:**

Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Japan, 1984-1988.

Department of Russian Studies

*Bachelor of Arts*

**Basak KALE (中東工科大学)**

Assoc. Prof. Dr. Başak Kale is a Faculty Member in the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University (METU), Ankara. She is also a research fellow and the Coordinator of the Migration Program at the Jean Monnet Center of Excellence Center for European Studies (JMCE CES), METU. She became one of the European Marshall Memorial Fellows (EMMF) of the German Marshall Fund from 2011. In 2009, Dr. Kale was a national winner and a world finalist of the Ten Young Outstanding Persons (TOYP) Awards from the Junior Chamber International (JCI) in the category of “Political Science, Law, and Public Administration”. Dr. Kale graduated from Oxford University with a DPhil. on the impact of EU law on the EU’s enlargement process in 2009. Prior to this degree, she pursued a PhD. on international refugee regime at METU in 2005. She also completed a MSc. in European Studies at the London School of Economics (LSE) and a BSc. in Political Science and Public Administration at METU. In addition to METU, she taught and conducted research at various institutions including UC Berkeley, Boğaziçi University (İstanbul), and Hitotsubashi University (Tokyo). She is part of the Turkish Migration group at COMPAS, Oxford University and a founding member of Turkey’s first migration and asylum specific NGO, IGAM. She has also consulted for various international organizations including the UNHCR, Council of Europe, OSCE and the UN. Her research focuses on Turkey’s foreign policy, Turkey-EU relations, EU’s enlargement, Europeanization, migration policy and transatlantic energy security.

**遠藤乾 (北海道大学) Ken ENDO**

Ken Endo is Professor of International Politics, Graduate School of Law & Graduate

School of Public Policy, Hokkaido University, Sapporo, Japan.

After obtaining MA (cum laude) in European Studies at Katholieke Universiteit Leuven, Belgium, as Flemish Government Fellow, Professor Endo worked as Advisory Expert at the 'Cellule de Prosepective' (Forward Studies Unit), the in-house think-tank of the European Commission, Brussels, created by the then President Jacques Delors, in 1992-3, where he reported on the prospect of the Asia-Pacific region. He then moved to England where he obtained a D.Phil in Politics at St Antony's College, University of Oxford, in 1996. The subsequent appointments include: Jean Monnet Fellow, European University Institute (2000-01), Emile Noël Fellow, Harvard Law School (2001-02), Visiting Professor, University of Tokyo (2003,07,15), Visiting Professor, Kyoto University (2006), Visiting Professor, National Chengchi University (2008), Fernand Braudel Senior Fellow, European University Institute (2009-10), Visiting Professor & Japan Chair, Sciences po, Paris (2005 & 2010).

His main publications are: *The Presidency of the European Commission under Jacques Delors: The Politics of Shared Leadership* (Macmillan/St. Martin's, 1999) and *The End of Integration – The realities and implications of the European Union* (Iwanami, 2013, in Japanese), for which he was awarded the prestigious Yomiuri-Chuo Koron Yoshi Sakuzo prize in 2014. While he is currently engaged in a theoretical exercise on state sovereignty, Professor Endo served as one of the two commissioning editors of Iwanami's 8 vols. on Japanese security (2014-15).

Professor Endo is successively a member of study groups at MOFA's policy planning unit, where the relations between foreign policy and democracy were considered (2012-13) and where the state of Japanese international relations in 2030 is being qualitatively projected and speculated (2013-14). He also works as a member of 1.5-track Japan-Korea policy dialogue (2012-) and organizes similar events on Sino-Japanese relations, in cooperation with the MOFA's Asia-Pacific Directorate-General. Since 2015, he sits on the MOFA's policy evaluation committee.

討論者: **佐原徹哉** (明治大学) **Tetsuya SAYARA**

Tetsuya SAHARA is professor, Lit.D, Faculty of Political Science and Economics

Meiji Universit. His research topic is history of Eastern Europ and Middle East, and comparative studies of genocide. His main works include *The international Jihadism: A new type of threat and regional cooperation as a remedy*, *METU Studies in Development*, 43(2), pp.299-331, *Guerrilla in the Balkans, in Sahara ed., Institute of Contemporary History*, 2007, 『中東 民族問題の起源-オスマン帝国とアルメニア人-』 (白水社、2014年)、 『ボスニア内戦-グローバルイゼーションとカオスの民族化-』 (有志舎、2008年)、 『近代バルカン都市社会史-多元主義空間における宗教とエスニシティ-』 (刀水書房、2003年)。

第二セッション Session Two

司会: **皆川修吾** (北海道大学名誉教授) **Shugo MINAGAWA**

MINAGAWA Shugo (MSc., Ph.D.) is Professor Emeritus of Hokkaido University and Aichi Shukutoku University. He taught International Politics and Comparative Politics. Founding Director of the Australian Research Center at Nanzan University (1987-1990). He was Director at the Slavic Research Center (1993-1995). Executive Director, Priority Research Project of the Ministry of Education 'Changes in Slavic -Eurasian World'(1995-1997). Senior Associate Memmber, St. Antony's College, Oxford University, Trinity Term, 1999. He was Founding Dean of the Graduate School of Global Culture and Communication, Aichi Shukutoku University (2001-2010). He specialized Soviet and Russian Politics. He published *SUPREME SOVIET ORGANS* (Nagoya Univ.Press,1985); *THORNY PATH TO THE POST-PERESTROIKA WORLD*

(Hokkaido Univ.Press, 1992); RUSSIAN FEDERAL PARLIAMENT (Keisuisha, 2002).

**今井宏平** (明治大学) **Kohei IMAI**

Kohei IMAI is a Research Fellow of Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS)/ Meiji University. He received his BA and MA degrees from Chuo University, and concluded his Ph.D. in the Department of International Relations, Middle East Technical University, Turkey in 2011 and Graduate School of Law (Major of Political Science) at Chuo University in 2013 (dual Ph.D.). He was awarded a Government scholarship of Republic of Turkey in 2006, and the scholarship of Ph.D. program in the abroad from 2008 to 2011 from Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Japan. The title of his Ph.D. dissertation written in English is *The Possibility and Limit of Liberal Middle Power Policies: The Case of Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Middle East during the AKP Period*. He is the author of several articles on Turkish foreign policy and the theory of International Relations including "Turkish-U.S. Relationships in the Middle East: Function and Limitation of Middle Power", *International Relations: The Japan Association of International Relations*, Vol.150, 2007 (in Japanese), "The phenomenon of cross border Islam" in Takashi Oshimura (ed.), *Cross border Politics*, Hukosha, 2010 (in Japanese), "Turkey's Norm Diffusion Policies toward the Middle East: Turkey's Role of Norm Entrepreneur and Norm Transmitter", Ankara University Faculty of Political Science, *The Turkish Yearbook of International Relations*, Vol.42, 2012 (in English), *Contemporary Turkish Foreign Policy toward the Middle East: Contributing to the Construction of the Regional Order*, Minerva Shobo, 2015 (in Japanese), and "Does Western linkage guarantee democratization? : The case of EU Accession Process and Turkey", *International Relations: The Japan Association of International Relations*, Vol.182, 2015 (in Japanese) .

**István SZERDAHELYI** (在日本ハンガリー国大使)

1983 Graduated from Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Budapest. Majors: History and Spanish Language and Literature (MA degree)  
1983 Research Fellow at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, History Teaching Methodological Research Group  
1986 Lecturer at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Modern World History (Modern History History of Asia)  
1987 Second MA degree from Kobe University, Japan. Major: Modern Japanese History and International Relations)  
1990 Second Secretary, Embassy of the Republic of Hungary, Tokyo  
1993 First Secretary, Embassy of the Republic of Hungary, Tokyo  
1994 Lecturer at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Modern World History  
1998 PhD degree (International Relations , Political Sciences)  
1999 Assistant Professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Modern World History  
1999 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Hungary to Japan  
2000 Decorated by His Majesty the Emperor of Japan with The Order of Rising Sun, Gold and Silver Star  
2003 Assistant Professor at Eötvös Loránd University, Faculty of Humanities, Department of Modern World History  
2006 Associate Professor, Head of the Department of Japanese Studies  
2009 Visiting Scholar, Hong Kong Baptist University, Department of Government and International Studies  
2010 Director General, Asia-Pacific Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

2011 Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Hungary to Japan (29th November)

2012.01.01. Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Hungary to Japan  
(Due to the name change of the country)

**Bostjan BERTALANIC** (城西大学)

"Dr. Boštjan Bertalanič is Associate Professor of International Relations in the Faculty of Contemporary Policy Studies at the Josai University. He previously taught in the Department of African and Asian Studies at the University of Ljubljana in Slovenia. His research interests include international relations and history of Japan, European integration, international delimitation of borders, democratic transition and political science methodology. He received his PhD in International Relations from the University of Tokyo in 2012, and spent the 2013-2014 academic years as a JSPS postdoctoral research fellow at the same university."

**久保山亮** (専修大学) **Ryo KUBOYAMA**

**Lecturer of Department of Sociology, School of Human Sciences, Senshu University,**

2010 John F. Kennedy Institute for North American Studies (Free University, Berlin) Research Grant Program, November 2009-January 2010

2009 IMISCOE Ph.D Winter School (organized by Patrick Simon) in INED, Paris.

2006-2011 Ph. D Research, Bielefeld Graduate School of History and Sociology, Bielefeld University, supervised by Prof. Dr. Thomas Faist

1999-2001 Course of Studies, Institute of International and Intercultural Studies, Bremen University, with Scholarship of Rotary International Foundation

1999-1996 Course of Studies, Doctoral Course, Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of Tokyo

1996 Master in Arts and Science, University of Tokyo

1993-1996 Course of Studies, Master's Course, Graduate School of Arts and Science, University of Tokyo

2013- Lecturer of Department of Sociology, School of Human Sciences, Senshu University, Japan

2007-2010 Associate Researcher in the National Museum of Ethnology, Osaka, Japan

1998-1999 Lecturer of Global Sociology in the Yokohama College of Nursing, Yokohama, Japan

#### **Major Publications and Conference Papers**

2010 (Japanese) Itsutsu no Taizai Seikika Regimes: Europe 15 kakoku to EU no Seikika Seisaku no Hikaku (Five Legalization Regimes: Comparison of Legalization Policy of Irregular Migrants in 15 European Countries and EU), in: Atushi Kondo et.al.ed., Hiseikitaizaisya to Zairyutokubetsukyoka (Irregular Migrants and Special Residence Permits), Tokyo: Nihon Hyoronsya Ltd., p.251-302.

2010 Four Paths of State's Approach to International Migration: Preliminary Outcomes of On-going analysis of Eleven European States' Cases within Historical Institutional Framework (IMISCOE Annual Conference, Workshop "Coming Closer or Moving Apart?" The convergence vs. divergence of migration policies in Europe, 14.09.2010, Liège, Belgium)

- 2009 The Transformation from Restrictive to Selective Immigration Policy in Emerging National Competition State: Case of Japan in Asia-Pacific Region. Working Paper 61/2008, COMCAD - Center on Migration, Citizenship and Development. Bielefeld
- 2008 The Transformation from Restrictive to Selective Immigration Policy in Emerging National Competition State: Case of Japan in Asia-Pacific Region. (Conference „Migration(s) and Development(s), Transformation of Paradigms, Organizations and Gender Orders, organized by the section "Sociology of Development and Social Anthropology" and "Migration and Ethnic Relations" of the [German Sociological Association](#) and the working group "Migration politics" of the [German Political Science Association](#), [Center for Interdisciplinary Research](#), Bielefeld University, 10.07.2008)
- 2008 How Did States Discover Immigration as a Political Object? Parliamentary Discourse on *Polenpolitik* in Imperial Germany and Chinese Exclusion in the USA in the Late 19th Century. (6th Multi-Ethnic Studies, Europe and America, MESEA Conference, "Migration Matters", University of Leiden, 28.06.2008)
- 2008 Four Paths in Liberal Democratic State's Approach to Immigration: Comparing Developments of State Immigration Control in 11 West European Countries. (Annual Congress of the Japanese Society for Comparative Politics, Keio University, Japan, 21.06.2008)
- 2007 Constructing National Interests and Legitimacy for Immigration Control: Parliamentary discourses on "Polenpolitik" in Imperial Germany and "Chinese Exclusion" in the USA of the late 19th century. (1st International Conference on Political Discourse Strategies, University of Seville, Spain, 27.09.2007)
- 2006 (Japanese) Grey Zone no Imin to Jichitai no Iminseisaku: jyusoka suru Imin to Kokka, Cyukandantai, Chiiki (Migrants of »Grey Zone« und Communal Migration Policy: Polarization of Migrants and Roles of State, Intermediary Organizations, and Local Community in Germany) (Symposium, Imin to tomoni kawaru „Kokka to Chiiki [Migrants and Their Impacts on State and Local Community], National Museum of Ethnology, Japan, 28.03.2007)
- 2005 (Japanese) Iminseisaku to Kokunaiseiji: igirisu to doitsu no chydosaha seikenka de no kozotengan (Immigration Policy and Domestic Politics in Europe: Structural Change under the middle-left governments in U.K and Germany), in: Yamaguchi, J, et.al. ed., *Shiminminssyakaiminshyushyugi no Chosen (Challenge of Civic Social Democracy)*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha Ltd., p.185-217.
- 2005 (Japanese) Iminseisaku to Kokunaiseiji: igirisu to doitsu no chydosaha seikenka de no kozotengan (Immigration Policy and Domestic Politics in Europe: Structural Change under the middle-left governments in U.K and Germany), in: Yamaguchi, J et.al. ed., *Shiminminssyakaiminshyushyugi no Chosen (Challenge of Civic Social Democracy)*, Tokyo: Nihon Keizai Hyoronsha Ltd., p.185-217.
- 2004 (Japanese) Doitsu no Iminseisaku: Iminkoku he no shifuto (German Migration Policy: On the Way to Immigration Country?) in: Koido, A, ed., *Iminseisaku no Kokusahikaku (Comparative Studies of Migration Policy)*, Tokyo: Akashi-Shoten Ltd, 2003, p. 117-178.
- 2003 (Japanese) Kokka, Kigyo, Rodokumiai: Ohshyu-syokoku ni okeru Iminrodo no poritikusu) State, Business Circle, and Trade Union: Typology of Politics of Labor Migration in Europe and the USA, in: Miyajima, A, ed., *Mainoritii to Syakaikoza (Minorities and Social Structures)*, Tokyo: University Press of Tokyo, p.177-208.

**仙石学 (SRC) Manabu SENGOKU**

SENGOKU Manabu is Professor at the Slavic-Eurasian Research Center, Hokkaido University since 2014. He specializes in comparative politics and political economy of Central and East European countries. He is currently working on the comparative welfare and social security policy of these

countries, mainly focusing on Visegrád and Baltic states. His recent publications include "Cash benefit institutions in Central and East European countries," in Koichi Usami and Kumiko Makino, eds., *Cash transfer policies in emerging countries: ideational and discursive analysis* (Chiba: IDE-JETRO, 2015, in Japanese), and "Welfare state institutions and welfare politics in Central and Eastern Europe: the political background to institutional diversity" in Tadayuki Hayashi and Atsushi Ogushi, eds., *Post-Communist Transformations: The Countries of Central and Eastern Europe and Russia in Comparative Perspective* (Sapporo: Slavic Research Centre, 2009). He also co-edited *Realities of neo-liberalism: Central and Eastern Europe, Russia, and Latin America* (Kyoto: Kyoto University Press, 2013, in Japanese) and *Politics and Economy in the Post-Socialist Era: Comparing Post-Soviet and Central/East European Countries* (Sapporo: Hokkaido University Press, 2011, in Japanese).

第三セッション Session Three

司会：大津留厚 Atsushi OTSURU

Atsushi OTSURU is Professor of European History at Graduate School of Humanities, Kobe University. He received his M.A. in international politics from the University of Tokyo in 1978, and taught at Osaka University of Education from 1985 to 1998. He specializes in the modern history of the Habsburg Empire and his recent publications include the following: *When the POWs Work* (Jinbun Shoin, 2013), *Introduction to the Historical Study of the Habsburg Empire* (co-authored, Showado, 2013), *The Microcosm of Aonogahara POW Camp* (co-authored, Yamakawa Shuppan, 2007), *The Experiment of the Habsburg Empire*, rev. ed. (Shunpusha, 2007), and *The Possibility of the Central Europe* (editor, Showado, 2006). He is also engaged in the research on Aonogahara POW Camp in collaboration with Ono City.

**Hans Carl von WERTHERN** (在日本ドイツ連邦共和国大使)

1975-1979 Studies of Economics and Law, Mainz University

1979 Degree in Economics, Mainz University

1979-1984 Scientific Assistant, Mainz University

1984 Dr. rer. pol.

1984-1986 Attaché (training), Foreign Office, Bonn

1986-1987 Institute for Peace Research and Security Policy, Hamburg

1987-1990 DCM, Embassy of the Federal Republic of Germany, Hanoi, Vietnam

1990-1992 Policy Desk, Permanent Representation of the FRG at NATO, Brussels

1992-1994 Deputy Head of the Training Division for Diplomats, Bonn

1994-1997 DCM, German Embassy, Asunción, Paraguay

1997-2000 Deputy Director for Western Europe, Bonn/Berlin

2000-2002 European Policy Adviser, Liberal Party Group in Deutscher Bundestag, Berlin

2003 Royal College of Defence Studies, London

King's College, London

2004-2005 Head of Task Force „Germany in Japan 2005/2006“, Foreign Office, Berlin

2005-2007 East Asia Director, Foreign Office, Berlin

2007-2008

2008-2010 DCM, German Embassy, Beijing, China

2010-2011 Deputy Director General in charge of Personnel, Foreign Office, Berlin

2011-2014 Director General Central Services, Foreign Office, Berlin

since March 2014 Ambassador, German Embassy, Tokyo, Japan

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Minister, Head of Poli

**梅原季哉** (朝日新聞 欧州総局長) **Toshiya UMEHARA**

Mr. Umehara joined the paper in 1988 in Nagasaki and has been engaging in international news reporting from 1990's till now. Prior to London, he stationed as a diplomatic correspondent to Brussels, Vienna, and Washington. He covered many conflicts including Kosovo and Iraq, directly from conflict zones. In his current position, he has coordinated, directed and written articles by himself on various European issues, namely the Greek financial crisis, European refugee crisis, and the two Paris terror attacks both in January and November. Amongst the persons whom Mr. Umehara interviewed are internationally well known personalities such as ; Colin Powell, Malala Yousafzai, and William Hague.

Mr. Umehara holds a B.A. in politics from International Christian University. He was a Fellow in Foreign Service in Georgetown University in Washington DC., USA in 1993-94. He has published two books in Japanese in 2014 and 2015. The former one is about the unknown intelligence history surrounding WWII time Poland, Bulgaria and Japan. His second book is a 100 years' history of Sarajevo based on people's witness stories from families with different ethnic background.

**盛田常夫** (立山 R&D ヨーロッパ KFT) **Tsuneo MORITA**

**Education**

1966-70 Dept. of Social Science, International Christian University

1970-75 Dept. of Economic Theory, Graduate School, Hitotsubashi University, Tokyo, Japan

**Professional information**

1975-77 Full time Lecturer of Economics, Dept. of Sociology, Hosei University, Tokyo

1977-85 Associate Professor of Economics, Dept. of Sociology, Hosei University

1985-91 Professor of Economics, Dept. of Sociology, Hosei University

1988-90 Economic adviser to Embassy of Japan, Budapest, Hungary

1991-2001 Research Advisor to Nomura Research Institute, stationed in Budapest

2002- Managing Director, Tateyama R&D Europe Ltd., Budapest, Hungary

Monographs (in Japanese) include *Hangari kaikakusi* (History of Reforms in Hungary), pp.239, Nihon Hyoron-sha, Tokyo, 1990, *Taiseitenkan no keizaigaku* (Economics of System Transformation), pp.277, Sinseisha Publisher, Tokyo, 1994, *Posuto-Shakaishugi no seiji-keizaigaku* (Political Economy of Post-Socialism), pp.213, Nihon Hyoron-sha, Tokyo, 2010.

Monographs (in Hungarian) include *Változás és örökség* (Change and Legacy), pp.203, Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2008, *Változás és örökség* (second edition), pp. 211, Balassi Kiadó, Budapest, 2014.

**錦田愛子** (東京外国語大学) **Aiko NISHIKIDA**

Aiko NISHIKIDA is an Associate Professor (Ph. D) of Research Institute for Languages and Cultures of Asia and Africa, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies.

Her major is Middle Eastern studies and political science. She got her Ph.D from the Graduate University for Advanced Studies (in Japan) in March 2004.

She teaches Middle Eastern studies, political science, and international relations in several universities in Japan. She gave a lecture titled “The Destiny of the Refugees and the future state of Palestine” at the Ibrahim Abu-Lugh Institute of International Studies, Birzeit University in Palestine in March 2013, and another lecture titled “Palestinians in Diaspora: Problems around their Naturalization in Jordan and Lebanon” at University of Malaysia Sabah in August 2008. Her recent publications include “Migration transfrontalière et citoyenneté – Migration palestinienne et formation de l’identité –,” edited by Yu-Sion LIVE et Jun’ichi ODA. Culture(s), Création et Identités: Un Regard Anthropologique pluriel. Actes du Colloque international de La Réunion. ILCAA, Tokio, 2014; “Palestinian Migration under the Occupation: Influence of Israeli democracy and Stratified citizenship,” Sociology Study, Vol.3, No.4, 2013 with Shingo Hamanaka; Palestinians in Diaspora: Watan and their national identity, Tokyo: Yushindo-Kobunsha, 2010 (in Japanese).

**Deha Erpek** (在日本トルコ共和国公使参事官)

### **EDUCATION**

T.E.D. Ankara College Foundation High School

Ankara Gazi University / Economics

### **PROFESSIONAL BACKGROUND**

JOINED THE TURKISH FOREIGN MINISTRY AS A CAREER DIPLOMAT IN  
DECEMBER 1992

MARCH 1993-APRIL 1994

ATTACHE, DEPUTY DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR COMMONWEALTH OF  
INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS SLAVIC COUNTRIES)

APRIL 1994-DECEMBER 1994

MILITARY SERVICE

DECEMBER 1994-SEPTEMBER 1995

ATTACHE, DEPUTY DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR COMMONWEALTH OF  
INDEPENDENT STATES (CIS SLAVIC COUNTRIES)

SEPTEMBER 1995-OCTOBER 1997

THIRD SECRETARY, TURKISH EMBASSY IN MANAMA/BAHRAIN

OCTOBER 1997-SEPTEMBER 2000

SECOND SECRETARY, TURKISH EMBASSY IN OSLO/NORWAY

SEPTEMBER 2000-SEPTEMBER 2002

SECOND SECRETARY/FIRST SECRETARY, DEPUTY DIRECTORATE GENERAL  
FOR AMERICAS (USA & CANADA)

SEPTEMBER 2002-OCTOBER 2004

FIRST SECRETARY, TURKISH EMBASSY IN ABU DHABI/UAE

OCTOBER 2004-OCTOBER 2006

FIRST SECRETARY/COUNSELLOR, TURKISH EMBASSY IN MOSCOW/RUSSIA

OCTOBER 2006-NOVEMBER 2008

HEAD OF SECTION/HEAD OF DEPARTMENT, DEPUTY DIRECTORATE  
GENERAL FOR INTERNATIONAL INSTITUTIONS (HEAD OF UN  
DEPARTMENT)

NOVEMBER 2008-OCTOBER 2010

CONSUL GENERAL, TURKISH GENERAL CONSULATE IN  
NOVOROSSISK/RUSSIA

OCTOBER 2010-OCTOBER 2012

FIRST COUNSELLOR, TURKISH EMBASSY IN PRETORIA/SOUTH AFRICA

OCTOBER 2012-JUNE 2015

HEAD OF DEPARTMENT AT DEPUTY DIRECTORATE GENERAL FOR  
BILATERAL ECONOMIC AFFAIRS (IRAN, AFGHANISTAN, PAKISTAN, INDIA,  
BANGLADESH, SRI LANKA)

JULY 2015-  
MINISTER COUNSELLOR, TURKISH EMBASSY IN TOKYO/JAPAN

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