

Report of

The Second Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue on “Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World”

November 20, 2007 / Hotel New Otani

November 21, 2007 / Conference Room of the Japan Foundation

Tokyo, Japan

Sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

Supported by

The Japan Foundation

Co-sponsored by

Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)

Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Japan

University of Shizuoka

Under the Auspices of

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

The Yomiuri Shimbun

Preface

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote a policy-oriented exchange of views between business, opinion and political leaders of Japan and their counterparts in the rest of the world, and to contribute to the deepening of mutual understanding and the formation of the consensus. For this purpose, GFJ has been actively engaged for the past 26 years in organizing policy-oriented bilateral and/or multilateral “Dialogues” every year between Japan and the international community.

It is for this reason that GFJ held the Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue, “Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World,” in Tokyo on 20-21 November 2007. This report intends to summarize the achievements of these discussions between Japanese and Black Sea Area counterparts. Though the printed version of the report will be made available to only a restricted number of people such as members and friends of GFJ and their counterparts from Black Sea Area, the full text of the report will be available at <http://www.gfj.jp/>.

The Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue “Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World” was supported by the Japan Foundation, co-sponsored by Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Japan, and University of Shizuoka, and organized under the auspices of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and the Yomiuri Shimbun. It was attended by 119 participants including 25 panelists. Participants exchanged opinions on matters of significant importance related to the future of Japan-Black Sea Area relations.

February 1, 2008

ITO Kenichi
President
The Global Forum of Japan

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Programs

1. Program

<p align="center">第2回「日・黒海地域対話」 The SECOND JAPAN-BLACK SEA AREA DIALOGUE</p>	
<p align="center">「激動する世界における日本と黒海地域」 Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World</p>	
<p align="center">2007年11月20-21日 / November 20-21, 2007 東京、日本 / Tokyo, Japan</p>	
<p align="center">助成 / Supported by 国際交流基金 / The Japan Foundation</p>	
<p align="center">主催/Sponsored by グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)</p>	
<p align="center">共催 / Co-sponsored by 黒海経済協力機構 / Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) 駐日トルコ大使館 / Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Japan</p>	
<p align="center">静岡県立大学 / University of Shizuoka</p>	
<p align="center">後援 / Under the Auspices of 日本国外務省 / The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan 読売新聞東京本社 / The Yomiuri Shimbun</p>	

2007年11月20日(火) / Tuesday, November 20, 2007

開幕夕食会・特別招待客のみ / Welcome Dinner *Invitation Only

18:00-20:00	木村仁外務副大臣主催開幕夕食会 Welcome Dinner hosted by KIMURA Hitoshi, Senior Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan
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2007年11月21日(水) / Wednesday, November 21, 2007

国際交流基金国際会議場 / Conference Room of the Japan Foundation

オープニングセッション / Opening Session

9:30-10:00	
開会挨拶 (10分間) Opening Remarks (10min.)	伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム執行世話人 ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ
開会挨拶 (10分間) Opening Remarks (10min.)	レオニダス・クリサンソポロス BSEC事務総長 Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS, Secretary General, BSEC
開会挨拶 (10分間) Opening Remarks (10min.)	原田 親仁 外務省欧州局長 HARADA Chikahito, Director-General, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
本会議 / Session I	
10:00-11:55	
<p align="center">「黒海地域の域内新情勢と関係諸大国の動向」 "New Trend in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests"</p>	
共同議長 (5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	村上 正泰 グローバル・フォーラム常任世話人代行世話人 MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Governor, GFJ アンドレアス・フリガナス 駐日ギリシャ大使館一等参事官 Andreas FRYGANAS, First Counsellor, the Embassy of Greece in Japan
基調報告 (15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	ジェラレティン・カルト トルコ外務省経済局長 Celalettin KART, Director General for the Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey
基調報告 (15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	六鹿 茂夫 静岡県立大学教授 MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor, University of Shizuoka
コメントA (5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	ファブリス・ヴァレイユ 駐日欧州委員会代表部参事官・政治経済部長 Fabrice VAREILLE, Counsellor, Head of Political and Economic Section, Delegation of the European Commission to Japan
コメントB (5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	末澤 恵美 平成国際大学准教授 SUEZAWA Megumi, Associate Professor, Heisei International University
コメントC (5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	セルゲイ・ゴンチャレンコ ロシア連邦外務省経済協力局次長 Sergei GONCHARENKO, Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation
コメントD (5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	岡本 道郎 読売新聞社国際部次長(前カイロ支局長) OKAMOTO Michiro, Deputy Editor in Foreign Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun (former Cairo Bureau Chief)
自由討議 (50分間) Free Discussions (50min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括 (10分間) Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.)	村上 正泰 グローバル・フォーラム常任世話人代行世話人 MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Governor, GFJ アンドレアス・フリガナス 駐日ギリシャ大使館一等参事官 Andreas FRYGANAS, First Counsellor, the Embassy of Greece in Japan
11:55-13:00	
昼食休憩 / Lunch Break	

本会議 /Session II	
13:00-14:55 「黒海地域における機能的協力の課題」 "Challenges for the Functional Cooperation in the Area"	
共同議長(5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	岩間 陽子 政策研究大学院大学准教授 IWAMA Yoko, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies レオニダス・クリサンソポロス BSEC事務総長 Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS, Secretary General, BSEC
基調報告(15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	ミコラ・クリニチ 駐日ウクライナ大使 Mykola KULINICH, Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan
基調報告(15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	廣瀬 陽子 東京外国語大学大学院准教授 HIROSE Yoko, Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
コメントA(5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	アゼル・ホセイン 駐日アゼルバイジャン大使 Azer HUSEYN, Ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Japan
コメントB(5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	本村 真澄 石油・天然ガス・金属鉱物資源機構主席研究員 MOTOMURA Masumi, Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation
コメントC(5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	イバン・ムルキッチ 駐日セルビア大使 Ivan MRKIC, Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to Japan
コメントD(5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	浅尾 慶一郎 参議院議員(民主党) ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Councilors (Democratic Party of Japan)
自由討議(50分間) Free Discussions (50min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.)	岩間 陽子 政策研究大学院大学准教授 IWAMA Yoko, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies レオニダス・クリサンソポロス BSEC事務総長 Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS, Secretary General, BSEC
14:55-15:05 コーヒー・ブレイク/Coffee Break	
本会議 /Session III	
15:05-17:00 「自由と繁栄の弧」構想と日黒海協力の展望」 "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation"	
共同議長(5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	河東 哲夫 Japan and World Trends代表 KAWATO Akio, General Manager, Japan and World Trends コショ・キティボフ ブルガリア外務省第一欧州局長 Kossio KITIPOV, Director, Department Europe-I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria
基調報告(15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	羽場 久美子 青山学院大学教授 HABA Kumiko, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
基調報告(15分間) Keynote Speaker (15min.)	アウレリアン・ネアグ 駐日ルーマニア大使 Aurelian NEAGU, Ambassador of Romania to Japan
コメントA(5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	小久保 康之 静岡県立大学教授 KOKUBO Yasuyuki, Professor, University of Shizuoka
コメントB(5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	ディビッド・ノザゼ 駐日グルジア大使館臨時代理大使 David NOZADZE, Charge d' Affaires a.i., Embassy of Georgia in Japan
コメントC(5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	名越 健部 時事通信社外信部長 NAGOSHI Kenro, Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press
コメントD(5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	セルメット・アタジャンル 駐日トルコ大使 Sermet ATACANLI, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan
コメントE(5分間) Lead Discussant E (5min.)	小澤 仁 外務省欧州局中・東欧課長 OZAWA Hitoshi, Director, Central and Eastern Europe Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
自由討議(45分間) Free Discussions (45min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Co-chairpersons (10min.)	河東 哲夫 Japan and World Trends代表 KAWATO Akio, General Manager, Japan and World Trends コショ・キティボフ ブルガリア外務省第一欧州局長 Kossio KITIPOV, Director, Department Europe-I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria
閉幕夕食会 *特別招待者のみ/ Farewell Dinner *Invitation Only	
18:00-20:00 セルメット・アタジャンル駐日トルコ大使主催閉幕夕食会 Farewell Dinner hosted by Sermet ATACANLI, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan	

2. Participants List

【Black Sea Area Panelists】

Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS	Secretary General, Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)
Andreas FRYGANAS	First Counselor, the Embassy of Greece in Japan
Celalettin KART	Director General for the Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey
Fabrice VAREILLE	Counsellor, Head of Political and Economic Section, Delegation of the European Commission to Japan
Sergei GONCHARENKO	Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation
Mykola KULINICH	Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan
Azer HUSEYN	Ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Japan
Ivan MRKIC	Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to Japan
Kossio KITPOV	Director, Department Europe-I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria
Aurelian NEAGU	Ambassador of Romania to Japan
David NOZADZE	Charge d'Affaires a.i., Embassy of Georgia in Japan
Sermet ATACANLI	Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan

【JAPANESE Panelists】

ITO Kenichi	President, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
HARADA Chikahito	Director-General, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
MURAKAMI Masayasu	Acting Executive Governor, GFJ
MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo	Professor, University of Shizuoka
SUEZAWA Megumi	Associate Professor, Heisei International University
OKAMOTO Michiro	Deputy Editor in Foreign Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun (former Cairo Bureau Chief)
IWAMA Yoko	Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies
HIROSE Yoko	Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies
MOTOMURA Masumi	Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation
ASAO Keiichiro	Member of the House of Councilors (Democratic Party of Japan)
KAWATO Akio	General Manager, Japan and World Trends
HABA Kumiko	Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
KOKUBO Yasuyuki	Professor, University of Shizuoka
NAGOSHI Kenro	Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press
OZAWA Hitoshi	Director, Central and Eastern Europe Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

(In Order of Appearance)

【Participants】

Marieta ARABADJIEVA	KOUYAMA Hideo	Alexei OVCHINNIKOV
Dmitry BIRICHEVSKIY	KUBO Keiichi	Petr PODALKO
Serdar CENGIZ	Yebhen KUZMIN	SADAKATA Mamoru
Gul DEMIR	MAEDA Hirotake	SAITO Yuki
Manuel DONESCU	MATSUMURA Masayoshi	SAJIMA Naoko
FUJIMORI Shinkichi	Maxim MAURCHEV	SEKI Katsunori
FUJIWARA Toshiya	Denis MAXOV	SHIMIZU Yoshikazu
FURUYA Masato	David MGALOBILSHVILI	SUGIUCHI Naotoshi
HAGINO Atsutoshi	MII Mitsuo	TAKAGI Kiyomitsu
HASHIMOTO Hiroshi	Rovshan MIRZAYEV	TAKEUCHI Kazumasa
HIRONAKA Wakako	Javad MOMENI	TANAKA Junko
HORIUCHI Mitsuko	MORI Takeshi	TAO Shigeki
IYAMA Masashi	NAGAMINE Michiteru	TASAKI Keiko
IKEO Aiko	NAITOH Masahisa	Nebojsa TASIC

ISHIGAKI Yasuji
Gursel ISMAYILZADA
Snezana JANKOVIC
KANAMORI Toshiki
KIMURA Akio
KINOSHITA Hiroo
Yury KLOCHKOV
KOGURE Masayoshi
Paul KOROLUK

NAKAGAWA Tsutomu
NAKAMOTO Reishi
NEMOTO Takaaki
OHBA Yuichi
OKADA Eri
OKAWA Akira
OKAWARA Yoshio
OTA Kenichi
OTA Tomohiro

TOBIBAYASHI Ryohei
UEDA Jihei
UEKUSA Syogo
Rafael USUBOV
YAGOTO Yayoi
YAMAGISHI Aoi
YOSHIDA Shingo

(In Alphabetical Order)

[Global Forum Japan Secretariat]

WATANABE Mayu	Executive Secretary
NAKAMURA Yumi	Officer in Charge
NOGUCHI Kohei	Officer in Charge
NORO Naoko	Officer in Charge
TSUKAZAKI Eri	Officer in Charge
YANAGITA Mariko	Officer in Charge
YANO Takuya	Officer in Charge
HOSODA Maki	Secretarial Staff
ASHIDA Syusaku	Secretarial Assistant
Alex BRISTOW	Secretarial Assistant
CHIKASHIMA Hiroshi	Secretarial Assistant
HOSHINO Kaoruko	Secretarial Assistant
ISHIHARA Yusuke	Secretarial Assistant
ITO Hirofumi	Secretarial Assistant
KANZAKI Tomotaka	Secretarial Assistant
KITAMA Yuki	Secretarial Assistant
KONDO Takuya	Secretarial Assistant
MATSUMURA Risa	Secretarial Assistant
MORI Mariko	Secretarial Assistant
OKAMOTO Kaoru	Secretarial Assistant
Bennett RICHARDSON	Secretarial Assistant
SAKAI Yujiro	Secretarial Assistant
SEKI Masakazu	Secretarial Assistant
SHIOJIRI Koutaro	Secretarial Assistant
SUGIMOTO Toshiaki	Secretarial Assistant
YAMADA Yasuto	Secretarial Assistant

3. Biographies of the Panelists

[Black Sea Area Panelists]

Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS Secretary General, BSEC

Graduated from the Law School of the University of Athens. Joined the Greek Foreign Ministry in 1972. Served as Director of the Diplomatic Cabinet of the Minister in charge of EEC Affairs, Deputy Permanent Representative of Greece to the United Nations, Minister Counsellor in Beijing, Ambassador of Greece in Yerevan, in Warsaw and in Ottawa, Director General for EU Affairs, and Director General for Bilateral Economic Relations and Multilateral Economic Cooperation before assuming the current post in 2006.

Andreas FRYGANAS First Counsellor, the Embassy of Greece in Japan

Graduated from the Law School and the Medical School at the University of Heidelberg, Germany. Served as an attaché at the Department for Middle East and Africa, Diplomatic Cabinet of the Undersecretary for European Affairs, Diplomatic Cabinet of the Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, Diplomatic Cabinet of the Prime Minister, Consul at the Greek Consulate in Turkey, and Counsellor at the Greek Embassy to Albania.

Celalettin KART Director General for the Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey

Graduated from the Grenoble University. Served as Head of Division at Department for Research at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, First Counselor at Embassy of Turkey in Belgium, Head of Department of European Communities, Head of Department for Non-EC European Countries, Consul General of Turkey in Lyon, Deputy Director General for Protocol, Ambassador of Turkey to Lebanon, Director General of Cabinet and Advisor of the Secretary General of the Organization of the Islamic Conference.

Fabrice VAREILLE Counsellor, Head of Political and Economic Section, Delegation of the European Commission to Japan

Graduated from Ecole Supérieure de Commerce de Paris in 1991 and from Institut d'Etudes Politiques de Paris ("Sciences-Po") in 1994. Served as Head-Office Coordinator of Océan Polaire (Research/Education NGO), Programme Coordinator for Directorate General Education and Culture and International Desk Officer for Directorate General External Relations of European Commission Headquarters.

Sergei GONCHARENKO Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation

Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served various positions. Also, served as Chairman of the Committee of Senior Officials of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, Chairman of the Working Group on Economic Cooperation at the Barents/Euro-Arctic Council from 2000-2001, and Chairman of the Working Group on Economic Cooperation at the Council of the Baltic Sea States from 2001-2002.

Mykola KULINICH Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan

Received Ph.D. in History of International Relations from Kiev State University in 1982. Served as Associate Professor at Kiev University, First Deputy Director at Institute of International Relations of Kiev State University, Minister Counsellor at Embassy of Ukraine in Tokyo, Deputy Director of 5th Territorial Directorate (Asia-Pacific, Middle East and Africa) at Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Minister Counsellor at Embassy of Ukraine in Seoul, and Rector at Diplomatic Academy of Ukraine.

Azer HUSEYN Ambassador of the Republic of Azerbaijan to Japan

Graduated from Department of Oriental Studies at Baku State University in 1984. Served as Deputy

Director for State Protocol Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Azerbaijan, Counsellor at the Embassy of Republic of Azerbaijan in Turkey, Manager of Regional Representative Office in Baku of the Coca-Cola Co., Director of the Second Territorial Department at Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Ivan MRKIC

Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to Japan

Graduated from the Law Faculty of the University of Belgrade. Employed in the Federal Secretariat of Foreign Affairs in 1978. Served as Minister Counsellor with the Mission of Yugoslavia to the European Community in Brussels, Chief of the Cabinet of the President of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia, Ambassador to Cyprus, Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs and Chief of Bilateral Relations, President of the National Commission of Serbia and Montenegro for the Implementation of the Chemical weapons Convention.

Kossio KITIPOV

Director, Europe I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria

Received M.A. in International Relations from the Moscow Institute for International Relations. Entered the Bulgarian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1970. Held various positions, including First Secretary at the Bulgarian Embassy in Morocco, Counselor and Deputy Head of Second Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Ambassador of Bulgaria to Morocco, Director for the Western Europe and North America Directorate, Ambassador of Bulgaria to Romania, and Ambassador to South Africa.

Aurelian NEAGU

Ambassador of Romania to Japan

Graduated from Academy for Economic Studies in Bucharest in 1983. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and served various positions including Counsellor at the Embassy of Romania in Seoul and at Asia, Africa and Middle East Division at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

David NOZADZE

Charge d' Affaires a.i., Embassy of Georgia in Japan

Graduated from Faculty of Economics of Tbilisi State University and Faculty of Oriental History, Institute of Asia and Africa. Served as Deputy Head of Division at Department of Asia, Africa, Australia, and the Pacific Rim of the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Assistant to the Minister of Foreign Affairs, Director of the Georgian Pavilion at EXPO 2005 Aichi in Japan, Director for Eastern Affairs Department of Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Sermet ATACANLI

Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan

Graduated from Faculty of Political Science of Ankara University and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Turkey in 1972. Served as First Secretary at Embassy in Malaysia, Counsellor at the Embassy in Greece, Director of Policy Planning Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Counsellor and First Secretary at the Embassy in the U.S., Ambassador to South Africa, Chief Advisor of Foreign Affairs to President.

[Japanese Panelists]

ITO Kenichi

President, Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at Harvard University. Served various positions, including Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Served as Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University from 1984-2006. Concurrently serving as President of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR), President of the Council on East Asia Community (CEAC).

HARADA Chikahito Director-General, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Graduated from the University of Tokyo and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1974. Held various positions, including First Secretary at the Embassy of Japan in Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, Director of Russian Division of European Affairs Bureau, Minister at the Embassy of Japan in United Kingdom, Deputy Director-General of North American Affairs Bureau, and Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary of Japanese Embassy to China.

MURAKAMI Masayasu Acting Executive Governor, GFJ

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered the Ministry of Finance in 1997. Studied at University of California, San Diego. Served as Vice Consul of the Japanese Consulate-General in New York, Deputy Director for Research Division of International Bureau at Ministry of Finance, Deputy Director for Cabinet Secretariat. Concurrently serving as Acting Executive Director of JFIR and Acting Executive Vice President of CEAC.

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo Professor, University of Shizuoka

Graduated from Sophia University in 1976. Received M.A. in International Relations from Sophia University in 1978 and Ph.D. in Law from University of Bucharest in 1985. Served as Professor at Saitama Women's Junior College, Visiting Fellow at the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science, and Dean of the Faculty of International Relations and a Presidential Aid at University of Shizuoka.

SUEZAWA Megumi Associate Professor, Heisei International University

Received M.A. from the Graduate School of Political Science at Tokai University in 1990, studied at the Graduate School of International Law of Moscow State University from 1990-1991, and became a Ph.D. candidate at Tokai University in 1993. Served as Research Fellow of Center for Russian Studies and Center for Global Issues (European Section) at the Japan Institute of International Affairs. Concurrently serving as Lecture at Sophia University and Tokai University.

OKAMOTO Michiro Deputy Editor in Foreign Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun
(former Cairo Bureau Chief)

Graduated from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies and entered The Yomiuri Shimbun in 1983. Served various positions including Tehran Bureau Chief from 1990-1992, Deputy Editor of Daily Yomiuri, Assistant Editor of Foreign Department, and Cairo Bureau Chief from 1995-1999 and from 2003-2007. Also served as Associate of the Program on the U.S.-Japan Relationship at Harvard University.

IWAMA Yoko Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute of Policy Studies

Graduated from Faculty of Law at Kyoto University in 1986 and received Ph.D. in Law from Kyoto University in 1997. Also studied at the Free University Berlin from 1989-1991. Served as Research Fellow at the Research Institute for Peace and Security from 1992-1994, Research Assistant at Kyoto University from 1994-1997 and Special Assistant of the Japanese Embassy in Germany from 1998-2000.

HIROSE Yoko Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

Received B.A. in Policy Management from Keio University in 1995, M.A. in Law from the University of Tokyo in 1997, and Ph.D. in Media and Governance from Keio University in 2006. Served as Assistant Professor at Keio University, Special Researcher at Nagoya University, and Senior Lecturer at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. Concurrently serving as Special Researcher at Slavic Research Center of Hokkaido University.

MOTOMURA Masumi Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation

Received B.A. and M.A. in Geology from the University of Tokyo. Joined Japan National Oil Corporation

(JNOC) in 1977. Served as Director of Russia and Caspian Division in First Planning Department and the Chief Researcher of Research and Planning Department at JNOC. Also served as Visiting Researcher at the Oxford Institute of Energy Studies in 2001 and Visiting Professor of the Slavic Research Center at Hokkaido University in 2005.

ASAO Keiichiro Member of the House Councilors (Democratic Party of Japan)
Graduated from Faculty of Law at the University of Tokyo and entered the Industrial Bank of Japan in 1987. Received MBA from the Graduate School of Business, Stanford University in 1992. Elected to the House of Councilors in 1998 and re-elected in 2004. Serving as a Member of Committee on Foreign Affairs and Defense and of Committee on Budget. Concurrently serving as Next Minister of Defense of Democratic Party of Japan.

KAWATO Akio General Manager, Japan and World Trends
Graduated from the University of Tokyo and entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1970. Studied at Harvard Graduate School and at Moscow State University. Served as Director of Eastern Europe Division, Counsellor at the Embassy of Japan in Sweden, Consul-General of Japan in Boston, Minister at the Embassy of Japan in Russia, Ambassador of Japan to Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, Chief Economist of the Research Institute of Capital Formation at the Development Bank of Japan.

HABA Kumiko Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University
Received Ph.D. in International Relations from Tsuda College in 1988. Served as Professor and Director of European Institute at Hosei University, Visiting Research Fellow in the Institute of History of Hungarian Academy of Sciences, Visiting Research Fellow in School of Slavic and East European Studies at University of London, Honorable Visiting Fellow at Institute of International Relations, Sorbonne University.

KOKUBO Yasuyuki Professor, University of Shizuoka
Graduated from Keio University in 1982. Received M.A. in Law from Keio University in 1984, and became a Ph.D. candidate at Keio University in 1987. Served as Assistant Professor at Musashino Junior College, Visiting Fellow at the Institute of European Affairs of the Brussels Free University. Concurrently serving as a Board Member of the European Union Studies Association-Japan since 1998.

NAGOSHI Kenro Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press
Graduated from the Course of Russian Studies at Tokyo University of Foreign Affairs. Joined Jiji Press, Japanese news agency, in 1976. Served as a Correspondent in Bangkok, Moscow, Washington D.C. before assuming the current position.

OZAWA Hitoshi Director, Central and Eastern Europe Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan
Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan in 1985. Served as the Vice-Director of the Arms Control and Disarmament Division at the Foreign Policy Bureau, First Secretary at the Embassy of Japan in the United States, Senior Coordinator for the Press Division, First Secretary and Counselor at the Embassy of Japan in Vietnam, and Counselor at the Embassy of Japan in the United Kingdom.

(In order of appearance)

Outlines of Discussions

Outlines of Discussions

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ), Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of the Republic of Turkey in Japan, and University of Shizuoka, under the auspices of The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan and The Yomiuri Shimbun, co-sponsored the 2nd Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue on the theme of “Japan and Black Sea Area in the Rapidly Changing World” on November 20-21, 2007 in Tokyo. Reflecting the increasing attention in Japan on the Black Sea Area since the 1st Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue in 2005, the 2nd Dialogue had 119 participants in total, including 12 from the Black Sea Area.

The Black Sea Area and the Big Powers

Session I, the theme of which was “New Trends in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests,” started with a keynote speech by Ambassador Celalettin KART, Director General for the Economic Affairs of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey, in which he stated that “the geopolitical situation surrounding the Black Sea Area has significantly changed with the end of the Cold War. The accession of Bulgaria and Romania has led to the direct engagement of the EU in this region. The Black Sea Area is becoming a center of gravity regarding oil, energy, transport and trade.”

Following that, Dr. MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor at University of Shizuoka, said in the second keynote speech, “NATO as well as the EU has growing interests in the Black Sea Area, which are backed by the U.S. with its emphasis on security and democratization. On the other hand, Russian policy toward this region has become extremely assertive against the EU, NATO and the U.S. Japan has started to become involved in this region by initiating the diplomatic vision called the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity. What kind of role Japan will play in the future is a question of importance.”

In response, comments came from Mr. Fabrice VAREILLE, Counsellor, Head of Political and Economic Section, Delegation of the European Commission to Japan, Ms. SUEZAWA Megumi, Associate Professor Heisei International University, Dr. Sergei GONCHARENKO, Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation, and Mr. OKAMOTO Michiro, Deputy Editor in Foreign Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun (former Cairo Bureau Chief).

Challenges for Regional Cooperation

In Session II, on the theme of “Challenges for Functional Cooperation in the Area,” Ambassador Mykola KULINICH of Ukraine in Japan gave the first keynote speech. He stated

that “BSEC has expanded its activities to such new initiatives as ‘combating against organized crime,’ ‘the Black Sea Highway Ring,’ and ‘the Motorways of the Sea.’ BSEC aims to be a link between the Black Sea Area and Europe, and a facilitator for closer cooperation throughout the Eurasian continent.

After that, Dr. HIROSE Yoko, Associate Professor at Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, presented the keynote speech, mentioning that “although there are many conflicts and disputes, both domestic and international, in the Black Sea Area, the promotion of cooperative projects among the Black Sea countries will contribute to conflict resolution. Such a linkage could advance simultaneously. The Sochi Olympic Games in 2014 will serve as a great opportunity for the development of regional cooperation in this context.”

After the keynote speeches, Ambassador Azer HUSEYN of the Republic of Azerbaijan in Japan, Mr. MOTOMURA Masumi, Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation, Ambassador Ivan MRKIC of the Republic of Serbia in Japan, and Mr. ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Councilors (Democratic Party of Japan) made comments.

The prospects for Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation

In session III, on the theme of “The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation,” Dr. HABA Kumiko, Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University, stated in her keynote speech that “Japan’s Arc of Freedom and Prosperity Policy, which covers very wide geographical areas from the Northern Europe through the Black Sea Area and the Central Asia to ASEAN and Japan, is a vision to support the building of prosperous countries under freedom and democracy. It is not intended to contain Russia and China.”

Subsequently, Ambassador Aurelian NEAGU of Romania in Japan presented his keynote speech, stating that “the Black Sea Area is directly connected with Europe and linked with North Africa and the Middle East through the Mediterranean Sea. In this sense, the Black Sea Area is a melting pot of civilizations. Through this kind of dialogue, we hope that Japan and the Black Sea Area can shape new policies and projects to the mutual benefit of us all.”

In response, Mr. David NOZADZE, Charge d’Affairs a.i., Embassy of Georgia in Japan, Mr. NAGOSHI Kenro, Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press, Ambassador Sermet ATACANLI of the Republic of Turkey in Japan, Mr. OZAWA Hitoshi, Director, Central and Eastern Europe Division, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan made comments.

Details of the 2nd Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue were reported in The Yomiuri Shimbun on November 22, 2007.

Papers of Keynote Speeches

3. Keynote Papers

Session I: “New Trend in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests”

Celalettin KART

**Director General for the Economic Affairs of
the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey**

The New Trends in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests

I would like to thank our esteemed hosts, the Global Forum of Japan, for organizing the “Second Japan Wider Black Sea Area Dialogue.” It is a true pleasure for me to be in this wonderfully vibrant city. We are here today, to exchange views on the new trends in the Black Sea area and big power interests.

The Black Sea area is an important region at the heart of three major continents. It is on strategic transport and trade routes and energy corridors. With its significant economic and human potential as well as natural resources including energy, it is no surprise that the international focus on this region is growing.

During the Cold War, the Black Sea area drew little attention mainly due to the fact that the delicate and uneasy balance in the region made it undesirable to have tensions, for not only littoral states, but also for the super powers themselves. With the collapse of the Soviet Union and new countries coming into play, facing a combination of economic, political, social and administrative problems, the Black Sea area started experiencing a major transition. Since then, the geo-strategic portrait of the region changed completely. The region has been witnessing the twin expansion of NATO and the European Union eastwards. Today, the integration of the Black Sea countries into Euro-Atlantic institutions is still underway.

It is widely acknowledged that, with the end of the Cold War, the Black Sea area has assumed a more central international role. I believe that our gathering here today in Tokyo is a testimony to this prevailing view. Therefore, I believe that it is important to ask and understand the reasons behind the growing international and strategic importance of the Black Sea area. I will point out some of these reasons, without observing any particular order related to their importance or weight.

First of all, the region is seen as Europe’s final frontier on the east, with windows opening onto completely dissimilar regions, the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East, requiring different policy responses.

Secondly, after the September 11 attacks, the fight against terrorism and the efforts to dry up the financial sources of terrorism, which are mostly linked to various forms of organized crime such as the trafficking of arms, drugs and human beings, have also lead to the growing importance of the Black Sea region. This stems from the geo-strategic position of the region, located on one of the transit routes of trafficking and the air corridor to some of the neighboring areas in turmoil. It is of such importance that it is nowadays being called the “Black Sea Security Corridor.”

Thirdly, in addition to its proximity to some of the hot spots in the world, the region itself is also tackling with some internal disputes. As is known, “frozen conflicts” in the Euro-Atlantic area are

concentrated in the Black Sea region. The existence of these frozen conflicts renders the stability of the region fragile. It is advocated that the future of the Black Sea will be the future of Europe. Therefore, there is growing international interest to the resolution of these conflicts.

Fourthly, with the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, the EU has become a littoral of the Black Sea and its interest in furthering stability and prosperity in the region has grown even greater.

Another factor which draws the interest of international players to the region is the vast economic potential it harbors. The members of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), which is the only full-fledged regional cooperation organization in the Black Sea area, encompass an area of approximately 20 million square kilometers with 330 million people. This can be translated as a huge economic potential. Its vast natural and human resources enabled the BSEC countries to have remarkable economic growth and development over the past five years. Representing 7.6% of the overall world economy, the GDP of the BSEC region grew by 6% annually, with a total GDP amounting to 3.4 trillion USD in 2005. There is a steady increase in the share of the BSEC countries in the world economy.

The quest for the diversification of energy sources is another dimension of the growing profile of the region. Following the events of September 11 and the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, the search started for alternatives, in terms of energy resources, to the Middle East which has approximately 65% of the oil and 40% of the natural gas reserves of the world. The Black Sea and the Caspian Sea regions, rich in oil and gas, proved important for this pursuit of alternative energy sources.

The seventh point which I wish to make is that, following the Russian-Ukrainian natural gas crisis in 2006, the Black Sea has also been steadily gaining importance as a key energy supply route for Europe and the rest of the world. Just a quick gloss over a map of existing and planned oil and gas pipeline projects is enough to reflect the significance of the Black Sea region as a prime energy supply route.

Having highlighted the main reasons behind the rising significance of the Black Sea area, I wish to draw your attention to the growing importance of preserving the stability and security of this region.

When the Cold War came to an end, Turkey took the lead to launch a regionally owned initiative to help transform the centrally planned economies of the Soviet era and integrate them into the world economy, in order to maximize the potential of the region. With this understanding, the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) was established in 1992 on the idea that stronger economic cooperation among the Black Sea countries would enhance the peace and the stability in the region. Turkey has been pursuing a constructive and balanced policy in the Black Sea, main pillars of which are inclusiveness, transparency and regional ownership. These principles are important as they are the very principles that would ensure the prevention of creating new dividing lines in the Black Sea region as we had in the past.

BSEC is the most inclusive and institutionalized forum in the Black Sea region today. It is an important contributor to peace and stability in the region and thanks to its inclusive approach and its focus on a pragmatic project-oriented approach, it has brought together all countries of the wider Black Sea area in a spirit of confidence and constructive cooperation. The Black Sea could easily have deteriorated over the last decade into a conflict zone. Instead, it has been one of fairly sustainable cooperation. Although the Organization has so far fallen short of living up to the real potential in the region, particularly due to the fact that the members started to have diverging priorities after the BSEC was created, lately the situation has started to reverse. The interests of the BSEC Member States have begun to converge and they are now able to develop common strategies and approaches on diverse issues.

BSEC was created specifically to prevent any country's dominance and it has worked. It is particularly interesting to note that some of the members of BSEC, which have had conflictual and rather tense relations with each other in other fora, have demonstrated a fairly sustainable working

relationship within the framework of BSEC. BSEC Member States have demonstrated that they can cooperate successfully on most issues. Even members who initially had a somewhat distrustful attitude toward the Organization have become firm partners in it, which has led to the possibility to embark upon effective and meaningful cooperation in other fields.

To secure the success of BSEC, it is necessary to continue to foster a pragmatic, result-oriented approach in sectors of common relevance and interest, where improved regional cooperation could create synergies and increase the efficiency of resources used. The success of BSEC depends on the concreteness and effective implementation of common projects. Bold projects on the development of transport links in the region within the framework of BSEC, namely the 7,000 kilometer Black Sea Ring Highway project and the Motorways of the Sea project, are expected to do much to foster trade, economic prosperity and tourism among the countries of the region and to bring them closer together.

The BSEC is viewed by the international community as an anchor of cooperation in the region. Germany, Austria, France, Italy, Poland, the Czech Republic, Slovakia, Belarus and Croatia, as well as non-European countries such as the United States, Tunisia, Egypt and Israel are Observers. Japan, Iran and Hungary, among others, have also applied for Observer status. Turkey welcomes Japan's application for many reasons.

First of all, Turkey and Japan enjoy excellent bilateral relations. Secondly, Japan is not foreign to the Black Sea region. It has always shown interest in the developments in the region. Japan is a signatory of the 1936 Montreux Convention on the Turkish Straits. In Turkey alone, Japanese companies have played a leading role in building the Bosphorus Bridges.

Thirdly, Japan's presence at BSEC meetings would bring with it a potential to contribute to the Organization. BSEC Member States would be able to draw on Japan's experience in regional organizations in the Asia-Pacific region.

Fourthly, Japan's economic strength and engineering skills will be of particular importance for BSEC since a wide range of economic, investment and infrastructural projects and activities are underway in the region. For example, Japan may be able to contribute to the Black Sea Ring Highway project, as well as others in the wider Black Sea area. Energy security, pipeline development and transit routes are some of the other domains where Japan could play a significant role. Within this framework, Turkey actively supports Japan's application for Observer status.

On the other hand, the EU Commission has recently been granted Observer status within BSEC at this summer's Istanbul Summit. This will allow the EU to witness the activities of the BSEC and the opportunities and potential it offers for a mutually beneficial and fruitful cooperation between the two organizations. BSEC and the EU are bound to have a stronger dialogue. After Greece, with Bulgaria and Romania also joining the EU in 2007, there are now three BSEC Member States, which are at the same time members of the EU, and the European Union has become a littoral of the Black Sea. Among the countries in the region, Turkey is negotiating for membership to the EU, the Russian Federation is a strategic partner of the EU and Georgia and Ukraine are Partners of the European Neighboring Policy.

The BSEC, as the only inclusive and full-fledged organization in the region, is the natural partner for the EU in the Black Sea area. This has also been acknowledged by our colleagues from the EU Commission. The EU strategy toward the Black Sea region envisages a major role for the BSEC, which has recently celebrated its 15th Anniversary. A joint high-level kick-off event has been proposed by the EU Commission in its Black Sea Synergy Communication, which is most likely held in early 2008.

Esteemed Chairpersons,
Excellencies,
Distinguished Colleagues,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Today's world is very different from the one when BSEC was established. The importance of the Black Sea and Eurasia is on the rise. The Black Sea basin is becoming a centre of gravity regarding oil, energy, transport and trade. We have every reason to believe that this trend will continue. Preserving security and stability in the region is of great importance. Within this framework, an important responsibility rests with BSEC, which, as I previously underlined, is the only full-fledged and the most inclusive cooperation organization in the Black Sea area.

Increased cooperation in the region through BSEC mechanisms not only generates economic benefits, but also contributes to building confidence and reducing persisting bilateral tensions. This, in turn, consolidates stability and security in the region, which is the common interest of both the region and the international community. With this in mind, capitalizing on the past experience and making use of the growing interest from the international community to our region, Turkey will continue to support the endeavors of BSEC and its objective to become a project-oriented organization serving the common benefit of all its members.

In concluding my words, I wish to point out that in my statement, I have intended to mainly touch on the new trends in the Black Sea area and the underlying reasons behind the growing international interest toward the region. I believe that we can elaborate on the particular interests of the individual powers further on during our discussions.

I wish to thank again the Global Forum of Japan for organizing this event, which has enabled us to focus on this very important region and to generate many new ideas on how to approach it. Thank you.

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo
Professor, University of Shizuoka

New Trends in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests

Two years have passed since the first conference on 'Japan-Black Sea Dialogue' was held in Tokyo in November 2005. At the first conference I presented a general framework of analysis regarding politics among the big powers around the Wider Black Sea region.ⁱ At this second conference, I would like to mention only changes in the relations among those big powers during these two years. My analysis is composed of three sections: 1) big power interests in and policy toward the Wider Black Sea region, 2) the relations among the big powers, and 3) a new pillar of Japanese foreign policy.

Section 1 – Interests and Policies of the Big Powers towards the Black Sea Regionⁱⁱ

1. Interests of the Big Powers around the Wider Black Sea Region

In general, the interests of the West and Russia cannot be considered coincident. To the contrary, they are almost discrepant. The interests of the West in the Wider Black Sea region consist in maintaining the stability of the region, while Russian interests are in maintaining its zone of influence. Russia wants to avoid being isolated in the post-Cold War Eurasian international system and to strengthen its 'Near Abroad' diplomacy. Thus, the West pursues stability in the region through soft power based on values like democratization, the market economy, the rule of law, etc., while Russia

seeks increased influence in the region through its use of its own capital, energy, the attractiveness of Russian citizenship, cultural links, trade (including embargos), and Russian troops.

As a result, there are only three options for the West in this situation. Concerned about keeping good relations with Russia, the West abstains from intervening in the region. Even when prepared to risk deterioration in relations with Russia, the West urges stability and prosperity in the region. Looking for common interests with Russia in the region, the West tries to cooperate with Russia for regional stability. This last option has been attempted by the EU without any fruitful results until now, while the US seems to have been changing its policy towards Russia recently, as demonstrated in the speech by Vice-President Dick Cheney in Vilnius in the summer of 2006, which harshly criticized the recent accentuated tendencies in Russian domestic politics.

As for the interests of the West in the region and the means to realize them, there is no conflict or grave difference of interests in or concepts of the Black Sea region between the U.S. and the EU, as there was in the serious confrontation over the Iraq war. Based on their diplomacy of values, they have pursued almost the same concrete policy towards the region, addressing such options as the withdrawal of the Russian army from Moldova and Georgia, US and EU participation in the pentagonal negotiation process on the Transnistrian issue, and producing similar evaluations of the Ukrainian presidential election and the Moldovan parliamentary election.

However, there are two things that differ between them. One is that the U.S. places much more importance on military force than the EU, and the other is their attitudes toward Russia. The U.S. keeps a close watch on Russian democratization as well as its stability, while some members of the EU consider the stability of Russia much more important than its democratization or the independence of the CIS.

Both the EU and NATO are much more focused on the Balkans than on the WNIS (Western New Independent States) and the South Caucasus. The EU and the NATO have been promoting SAP (Stabilization and Association Process) and MAP (Membership Action Plan) in the West Balkans with clear objectives to make them members of both the EU and NATO. However, in the WNIS and South Caucasus they have only been promoting ENP (European Neighborhood Policy) and IPAP (Individual Partnership Action Plan) or Intensified Dialogue without making clear the future accession of aspirant states to the EU and NATO. In addition, both of them aim to stabilize the region using conditionality for the accession to the EU and NATO.

However, there are also differences between the EU and NATO. The EU stresses the economic dimension, while the NATO emphasizes the military dimension. Thus, accession to NATO is easier than to the EU, as the conditionality for NATO accession can be realized much more easily than that for the EU. Moreover, the EU demands from its neighbors cooperation in the sphere of diplomacy and the ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy) in the framework of the Action Plan of the ENP, while NATO asks them for their participation in peace keeping and military activities like KFOR and ISAF (International Security Assistance Forces). While these differences are acknowledged by both the EU and NATO, both share the objectives of stabilizing the region for their own security, and of encouraging the countries of the Wider Black Sea region to contribute to world security through their participation in peace keeping and peace building activities of the EU and NATO.

2. EU Policy toward the Black Sea Region

The most spectacular transformation in the relations of the EU with the Black Sea region is the EU's reach to the Black Sea coast through the accession of Bulgaria and Romania to the EU. This made EU

policy toward the Black Sea more assertive, and the EU has officially embarked on multilateral relations in the Black Sea region. Before the end of 2006, rather than multilateral relations, the EU had accentuated bilateral relations with the countries surrounding the Black Sea through its European Neighborhood Policy (ENP). Multilateral relations had been promoted by semi-official meetings between the EU and the Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) since 2005. The accession of the two East Balkan states to the EU spurred its multilateral cooperation with the Black Sea region, and the Black Sea Synergy was adopted in the spring of 2007. It appears that the Summit of the EU and BSEC will be held in Kiev as a kickoff meeting during the first half of next year (2008).

The second point that should be noted is the extension of the Action Plan of the ENP to the Southern Caucasus. As I indicated at the first conference, the EU had been promoting the ENP in relations with the Western New Independent States (WNIS) and the Southern Caucasus since the spring of 2004 as a main tool of bilateral relations with these countries. Yet at the moment of the first Japan-Black Sea Dialogue conference, the EU was promoting the Action Plan of the ENP only with Ukraine and the Republic of Moldova in the Black Sea region starting in February 2005. After that, however, the EU also agreed to an Action Plan with three Southern Caucasian countries in November 2006 – Armenia, Azerbaijan and Georgia.

A third indicator of the EU's active policy toward the Black Sea region is the inauguration of the EUBAM to Moldova. It began its activities on 1st December 2005, and it was reported that it obtained fruitful results, just as a great deal of fraud had been found through the EUBAM.ⁱⁱⁱ In addition, the EU carried out confidence-building measures in Georgia, South Osetia and Abkhazia in July 2007.

However, the EU had some deficiencies in its policy toward the Black Sea region. Firstly, the negotiation process with Turkey for its accession to the EU came to a deadlock. It seems to me that this might have contributed to enhanced nationalism among the Turkish people, and that this together with the Armenian genocide issue and Kurdish issue has made Turkish foreign policy more hawkish.

Secondly, relations between the EU and Russia have also not been going smoothly, although the volume of trade between the EU and Russia has increased. The presence of ethnic Russians in Estonia, energy negotiations (in the form of Russian refusal to ratify the energy treaty), and negotiations in the framework of the Road Map of the four Common Spaces (in particular, the second Space—Freedom, Security and Justice, including democracy and freedom of speech and media; and third Space—External Security, including the 'frozen conflicts') have contributed to the deterioration of their relations.

Thirdly, the EUBAM to Moldova also had negative effects. It helped to spoil the so-called Yushenko plan on the Transnistrian issue, which had aimed to resolve the Transnistrian issue through negotiations with newly-elected democratic political elites through democratic election. This plan seemed to go well because the Rebirth party made up of businessmen and young intellectuals in Transnistria won a landslide victory to obtain more than half of the total 43 seats in the 'parliamentary' election in December 2005, while the Republic party of 'President' Smirnov obtained just a few seats. When I interviewed a political leader of the Rebirth party in March 2006, he did not reject the idea that Mr. Shevchuk, chairperson of the 'Parliament' of Transnistria and the leading figure of the Rebirth party, might be a candidate in the upcoming 'presidential' election. It was also said that the democratic circle from Transnistria had begun to prepare for an amendment of the Transnistrian 'Constitution' in which the post of prime minister would be created beside the post of 'President'. Nevertheless, Mr. Smirnov succeeded in reversing his unfavourable situation by organizing a referendum in Transnistria in which he asked the Transnistrian people if they wanted integration with Russia. He could recover his lost political power by criticizing the EUBAM and by mobilizing the Transnistrian people in the referendum.

The triangle of cooperation made up of the EU, Ukraine and Moldova on the settlement of the Transnistrian issue in accordance with the Yushenko plan seemed to have been put to an end, or at least suspended at that moment.

3. The Policy of the NATO towards the Black Sea Region

In comparison with the transformation of EU policy towards the Black Sea region, NATO has not produced any spectacular changes in its policy towards the Black Sea region during the same period. Nevertheless, we can presume to point out a new NATO policy concept, Global Partnership, which was put into force at the Riga summit in November 2006. It appears debatable at this moment, however, whether this will lead to NATO's active involvement in the Black sea region or to the reduction of NATO's interests in the region.

In addition, we should remember that Georgia obtained 'Intensified Dialogue' status in September 2006 after Ukraine in May 2005, while Ukraine failed to get MAP status. The strategic plans of the two nations had been to transform the Intensified Dialogue with NATO into the MAP (Ukraine) and the IPAP into the MAP (Georgia) at the Riga Summit in 2006, and then to attain NATO membership at the NATO Summit in 2008. The debate on the accession of Ukraine and Georgia to NATO will intensify with the approach of the Bucharest Summit next spring, as "NATO Heads of State and Government have made clear that they intend at their meeting in Bucharest next spring to extend further invitations to those countries who meet NATO's performance-based standards, and are able to contribute to Euro-Atlantic security and stability."^{iv} NATO's door may be open for the West-Balkan MAP members first, but not for Ukraine and Georgia, which are not yet even members of the MAP. But whether Georgia will be able to obtain MAP status will be one of the most significant issues on the agenda at the Bucharest NATO Summit in April 2008.

Mr. Voronin, President of Moldova, visited NATO's Secretary General in June 2005, and the IPAP was concluded between Moldova and NATO in the spring of 2006, although Moldova had not actively attempted to conclude the IPAP before that. Deterioration of the relations of Moldova and Russia after the refusal of President Voronin to sign the Kozak Memorandum in November 2003 might have affected this decision. The policy of Azerbaijan towards NATO has not changed. It has never pursued accession to NATO, although like Moldova it has concluded IPAP with NATO.

Last but not least, NATO issued a communiqué at the NATO Istanbul Summit in 2004 in which the strategic importance of the Black Sea region was referred to, but no concrete actions have been adopted in NATO's policy towards the Black Sea region except for the following. The PfP Consortium's Working Group on Regional Stability in the Greater Black Sea Area (RSGBSA-WG) was launched on February 1, 2006 after the international conference "Enhancing Security Cooperation In The Black Sea Region: Can We Build Bridges And Barriers?", held in Bucharest. Its first project is 'the Mobile Contact Teams (MCT) Project', which aims to develop an internationally recognized body of experts in the Greater Black Sea region, who have a common understanding of defense and security issues affecting the region. A key role of the project will be to support reforms in interested countries in the wider Black Sea Area by contributing to the education of their current and future leaders and experts.^v

4. The Policy of the US towards the Black Sea Region

The US has supported democracy and civil society, energy security, anti-terrorism cooperation, and hard security in the Black Sea region. Regarding democratization, the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation was founded in Romania after the Black Sea Forum was held in June 2006. In beginning its activities it has held events such as the international conference "Overcoming challenges in the Wider

Black Sea Region”, which was held in Bucharest on the 22-23 October 2007.

As far as hard security is concerned, two things should be pointed out. Firstly, Secretary of State Condoreezza Rice visited Romania on 6th December 2005, and a military agreement was concluded between the US and Romania. It is said to have stipulated the inclusion of American military exercises at the Kogalniceanu air base and co-use by the US and Romania of its military air base, taking into consideration the necessity of a rapid reaction force towards the Middle East and Central Asia. This agreement made it possible for the US to drive a wedge into a Black Sea dominated militarily by Russia and Turkey. This is why the Russian Defense Minister Igor Ivanov warned that the CFE treaty should be reviewed in the case of a fully-fledged military base being built there. A similar military agreement was also concluded between the US and Bulgaria the next spring.

Secondly, the US started negotiations with Poland and the Czech Republic on the missile defense beginning in February 2007. It is said that missile defense radar would be constructed in the Czech Republic, while a base of missile interceptors would be built in Poland. This caused new complications concerning the CFE treaty, which will be discussed later in this paper.

5. Russian Policy towards the Black Sea region

As we have already seen, the policies of the EU, NATO and the US toward the Black Sea region have continued along their previous basic lines, but Russian policy has become extremely assertive toward the former Soviet Republics through energy diplomacy, economic embargo, intervention in elections (in case of parliamentary elections in Moldova in March 2005) and manipulation of the frozen conflicts. This assertive diplomacy has resulted in great successes, and the Ukraine and Moldova, which had pursued pro-western diplomacy after the Orange Revolution and the events of the Kozak Memorandum (November 2003) respectively, switched the directions their policies to ‘between the West and Russia’. Although Georgia is still clearly pursuing its accession to NATO, Moldova restarted bilateral negotiation with Russia on the Transnistrian issue in the summer of 2006, at the time that Ukraine had entered into political turmoil after the parliamentary election in the spring of 2006.

Section 2 – Relations among the EU, NATO, the US, and Russia

The EU and Russia have continued dialogue through the Road Map of the Common Spaces adopted in May 2004 – the Common Economic Space, the Common Space of Freedom, Security and Justice, the Common Space of External Security and the Common Space of Research and Education, including Cultural Aspects. They have periodically discussed energy, democracy, freedom, liberty of the mass media, human rights, frozen conflicts, etc. Nevertheless, according to Mr. Peter Mandelson, “relations between the EU and Russia are going through a difficult period.”,^{vi} although the volume of trade between them has increased steadily.

The U.S. and Russia have common interests, such as the anti-terrorism coalition and the non-proliferation of weapons of mass destruction. However, the individual ‘special’ relationship between President Bush and President Putin ended when Putin rejected Bush’s request that Russia join the U.S. in the Iraq war, and it seems that their divergence has been accentuated more and more by issues such as democratization, military bases and military influence in the CIS states, oil and gas pipeline routes from the Caspian Sea region, Russian policy towards its Near Abroad, and NATO enlargement. Vice-President Dick Cheney’s speech in Vilnius in the summer of 2006 showed that the American attitude toward Russia had become more severe.

Relations between NATO and Russia had been going well, as seen in the ratification of the

Partnership for Peace Status of Forces Agreement by Russia, Russian participation in Operation Active Endeavour, progress in implementing the Political-Military Guidance for Enhancement of Interoperability between Forces of Russia and NATO Nations.^{vii} On the other hand, they had confrontations over missile defense and the CFE Treaty. The American insistence on the installation of missile defenses in Poland and the Czech Republic made Russia claim in the spring of 2007 that the CFE treaty should be reviewed, and Russia announced on the 14th of July 2007 that it would suspend its participation in the CFE treaty on 12th December 2007.^{viii} By threatening suspension of the CFE treaty, Russia seems to want the CFE treaty to be ratified by the West without the withdrawal of Russian troops from Transnistria and Abkhazia. However, NATO continues to demand the withdrawal of Russian troops from Moldova and Georgia as a condition for the ratification of the CFE Treaty. Indeed, paragraph 42 of the 2006 NATO Riga Summit Declaration stipulates that “fulfillment of the remaining Istanbul commitments on the Republic of Georgia and the Republic of Moldova will create the conditions for Allies and the other States Parties to move forward on ratification of the Adopted CFE Treaty.”

Behind such a confrontation among the EU, NATO, and the US on the one hand and Russia on the other, it seems to me that the balance of powers among the big powers has been transformed. When the first conference was held in 2005, the power balance was inclined favorably toward the EU, NATO, and the US as a result of the EU/ NATO enlargements in the spring of 2004, as well as the Rose and Orange Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine in 2003 and 2004 respectively. However, the pendulum has swung back again. The US had enjoyed unilateralism after the end of the Cold War, but it has now devoted its energy to the Iraq issue. The EU could not adopt a new Constitution, and its internal integration began to decline after 2003. NATO barely succeeded in persuading France to accept the concept of global partnership and in declaring it at the Riga summit in 2006, but it has also had serious difficulties with ISAF activities in Afghanistan.

In this situation, Russia began to enjoy a one-sided victory in the power game in international arena. The Rose and Orange Revolutions reduced Russian influence over the ‘Near Abroad’ for a time, but it regained its power and influence through increased gas and oil export prices and economic sanctions against Moldova and Georgia. The confident speech of President Putin at Munich in February 2007 showed clearly that Russia had completely recovered its power in the region, and what’s more, it had become a powerful, self-confident power in international politics as well. This transformation of the power balance among the big powers has been closely related to the international relations of the Black Sea region. Immediately after the two revolutions, GUAM was revitalized and was transformed into the Organization for Democracy and Economic Development – GUAM. CDC (Community of Democratic Choice) was also created with initiative of both presidents of Yushenko and Saakashvili in 2005. But after the parliamentary election in the Ukraine in the spring of 2006, the GUAM and the CDC became less active, although GUAM has continued to organize its summits at Chisinau (2005), Kiev (2006) and Baku (2007).

Section 3 – A New Pillar of Japanese Foreign Policy

1. Why a New Pillar of Japanese Foreign Policy?

Japanese foreign policy towards the Black Sea region has been prudent and cautious. However, Mr. Taro Aso, the former Minister of Japanese Foreign Affairs, delivered a policy speech on 30th November 2006 with the title of “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan’s Expanding Diplomatic Horizons”. He also clarified this concept in more detail in his speech on 12th March this year. In these addresses, he emphasized that Japan would engage itself to create the “Arc of Freedom and Prosperity” along the outer rim of the Eurasian continent, stretching from Northern Europe, the Baltic states, Central and

South Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia, with a foundation in universal values such as democracy, freedom, human rights, the rule of law, and the market economy. According to these speeches, Japan has been walking down the road to “peace and happiness” through economic prosperity and democracy, and Japan could walk together with these states towards creating a prosperous and stable region, that is to say, an Arc of Freedom and Prosperity.

It appears to me that this new course of Japanese foreign policy was produced by the review of Japanese foreign policy carried out in the context of the transformation of international relations since the end of Cold War. Until recently, Japanese foreign policy was promoted on the basis of three pillars, namely, the Japan-US alliance, international cooperation, most notably under the auspices of the United Nations, and relations with neighboring countries such as China, the Republic of Korea, and Russia. This diplomacy based on these three pillars made Japanese foreign policy contradictory and deficient in the new international situation after the end of the Cold War.

Firstly, it produced a discrepancy between the Japanese state’s objective of becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council and its responsibility for international security in the global arena, which Japan should assume as a would-be permanent member of the UN Security Council. Indeed, I cannot help mentioning Japan’s increasing contribution to the stability and peace of the post-Cold-War world. The Japanese government sent 250 soldiers to peace keeping operations in Cambodia 1991 and 1992, and 750 soldiers to East Timor for PKO in 1999. In addition, Japan took part in reconstruction activities after the wars in the Balkans, Afghanistan, and Iraq. Nevertheless, Japanese foreign and security policy remained centered fundamentally on the Asia-Pacific region, and Japan almost seemed to lack its own global perspective and interests of its own.

Secondly, relations with Europe did not produce any prominent results, although Japan had started to strengthen relations with Europe immediately after the end of the Cold War, and had declared the first ten years of the 21st century as a period of strengthening cooperation between Japan and Europe. Europe is becoming a more prominent actor in post-Cold War world. Released from the confrontation of two military blocks, the EU has contributed to the soft security of the world through CFSP (Common Foreign and Security Policy) and ESDP (European Security and Defense Policy). Both the EU and NATO also have led the way to peace and stability of the Western Balkans and Black Sea region through SAP (Stabilization and Association Process) and MAP (Membership Action Plan) for the Western Balkans, and ENP (European Neighborhood Policy), Intensified Dialogue and IPAP (Individual Partnership Action Plan) for WNIS (Western New Independent States) and the Caucasus states, as I have already mentioned above.

As a world player, the EU has had a growing influence on international politics, including in Asia. Relations with China have been so closed in political as well as economic dimensions that the EU almost decided to lift its military embargo towards China in the spring of 2006. In addition, the EU has developed relations with ASEAN through ASEM. To strengthen Japan’s voice in Asia, Japan should strengthen relations with the EU. On the other hand, NATO has increased its role in peace and stability through its transformation and enlargement. It has promoted military operations in the Mediterranean Sea, Kosovo, and Afghanistan. And at the Riga summit, NATO started to pursue a global partnership with Asia-Pacific countries. Besides the increasing role of Europe in the post-Cold War international arena, the significance of Japan’s cooperation with Europe may be stressed even more strongly, when we remember that the national interests of Japan do not always coincide with those of the US, and that we must pay attention to the tendency of the US toward isolationism. Needless to say, however, this does not imply that the Japan-US alliance has become meaningless. To the contrary, the Japan-US alliance has been and continues to be a core pillar of Japanese foreign and security policy.

Thirdly, before these recent policy changes, Japan had been promoting its foreign policy towards Eurasia, but focusing on the economic dimension and limiting its activity in the political field to only collecting information. This was largely due to Japan's fear of deterioration in relations with Russia. However, in Eurasia appeared newly independent states, which had obtained their independence from the Soviet Union and are now engaging in nation-state building in the process of transition from being communist regimes. They may succeed in political and economic reforms, as the Central and East European states have demonstrated. The increasing interest of the US and Europe in the Wider Black Sea region and Central Asia may certainly contribute to their success. Indeed, the Rose Revolution and the Orange Revolution took place in the Black Sea region.

However, nobody doubts that the Fourth wave of democratization in the Former Soviet Union will be much more difficult than the Third Wave in Central and Eastern Europe. The success of Fourth Wave clearly needs support from external actors. But the enlarged EU no longer uses its decisive 'carrot', that is to say, an accession ticket to the EU. Thus, Europe as well as the new independent states of the former Soviet Union needs support from countries, which have abundant experience of regime transition and economic development and enough capability to support these countries.

In this context, is it sufficient for Japan to think only about good relations with Russia? Is it natural that Japan should support the transition process of the new independent states, as Japan was the first non-European state, which succeeded in democratization and economic development, and as Japan has become a world economic power?

2. Expanding Horizon of Japanese Foreign Policy and the Wider Black Sea Region

The new foreign policy was elaborated through these analyses of Japanese foreign policy and post-Cold War international situation to overcome the above-mentioned contradictions and deficiencies, and to contribute to the peace and stability of the world in accordance with Japan's capabilities. As a result, the Japanese diplomatic horizon will be extended in geographical space from the restricted Asia-Pacific area through Eurasia to Europe. However, the diplomatic horizon should be expanded not only in geographical space, but also in its dimension. As I have already mentioned, Japanese diplomatic horizon has been extended from an economic dimension to a military one. This is because Japan had a bitter experience immediately after the end of the Cold War. Although Japan gave huge financial support to the war against Iraq in 1991, it was severely criticized by the international community, saying that Japan never made a military contribution to that war. Since then, Japan started contributing militarily through its participation in peace keeping operations and reconstruction activities after wars.

The Japanese diplomatic horizon has moved through the economic and military dimensions and has now reached the dimension of universal values. This is partly because universal values have become more and more important in current international relations and partly because Japan has had the unusual experience of being a non-European state that has become a democratic and prosperous country. As such, it may be able to provide useful advice and aid to the new independent states, which are turning to democracy and prosperity. Moreover, it may be seen not only as a possibility, but even as a duty for Japan, as its GDP is more than that of whole groups of nations in East Asia, including China, South Asia, and Pacific island states.

In this way, Japan has introduced a fourth pillar to its foreign policy – the 'Arc of Freedom and Prosperity.' One result of this introduction of this fourth pillar is the increasing interest in the Wider Black Sea region in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. It is said that the Ministry wants to consolidate relations with the BSEC, and is discussing how the internal structure of the Ministry could

be made suitable for promoting cooperation with the BSEC. The Ministry is now discussing its potential participation in the BSEC with observer status. A study seminar on the Wider Black Sea region has been promoted in the Ministry since July of this year. Moreover, a presentation paper on 'Black Sea Cooperation' was delivered to the Ministry by the Japan Institute of International Affairs at the request of the Ministry.^{ix} At the academic level, the Japan Association on the Wider Black Sea region was founded in April 2006, and research conferences on the Black Sea have been organized twice a year by this association. In all of these areas attempts are being made to elaborate the concept and methods to realize the fourth pillar of Japanese foreign policy in the Wider Black Sea region.

ⁱ Shigeo Mutsushika, "The Interests and Strategy of the Major Powers in the Black Sea Region, and the Responses of the Regional States" in 'Report of the Japan-Wider Black Sea Area Dialogue on "Peace and Prosperity in the Wider Black Sea Area and the Role of Japan"', The Global Forum of Japan, 2006.3, pp.37-47.

ⁱⁱ EU, NATO, アメリカの対黒海政策については、六鹿茂夫「黒海地域の安全保障」『国際安全保障』第34巻、第3号、2006年12月、49 - 72頁。(On the policies of the EU, the NATO, the US towards the Wider Black Sea region, Shigeo Mutsushika, "The Security in the Wider Black Sea region", *International Security*, vol.34, no.3, December 2006, pp.49-72.

ⁱⁱⁱ Executive summary of the report to the third advisory board meeting (21 September 2006). EUBAM: Background Note on the Mission. Annual Report: EUBAM Moldova/Ukraine 2005/2006.

^{iv} Speech by NATO Secretary General, Jaap de Hoop Scheffer at Tbilisi State University, Tbilisi, Georgia, 4 October 2007. <http://www.nato.int/docu/speech/2007/s071004a.html>

^v PfP Consortium of Defense Academies and Security Studies Institute: Regional Stability in the Greater Black Sea Area – Working Group: Mobile Contact Teams: Terms of Reference.

^{vi} Speech by Peter Mandelson, The EU and Russia: our joint political challenge, Bologna, 20 April 2007. http://ec.europa.eu/commission_barroso/mandelson/speeches_articles/sppm147_en.htm

^{vii} Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Ministers of Defence, 14 June 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2007/p070614e.html>.

^{viii} NATO-Russia Ministers hold intensive discussions, 26 April 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/update/2007/04-april/e0426b.html>; chairman's Statement: Meeting of the NATO-Russia Council at the level of Ministers of Defense, 14 June 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2007/p070614e.html>; Chairman's statement: Anniversary meeting of the NATO-Russia Council, Moscow, 26 June 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2007/p07062e.html>; NATO response to Russian announcement of intent to suspend obligations under the CFE Treaty, 16 July 2007, <http://www.nato.int/docu/pr/2007/p07-085e.html>

^{ix} 六鹿茂夫、『政策提言：黒海協力 - 日本の対黒海政策：「自由と繁栄の弧」外交を求めて』外務省委託研究報告書、日本国際問題研究所、2007年3月。http://www2.jiia.or.jp/pdf/global_issues/h18_BSEC/h18_BSEC.pdf (Shigeo Mutsushika, *The Black Sea Cooperation*, The Japan Institute of International Affairs, March 2007.)

Session II: “Challenges for the Functional Cooperation in the Area”

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Ambassador of Ukraine to Japan

Ukraine and BSEC: Overcoming the Functional Challenges to Cooperation in the Wider Black Sea Area

It is my pleasure and privilege to address in my today’s presentation a number of aspects of cooperation in the Black Sea region, one of the areas of the world that has been blessed through all its history by very vivid and multi-faceted interaction between the peoples of Europe and Asia, between their languages, cultures and a myriad of other aspects of their lives. Though these interactions, as we well know, have not always been peaceful, in the end the imperatives of the Black Sea area’s, first of all, economic and political development, have brought about by now – I mean, by the beginning of the 21st century – the forms of cooperation, unthinkable yet a quarter of a century ago.

The Black Sea Economic Cooperation –BSEC is its acronym- is a multilateral regional organization, in which these imperatives have taken shape. Ukraine has been one of the members of BSEC since its very inception, being one of its founding members. I will therefore briefly outline Ukraine’s vision of this organization, of its role and goals.

1. In our view, in the course of fourteen years of activity, BSEC has developed into a well-defined, institutionally mature, treaty-based (its Charter entered into force in 1999) regional organization that has acquired a great deal of experience in dealing with regional issues in a multilateral format. The existing structures, mechanisms and procedures have proved their worth in promoting regional cooperation. In their present form they constitute a reliable instrument for addressing the real needs of the nations of our region.

According to its Charter, BSEC is defined as a regional economic organization, thus spelling out the main focus of its policies and activities, while setting certain limits to its involvement in other matters of regional importance (e.g. conflict resolution, peace keeping and peace building, arms control and disarmament, etc). In actual practice, the scope of BSEC activities has expanded over the years, branching out into new areas, more or less related to its principal economic concerns. The considerable progress achieved so far is the result of solid commitments and work, considering the Organization’s and its Member States’ overall capacities.

Over the years, BSEC has successfully elaborated policy documents and legal instruments establishing its aims, structures, mechanisms and operational procedures, and fostering cooperation in specific areas. They include the BSEC Charter (with the status of international treaty), summit-level and ministerial political declarations, intergovernmental agreements, sectoral action plans, memoranda of understanding as well as strategy documents such as the

BSEC Economic Agenda for the Future (2001). Relevant examples are the Agreement on Combating Organized Crime and the Agreement on Cooperation in Emergency Situations, both signed in 1998, with their subsequent Additional Protocols, including one on the fight against terrorism. The Organization gradually enhanced its project-oriented character by generating concrete proposals for regional undertakings (e.g. interconnection of electric grids, identification of obstacles to trade, etc.) and by creating functional networks (e.g. liaison officers for combating organized crime and for emergency situations). In a most significant new development concerning region-wide multilateral projects, two memoranda of understanding were finalized and opened for signing in 2006: on a Black Sea Highway Ring and on the Motorways of the Sea. Furthermore, two regional projects concerning the increase of intraregional trade as well as investment promotion were agreed upon to be implemented in cooperation with the UNDP and OECD, respectively.

The twelve BSEC Member States posted an average **annual rate of GDP growth of 5.9** per cent between 2000 and 2005, amounting to a real economic expansion of over 41 per cent over that period of time, which makes it one of the fastest growing regions globally. Moreover, all the BSEC Member States shared the benefits of economic growth, despite the diversity of their economic and structural conditions; they also achieved a reasonable level of macroeconomic stability expressed in declining inflation, increased foreign direct investment and lower poverty rates. Considerable progress has been registered, compared to the situation during the previous decade. It clearly follows that the BSEC region as a whole presents increasingly attractive economic opportunities that can be turned to good account through regional and inter-regional cooperation, to the mutual benefit of the peoples of the BSEC.

The Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation is the only inclusive, full-fledged, regional organization possessing complete institutional structures. The regional ownership and profile of the Organization are emphasized by the fact that the initiative to create it came from within the region and then developed a dynamic of its own, in line with the relevant provisions of the United Nations Charter, with the OSCE documents and with the established European and international practice and procedures. In creating this Organization, the BSEC Member States showed their determination to gradually establish a space of enhanced regional cooperation in the wider Black Sea area, including South East Europe, the littoral states of the Black Sea and the Caucasus.

2. A few words now about **Ukrainian vision** of the prospects of BSEC, and in particular, about its future role in European and inter-regional international relations.

BSEC's activity responds to the actual requirements of the new European architecture in the early twenty-first century and to the best interests of the peoples in the Black Sea region and in Europe as a whole. Therefore, BSEC's role as that of a regional entity, promoting cooperation in different fields, and most importantly for our country, in the economic field, throughout the large part of the widely spread geographic area between the Russian Federation and European Union, is clearly viewed in Kyiv as **the role of a facilitator of closer cooperation throughout all the Eurasian Continent**.

Speaking about the prospects of BSEC's relations with the EU, I would like to underline that both BSEC and the EU have to face a new reality now that, following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, the EU external borders lie along the Black Sea coast. It is important for Europe that this emerging reality **should not create new dividing lines**. On the contrary, it is desirable, and indeed possible, to preserve and foster the positive legacy of the Black Sea

regionalism in ways that offer tangible benefits to all BSEC Member States. The BSEC Organization is well placed to provide that necessary link.

BSEC also clearly expressed its political will to cooperate with European Union on a regular basis for the achievement of jointly agreed goals. The experience of regional interaction within BSEC has demonstrated a unique ability to work out creative solutions for the accommodation of specific interests and to develop an array of functional mechanisms and operational procedures that are specific to a mature regional organization. Thus, in the view of our EU partners, the **BSEC Organization is well equipped to become a valid interlocutor and a reliable partner for EU institutions** in those areas, where clear mutual interests and the availability of adequate instruments for cooperation can be jointly ascertained.

As I already mentioned, BSEC has developed a coherent set of institutional structures, functional mechanisms and policy instruments, which display a relative symmetry – in a regional context and within the confines of the BSEC statutory documents – with their EU counterparts. The continuing process of reform is meant to increase the effectiveness, transparency and accountability of all the components of the BSEC institutional family, and therefore is likely further to improve their administrative capacity and operational ability to interact with the EU institutions in a meaningful way.

A regional Black Sea approach provides obvious added value to the current EU distinct policies targeting the twelve BSEC Member States individually: continuation of the enlargement process to South Eastern Europe and Turkey; further development of the European Neighborhood Policy for the Western NIS and the South Caucasus; engagement in the strategic partnership and the four ‘common spaces’ with the Russian Federation. The establishment of BSEC-EU partnership through synergies in specific priority sectors in terms of values and objectives could be based on the EU existing regional approach, complementing the bilateral approach with the involvement of the Organization of BSEC. The latter could contribute with a sophisticated network in various areas of cooperation and provide a tested forum for multilateral consultations with the countries of the region, whenever such a need arises.

3. This broad view of the future prospects of what we now call the Wider Black Sea Area, the blueprint of its cooperation with the regional organizations like the EU should also comprise the vision of the individual countries of this area’s interaction within the broader multilateral organizations like **Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE)**, **Central European Initiative (CEI)** and others. Without analyzing in detail the specifics of such cooperation because of the lack of time, I would like now to get directly to the challenges to both the intra-BSEC’s cooperation and its interaction with the other major actors of international relations. I will also try and outline the possible role that Japan as the second economic powerhouse of the world could play in facilitating both intra-BSEC collaboration and its cooperation with the other countries and organizations.

In defining the **functional challenges** to cooperation within BSEC, I need to name the aspects of both geographical and economic nature, which essentially are rather well-known: **lack of deposits of fossil fuels** in the majority of the countries of our area (except for rich oil reserves in Azerbaijan, some coal in Ukraine and rather depleted oil reserves in Romania) means the need for more active efforts in exploration and more efficient use of energy resources. The transit position of many Black Sea area countries in between Europe and Asia prompts the necessity to improve and use more effectively the **infrastructure**, both land and

maritime, of Ukraine and other BSEC countries. **Ecological challenges**, as we all well know, are among the most serious. Without going into details, I will mention the one, where Ukraine's cooperation with a number of BSEC countries has been and remains crucially important: it is preservation and more nature-friendly use of the Danube. The problem of alleviation of consequences of Chernobyl nuclear accident is known so well that I will not dwell upon it, limiting myself only to a statement that more active assistance to my country from the other BSEC nations is always welcome.

Finally, what can be **Japan's relations with the Black Sea area countries** in view of BSEC's and its individual member countries' progressive development and strengthened cooperation between them within this organization? I am sure that Japan can play an important role in helping us deal with all the challenges, I mentioned above. It is our firm belief that Japan's traditional policy of assisting its friends and partners not with the force of arms, but with good advice, development assistance and properly chosen investments can make real difference for our nations.

A group of BSEC member countries of the former Soviet Union, who are also members of Organization for Democracy and Economic Development, **GUAM** (Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova), have already started an active dialogue with Japan, regarding the enhanced cooperation in the format "4+1," meaning GUAM + Japan. In fact, GUAM's 10th anniversary is going to be marked here in Tokyo at the beginning of December by the special representatives of the governments of GUAM countries.

In our view, Japan's economic and financial capacities can be employed successfully in smoothing the path of GUAM countries towards elimination of economic, infrastructural and social imbalances that accompany our nations' movement through the period of transition from highly centralized economic and social structures to the new socially oriented market economies, based on the rule of law and values of a truly democratic civil society. Japan's participation in overcoming the major functional challenge to both development of our countries and their cooperation, namely, the lack of liquidity and other **financial resources for new economic, infrastructural and other projects**, can not only be invaluable to the countries of the Black Sea area. It can also yield for Japan high returns on the funds, provided at this tumultuous for many established financial markets time. Earlier in my address I mentioned macroeconomic and financial stability in our area, its high rates of economic expansion. It is only a proof of the fact that financial resources that Japan can put into different projects in Ukraine and other Black Sea area countries, may become a long-term lucrative investment for its both private and public sectors, strengthening further on their presence in these relatively new markets for Japanese goods and services.

Given Japan's previous interest towards our area (late Prime Ministers R.Hashimoto and K.Obuchi's "Silk Road Diplomacy"), galvanized by the last year's speech of former Minister of Foreign Affairs T.Aso about the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, I can only wish now that various forms of cooperation between the Black Sea area countries and Japan thrive and new sectors of such cooperation open, bearing fruits for all our nations.

Thank you for your attention.

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The Task of Functional Cooperation in the Black Sea Region

In recent years, the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC) has developed a remarkable institutional maturity. This is despite the assessment of some member countries at the time of its formation, which said that BSEC was merely scraped together by the region's countries after a process of groping around. BSEC started from a small sub-regional network, but now it is developing into a significant mechanism for promoting the sustainable economic development of the Black Sea area, and even strengthening security and stability.

We can point out rising consideration of the needs of member countries as one of the background causes for this development. In addition, I think the fact that the chairmanships are alternated between all the member countries at the relatively high frequency of every half a year, thus being considerate of the needs of all the member countries, is an important factor.

Secondarily, an additional, contributory background factor is that BSEC activities have been improved both in substance and functional by the contribution of a lot of working groups. Concretely, 15 working groups are acting as the following: Organizational tasks; Trade and Economic Development; Banking and Financial tasks; Statistical and Economic exchange information; Health and pharmacology; Transport; Disaster situations; Collaboration on Crime Prevention; Communication; Power Engineering; Science and Technology; Environmental Protection; Agriculture and Agro-industrial tasks; Tourism; Small and medium size enterprises. Although many impressive projects have been planned, most of them have never been achieved until now. However, the successful experience of a certain project could promote the progress of other projects; so it seems to be very important to strive for success in each project. The following sections are the keys to the development of regional cooperation.

1. Cooperation in the science and the technology sectors. Cooperation to promote the production of attractive and competitive products using the abundant raw materials of the Black Sea area is especially needed.
2. Strengthening of the relationship between BSEC and the other international organizations. Cooperation in the field of banking and finance (using the BSEC Project Development Fund) is significant, of which the maintenance of the BSEC Coordination Center for the Exchange of Statistical Data and Economic Information is an important feature. Moreover, BSEC should try to encourage EU cooperation, especially in the fields of transportation, energy, environmental protection, infrastructure maintenance, and the combating of organized crime. The BSEC side should emphasize to the EU that stabilization of the Black Sea region is indispensable for EU stability, and that the Black Sea region can contribute towards EU energy security. In particular, the "EU Black Sea Synergy Initiative" should be promoted by both sides. It is important to make use of the potential for synergy effects in the region to the maximum. In addition, it is also important to strengthen relations with other international organization, such as the United Nations (especially the UNDP), OECD, SECI (Southeast European Cooperative Initiative), and CEI (Central European Initiative), especially for regional security, stability, and sustainable development.
3. Expanding cooperation in the areas of security and stability, and in the extermination of

organized crime. Such cooperation should especially focus on measures against illegal migration, terrorism, money laundering, the illegal transportation of humans, the trafficking of arms and nuclear products, and so on. To achieve this aim, it is necessary to strengthen the organization of various political and economic systems. In addition, it is imperative that specialists at many levels and in various fields are properly utilized for the improvement of the decision making process.

4. The reform of systems to insure "Good governance" and the "Sharing of value" between member countries should be at the root of all cooperation, promoting success in all projects.
5. Promotion of agriculture and the security of food. In particular, it is hoped that the technical cooperation program between BSEC and FAO (United Nations Food and Agriculture Organization) can promote agricultural trade both within and outside of the Black Sea area.
6. Promotion of good economic policy with mutual benefits. It is necessary to improve the reliability and effectiveness of BSEC. Activating the potential of the transportation and energy sectors is the key towards economic cooperation, which should be established as soon as possible. In addition, we should consider not only economic and energy cooperation, but also cooperation in the fields of communications, tourism, agriculture, environmental policy, infrastructure maintenance and so on, all of which are potentially extremely profitable for the region. It is especially encouraging that construction has begun on significant projects, such as the Black Sea ring highways, the Black Sea car roads, and so on. In addition, it could be said that the BSEC Project Development Fund is a really important tool for BSEC regional cooperation because it demonstrates the capacity to wed the resources of the Black Sea trade with those of the financial systems of Europe and Asia, showcasing the function of BSEC before international society.
7. Activation of the regional economy. We can invest great hope in the Black Sea Trade and Investment Promotion Program (BSTIP), which is a cooperative project between the UNDP and the BSEC Project Development Fund aimed at improving regional cooperation. Above all, BSTIP is invested with the expectations of BSEC member states because it is a program to promote intraregional trade and investment in all sectors. In addition, BSTIP cooperates with the EU and the WTO, and assists small and medium-sized enterprises.
8. Cooperation to solve the energy problem. This should be at the center of regional cooperation. In energy issues, it should be easy to obtain international assistance, and the future of this problem depends on the policies of energy-rich countries, such as Russia and Azerbaijan. Swift progress in this task is of pressing importance because energy security and the increasing necessity to diversify energy supply sources via pipeline construction is now a very serious problem not only for the Black Sea countries, but for the European countries as well. Up until now, many projects relating to the energy sector have been planned and some of them have been completed, such as the BTC (Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan) oil pipeline. However, it is necessary to fulfill the spirit of the 2003 "Baku Declaration on Energy Cooperation in The BSEC Region" as soon as possible. In addition, it is especially important to establish "the Black Sea electric power ring" at an early stage, which can improve energy cooperation in the region, through the leadership of Russia, Bulgaria, and Turkey.
9. Popularizing positive images of the BSEC. For example, the BSEC soccer cup, which the BSEC member states are already looking forward to, could also be of interest to those outside the region.

However, it is true that there are many difficulties to overcome before these goals can be achieved. First of all, it is only natural that each country tends to give much more priority to their own national interest than the interests of the entire area. The development levels of the member countries are not same; the former USSR countries are still engaged in nation-building processes. Moreover, even where a given country has matured into a proper nation state, it is natural that its

first priority in political games would be set on national profit, and it seems to be very difficult to switch priorities towards mutual benefits. However, it is really important to convert the member countries way of thinking from "Zero-sum" to "Win-win," aiming at a common goal.

In addition, there are many conflicts and disputes, both domestic and international, in the Black Sea area and such problems have been the most serious obstacle for regional cooperation. It may certainly be very difficult, but I believe it is possible to aim for conflict resolution and peaceful reconciliation through the trust gained from regional cooperation. Such linkage, between regional cooperation and conflict resolution, could advance simultaneously, like killing two birds with one stone, and would be highly desirable. To achieve this aim, projects which are high demand, effective and equitable to member states, such as the ring road project, electric power ring project and so on, should be promoted. For example, it would be beneficial if the Baku-Kars railway construction were started this October. Moreover, to promote such projects, each country should do their best to prevent conflicts and disputes becoming obstacles to the projects.

Moreover, there is a great opportunity for the Black Sea area to use the 2014 Sochi Olympic Games for the development of regional cooperation, the reinforcement of security and conflict resolution, and to further a good image of the region. Moreover, if the ring road project, which I mentioned before, were to be completed before the Olympic Games, their combination could be really effective. However, an adequate solution to the Abkhazia conflict is an important prerequisite for the Games to be held safely. In that sense, I want to emphasize the necessity of conflict resolution for Black Sea cooperation once again.

The Black Sea region is a region with very big potential. Within international society, the Japanese government has shown a keen interest in the Black Sea area in recent years, expressing various, significant expectations for the area's future. So, in conclusion, BSEC member states should act on the multifaceted appeals from international society and achieve effective cooperation within and beyond the region.

Session III: "The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation"

HABA Kumiko

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The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation

----Considering the Lesson of the Enlarged EU toward Asian Regional Cooperation----

I deeply appreciate to have an honor to have a key note speaker of such important conference of the Japan-Wider Black Sea Area Dialogue. My specialty is the EU and NATO Enlargement and Democratization of Central Europe, so called New European countries. Nowadays I research the border question of the EU: Kaliningrad Question, border Question of Russia and Ukraine, and Wider Europe and Partnership Treaty with Russia, CIS and Barcelona Process countries.

The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity (AFP) Policy by Asou Foreign Minister of Japan covers a huge framework from Northern Europe, Baltic Countries, Central Europe, Central Asia, ASEAN, and Korean peninsula to Japan. If one pays attention to these small but diverse and rich resourced countries, and builds a close relation carrying freedom, development, prosperity and dialogue, it is deeply waited and accord to the claim of these countries and it is also new international norms' policy of the Enlarged EU. Therefore, it is completely understandable that this AFP policy is highly estimated and welcomed all over the world.

The AFP policy is also important considering the development of the Shanghai Cooperative Organization (SCO) by China, and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) by India. These two organizations contain more than 2, 8 billion populations, half of the globe one, and it is the anti-Terrorism, military, and recently economic developing alliance. These BRICS countries except Brazil have strong connection each other historically and politically as the former Socialist Countries and the Third World leaders. Especially SCO is the huge, global cooperation by China, Russia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, and Tajikistan, and now Uzbekistan, it is based the Soviet Union-China alliance during the early Cold War era. Now India is the observer of the SCO, so if India joins to it, the hugest organization in the world about 2, 88 billion and half of the world population joins to this huge, global organization.

East Asian Community does not develop so fast, because it is the rise-cake in the drawn picture(no substantial function), and it is not realized until now, on the other hand, SCO and SAARC is developing and working substantially as the biggest Asian Alliances. Therefore, under these new Asian situation, like substantial development of SCO and SAARC, Japan need to widen and develop the various cooperative networks in Asia and in the world. At that time, one of the important cooperation for Japan is AFP Policy---Central Asia, GUAM countries, CLV countries, Turkey, and so called New European former Socialist countries. Especially Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and other Central European countries, which lies in the new EU's eastern borders on Russia and Ukraine. These countries have pro-Japanese feeling and pro-America, have original

worldviews, and especially all of them are now inside in the EU and NATO. Turkey is also the leader of the Middle East, and very important partner and pro-Japanese people by the Japanese Middle East Policy.

About considering Japan and the Wider Black Sea Cooperation, the Black sea economic Regional Cooperation (BSEC) established in 1992 by 11 countries declared the Regional Economic Development, Solution of the Ethnic Conflicts by the European Security Cooperation Organization rules, and maintenance of the correspondence and communication network. Japan started the collaboration with the Black Sea Economic Cooperation especially through the economic aid, human rights, democratization and regional stability. If seeing the map, the AFP regions lies just among the Big Regional Organization as the buffer zone, now democratizing and developing so quickly and have very important resources. Therefore, if they develop as the region of the democracy and prosperity, it helps the world stability.

However, it might have a possibility as 'the soft containment' region against China and Russia. Therefore, it is very important that AFP policy must not use against Russia and China, but it is used as the coexistence and cooperation region with Russia and China, by economic development, prosperity, and stability of democratization and freedom. Therefore, it might show the very important role of Japan by helping economic development and stability in the conflict region.

1. The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity, the East Asian Community and Shanghai Cooperative Organization---Lesson of the EU Enlargement---

What and how we can learn from the European Integration? Recently the relation between the Regional Cooperation in the world developed so fast and its wave reach to the Asian region. Continuing to the EU and NAFTA, APEC, AFTA, ARF, EAEC (ASEAN + 3), CER, developed quickly (see the MAP), and during these years, ASEAN+six and SCO rose swiftly in the Asian region. Under these circumstances, ASEM (Asia and Europe Meeting) started; Asia and Europe was too far each other until the end of the Cold War, but not now. Therefore, in recent years, even in cautious Asian Region, Regional Cooperation started including Japan.

Why the Regional Cooperation and regional network is important? There are three reasons.

- 1) is "Competitiveness" under the Globalization which the Lisbon strategy written in the European Union.
- 2) is swift economic development of China. China itself is real Mega Region by 1, 3 billion populations.
- 3) is glowing the Mega-regions-----that is, SCO and SAARC.

For East Asia and Japan, especially 2) and 3) is very important. Before ten years ago, big population means the poverty and undeveloped symbol. But now these countries, so called BRICs, are the symbol of swift economic development, and sum of GDP by BRICs already overtook Japanese one. It is generally said that this SCO is Doshoimu 同床異夢 (in the same bed and different dreams), but I think from following four points, it is rather stronger and substantial regional cooperation or gentle coalition, than the East Asian Community.

- 1) This is the Soviet-Chinese Alliance by the Communist countries during the Cold War era.
- 2) All of them have complaint against the USA leadership, especially military compulsory "democratization," and Unilateralism.
- 3) They have the common security, especially against terrorist by Muslims and wish to their own leadership.

- 4) All are military Big Power, and have energy---Nuclear weapon, oil, natural gas, and so on.

Therefore, this is real terrible and substantial mega region more than idealistic East Asian cooperation. So if we consider about the swift development of China, India, and Russia, and Mega-Rigion of SCO, it is very important and emergent subject, how and what figure will Asia be integrated or collaborated. Optimism and delay might bring the big change of the International power relations.

2. Comparative approach between Europe and Asia

The Regional Integration is the liberation and collaboration of the state and regional borders. So essentially, regional integration means the continental subject, not ills. Ills countries are more indirect because there is no big border conflict, which has to be solved. It is said, that the ills countries for the ocean had the leadership of the Modern Empire, like the Great Britain, Spain, and Holland. Ills countries territory expanded over the sea, like common Wealth of the Great Britain. It is completely different the Regional Cooperation, the collaboration and coexistence of the border.

Who will grasp the political leadership? The winners of the Second World War, not looser. The EU leadership was belonging to French and Benelux, not German. Germany was included inside the EC and the EU, but it looks like soft containment... German development was admitted only the inside the European Cooperation, not their leadership. Now the Germany leads by economy, but all of the participants wish to avoid the German itself strength. Therefore, when we think about East Asian Region through the European Union lessons are:

- 1) It might be difficult for Japan to have a leadership in the East Asian Regional Cooperation. Because Japan is somehow outside of the East Asian Continental history and culture, like the Great Britain in Europe. Even it is so strong economically and political, it will not have a leadership from the outside of the continent.
- 2) Historically and politically, it is very difficult that the "looser" of the World War has hegemony in the regions. The precaution is so strong by the side of winners, especially against the historical "invader." Optimism has to be eliminated, and not to be allowed.)
- 3) However, Japan can have a leadership by the Democratization, Development and prosperity. Japan might have a leadership by the cooperation with the USA, like the European Union.
At that time, the leadership for democratization, freedom, stability and development. These are really just like the EU's Wider European Policy and the AFP policy, using liberty, democracy, prosperity and dialogue.
- 4) The importance of the small countries. Regional Integration is the relaxation of the conflicts among Big Powers and coexistence. It is not alliance, but harmony and adjustment are important, like Benelux in Europe, or ASEAN or South Korea in Asia.
- 5) How we treat Russia and North Korea? (about the question of the diversity of the systems)

We must not be isolated or to make "soft containment" policy toward Russia and North Korea, or even China. Globalization makes very close connection among all neighbor countries. In addition, No one wish to disaster or collapse of North Korea or China. The collapse of the Soviet Union, or collapse and integration of East Germany brought big and long pain and suffer not only Western Germany but also to all European Alliance. Therefore, we have to make AFP region to real democratic and developed region, and it is our interest, too.

Therefore, I show the lesson from the European Union to Asia----

- 1) From allied Power Politics to the Regional coexistence and Stability, like the AFP proposed.
- 2) Community of no-war and cooperation with historical enemy----
It brings high prosperity and development under the Globalization.

That is the most important role of the Regional Cooperation and the AFP policy shows the way to the soft and substantial regional cooperation and coexistence between Japan and other Asian-European region, especially between Japan-and Black Sea Area Cooperation.

Aurelian NEAGU

Ambassador of Romania to Japan

The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan – Wider Black Sea Area Cooperation – A Romanian Perspective

I feel extremely privileged to be invited to speak at the Second Japan-Wider Black Sea Area Dialogue for many reasons, both professional and personal.

As a diplomat, it is always an honor to represent my country, but this event is of a deeper significance for Romania, since, quoting Dr. Ito's remarks at the opening of the first Dialogue, in November 2005, "the proposal to hold this dialogue between the Black Sea Area and Japan first came in 1993, from a Romanian friend," Ioan Mircea Pascu, former Minister of Defense.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Previous speakers have already said many things to illustrate the increasing importance of the Wider Black Sea Region. This makes my task more challenging, and some overlapping is unavoidable, but I would like to bring to your attention Romania's perspective on both the region itself and on Japan's role and further potential involvement.

The Black Sea Area's geopolitical relevance has its roots in the region's very characteristics and diversity and no two words describe it better than "opportunities" and "challenges." Through Romania and Bulgaria's admission to NATO and the EU, the Black Sea Region is now the Eastern border of both organizations. The Danube provides its connection with the Western Balkans, Central Europe and, through the Danube-Main-Rhine channel, with Northwestern Europe. At the same time, through the link with the Mediterranean Sea, it is the turning plate between Europe, North Africa and the Middle East. The Black Sea Area is a melting pot of civilizations, a meeting point of developed and developing states, of consolidated and emerging democracies, of Christianity and Islam. It is also a geopolitical area where post-communist identity problems and frozen conflicts still await for a lasting solution. Its presence between the Caspian Sea and Western Europe makes it an area of vital importance with respect to the need to find new ways to diversify energy supply sources and transport corridors, to meet the growing demands of both consumers and producers of energy. It is a region where, unfortunately, over the past few years, most of us could get a first-hand experience of the devastating effects of climate change. On the other side, it is a uniquely rich and diverse region in terms of wildlife and flora, especially if one takes into consideration the Danube Delta, a UNESCO World Heritage Site, Europe's largest and best preserved delta.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

All these features speak for themselves and, as the Romanian President said just two weeks ago at the Nobel Institute in Oslo, whatever major topics on the European or global agenda we would choose, the Black Sea Wider Area can be used as a case study. Whether we talk about democracy, good governance and human rights, about free trade and sustainable economic development, about security, stability, non-proliferation and counter-terrorism, about energy and environment or about inter-cultural, inter-faith dialogue, we can not ignore the Black Sea region, which is not just the place where today's global problems intersect, but also a laboratory where together we can find solutions to these problems.

For Romania, the Black Sea region is a major foreign policy priority, which we actively pursue at three different levels, complementing each other. Over the past years, we did not spare any effort to try to increase the awareness of our partners in NATO and the EU on the growing importance of this region and we managed to bring it higher on their agenda. We welcomed the Communication of the European Commission regarding the Black Sea Synergy, released this April, as well as the Commission's achieving observer status at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. We also contributed to the promotion of the Eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy, especially with respect to the Republic of Moldova, Ukraine, our biggest neighbor, and the South Caucasus countries, but also with respect to EU's strategy towards Central Asia.

At a different level, we attach a great importance to the regional cooperation in the Black Sea Basin. The underlying philosophy of our approach is to foster cooperation among the adjacent states, in flexible formats, and also to attract foreign parties and interested stake-holders, which can be governments, international institutions, local authorities, private business or representatives of the civil society. Romania is one of the biggest contributors to the budget of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, which we regard as a useful instrument, but we would like to see the BSEC more oriented towards concrete projects and tangible results. As you might know, currently, there are some important infrastructure projects on the table, such as the Black Sea ring highway and the motorways of the sea. Their materialization will greatly benefit the neighbouring countries and will bring them closer to each other, as well as closer to potential extra-regional partners.

At the same time, based on a Romanian initiative, in June 2006, at the Bucharest Summit, the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership was launched. Its official launch has so far been followed up by some international seminars and conferences, also hosted by Romania, on various topics of mutual interest, such as "Synergies between Black Sea and Northern Europe Cooperation"; "How can the Black Sea Region contribute to improved global security?"; "Civil emergency planning: Building national and regional capability in the Black Sea Region"; "Civil society contribution to Black Sea regional security: Matching words and deeds".

Currently we are looking for partners and co-sponsors for two other projects, such as „The Black Sea Environment Stakeholder's Forum" and "Inter-cultural, inter-faith dialogue in the Black Sea Area."

I am also happy to inform you that one month ago another official inauguration took place in Bucharest: the „Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation," a program of the German Marshall Fund of the United States. This is a public-private partnership promoted by the Washington-based prestigious NGO, which aims to foster cooperation in the Black Sea Area and to bring it closer to Western values, by financing projects proposed by the neighbouring countries' civil societies.

Last, but not least, the third level I mentioned is one which is widely spread in Europe, but rather unfamiliar in Asia. "Euro-regions" are a form of cooperation among several countries, at the

level of the local authorities, in the common border area, where they usually share geographical elements, similar historical experiences, ethnic minorities, similar socio-economic problems. We hope that by the end of this year, we will become able to talk about a fully functional Black Sea Euro-region, following its launch last year, during Romania's Chairmanship of the Council of Europe's Ministers' Committee.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

As you can see, there is a great deal of dynamism with respect to regional cooperation initiatives, but the success of the Black Sea political project depends on many factors. Given the importance of the Russian Federation and Turkey in the Black Sea area, it will depend on the future course of EU-Russia and EU-Turkey relations. It will also depend on the neighbouring countries' political will to strengthen and deepen their cooperation, but also to carry out domestic reforms that would elevate the Wider Black Sea Area's level of political, economic and social development. At the same time, it will depend on our common success in promoting our region's attractiveness and relevance to other important partners from outside our region, including Japan, which, as a maritime nation itself, understands so well how important a sea and its many resources are for the livelihood of people living around it.

Indeed, there is much room for Japanese involvement and I am very confident that all the distinguished panelists from the Black Sea Area share my view.

I also believe we have enough grounds for optimism in anticipating a substantial role to be played by Japan in our region. To mention just the first two ones which come to my mind, allow me again to commend our Japanese hosts for the initiative of this Dialogue, which we hope will continue, and also to praise the remarkable Japanese foreign policy initiative of more active involvement in consolidating emerging democracies from Asia and Eastern Europe, irrespective of the name used to label this commitment.

We all know that Japan was present in the Black Sea region long before these two initiatives, but they have the merit of bringing significant added-value and put into a new perspective both Japan's relations with individual countries in the region and Japan's overall "Black Sea policy."

Japan is a natural partner of the European Union, which means that stronger Japanese involvement in the Black Sea Area, which borders the EU, will strengthen the overall cooperation between the EU and Japan, but also Japan's bilateral relations with the neighbouring countries which have different statuses with respect to the EU, ranging from members (Romania, Greece and Bulgaria) to candidates (Turkey), important partners (Russia) and countries covered by the European Neighborhood Policy and, at the same time, by another Japanese initiative, the "GUAM + Japan Meeting."

Since the early '1990s, through its Official Development Assistance and based on the new principles of the ODA Charter, Japan significantly contributed to the Black Sea Area countries' transition to democracy and free market economy. Romania is now a member of the EU, but I think it is fair to say that our road to Brussels passed also through Tokyo.

Some of the projects which benefitted of Japanese ODA are directly related to the Black Sea, such as the container terminal in the Romanian harbor-city of Constanta, also a sister-city of Yokohama, and the Bosphorus Rail Tube Crossing Project in Turkey. Others are related to energy, a matter high on our agendas, such as the development of some of Azerbaijan's biggest offshore oil and natural gas fields in the Caspian Sea, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and the South Caucasus natural gas pipeline from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia.

Moreover, Japan expressed its interest in achieving observer status at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, which Romania strongly supports.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The reason why I took more time earlier for a detailed presentation of some projects carried out under the auspices of the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership was not my intention to advertise Romania's initiatives, but to illustrate what a generous common ground for cooperation we, the neighbouring countries, and Japan can find in our region.

As I just mentioned, Japan is an already well-established partner when it comes to financing infrastructure projects. It is known for its generosity in helping us restore monuments belonging to our cultural heritage. It is a pioneer in cutting-edge science and technology. As it proved in the aftermath of the devastating *tsunami* which swept eleven countries and killed more than 225,000 people in December 2004, Japan is also a world leader in terms of building national and regional capacities to cope with civil emergencies. Together with the EU, Japan is assuming global leadership in addressing climate change and in promoting clean energy and technologies, which will be the focus of Japan's incoming Presidency of the G8.

If we also take into consideration Japan's track-record on inter-cultural and inter-faith dialogue, we will reach the conclusion that there are virtually no limits to the potential of cooperation between the Black Sea countries and Japan.

In my opinion, a broader cooperation between consolidating democracies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and Japan could pave the way for comprehensive Japanese "Black Sea Policy," in the sense that it could initiate an integrated, coordinated approach of Japan's bilateral relations with the neighboring countries at a higher, regional level. To a certain degree, we might look at the example provided by the Stability Pact for Southeast Europe, of which Japan was, since its inception, a supporting partner. Although for completely different reasons, emphasis was then placed on projects of regional relevance. Japan could pursue a similar philosophy towards the Wider Black Sea Area, on its own or in cooperation with others, from within or outside the region.

On the other hand, some of the experience accumulated in the cooperation with and within the Black Sea region could be taken back by Japan and applied or shared with Asian countries, where appropriate, nurturing an already growing Asian regionalism and consolidating the "Asian pillar" of Japan's foreign policy.

In this endeavor, the academic sector is expected to play an important role and I am firmly convinced that, through dialogues like the one we have today, the brightest and the best minds in Japan and the Black Sea countries can come up with valuable ideas, that will help their governments to shape new policies and projects to the mutual benefit of us all.

Thank you for your attention.

Minutes of Discussions

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Opening Session

Opening Remarks *ITO Kenichi, President, GFJ*

When I announced the opening of the First “Dialogue” two years ago, I had to admit how far the Black Sea Area and Japan were separated from each other not only by the physical distance but by the mental as well. True, at the time only very few Japanese knew the presence of such a regional entity, much less the importance. But it is not the case anymore. The importance of the region is now widely recognized in Japan. It is recalled that the First “Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue” adopted seven policy recommendations. Generally speaking, those recommendations were seriously taken into consideration by many who were concerned.

For instance, in Japan not a few groups in academic, business as well as political circles have been set up to study the Black Sea Area. In accordance with one of the policy recommendations of the First “Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue,” which said, “As a global player and a leading economic power, Japan should consider becoming in the near future an observer to the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC),” even the Japanese Government has applied for an observer status in the BSEC.

Opening Remarks *Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS, Secretary General, BSEC*

On June 25, BSEC celebrated its 15th Anniversary. The 15th Anniversary BSEC Summit of Istanbul was crowned with success, not only because almost all Heads of State or Government participated, but mainly because we adopted a Summit Declaration whose contents will guide us towards a successful immediate future.

The Summit Declaration endorsed and promoted the new project oriented policy of BSEC. Within this context emphasis was given to the implementation without delay of BSEC's two main infrastructure projects, the MoUs on the Development of the Black Sea Ring Highway and of the Motorways of the Sea.

The Summit Declaration also considered the reform process envisaged in the Bucharest Statement as a continuous process in order to enhance the efficiency and effectiveness of the Organization while underlining the important role that this process will play in the economic and social development of its Member States, once successfully adopted and implemented.

The Summit Declaration reflected the new period of enhanced relations between BSEC and the EU by underlining the importance of establishing a strategic relationship between the two Organizations and that BSEC stands ready to define with the EU, guidelines and areas of such a relationship. At the Ministerial Meeting that preceded the Summit, the Commission of the European Communities was granted observer status to BSEC. Since then, it has been participating on a systematic basis as an active Observer at meetings of the Committee of Senior Officials and of our Working Groups.

On October 25, the 17th Meeting of the Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the BSEC Member States was held in Ankara. The Declaration that was adopted by the Council gave us precise instructions on the follow-up that is required for implementing criterion operative paragraphs of the Summit Declaration, that concern the areas of energy, trade, transport, environment, relations with the EU and attaining the UN Millennium Development goals.

What we are trying to do is to go back to the future and make the Black Sea what it was in 1850's when maritime trade was flourishing. With the establishment of scheduled passenger lines and roll-on, roll-off ferries, that will connect the basic ports of the Black Sea to the Black Sea Ring Highway, and to ports of the Mediterranean, BSEC could develop into an economic power house. BSEC's importance is increasing because of its new project-oriented approach, and the ties between Asia and the Black Sea will further develop and become closer for the benefit of our peoples and our nations.

Opening Remarks *HARADA Chikahito, Director-General, European Affairs Bureau,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

Alongside ever increasing strategic importance of the region, the Black Sea region begins to attract much more attention of the World. A good example that reflects the changes of strategic surroundings and progress on regional cooperation is the "Black Sea Synergy" initiative of the EU which was announced in April this year. The EU became an important actor on the arena after the Bulgarian and Romanian accession in January 2007, and Japan appreciates this new initiative as a framework of dialogue.

Japan has been cooperating with countries in the Black Sea region in various fields, recognizing its geopolitical importance as a corridor connecting Europe and the Central Asia and Caucasus where energy and mineral resources are richly reserved. Japan has been assisting development of ports on the Black Sea coast in Bulgaria and Romania through Official Development Assistance. At the same time, however, intensifying exchange of goods in the Black Sea region has led to trans-border crimes such as drug trade or human trafficking. This is one of the problems that need closer regional cooperation. Japan participates in the discussions at the Southeast European Cooperative Initiative Regional Center for Combating Trans-Border Crime at Bucharest with observer status.

With respect to the stability of the Black Sea region, two movements should be noted. One is geopolitical changes which happened in the region together with Bulgarian and Romanian accession to the EU. We expect that the presence of the EU in the Black Sea region as one of the major actors will generate an impetus to further promote the regional cooperation.

The other remarkable movement which may affect the regional stability is efforts toward democracy and market economy made by countries in the region and activities of regional organizations for that orientation. Japan welcomes these tendencies. Japan held the first “GUAM + Japan” meeting on the occasion of the First Summit Meeting of “GUAM Organization for Democracy and Economic Development.” We intend to continue cooperation with GUAM member states for the purpose of promoting their democracy and market economy.

Japan is enhancing high-level dialogues with other main actors in the region such as Turkey and Greece, where I visited this year to hold political consultations on various issues including economic and technical cooperation to support the regional cooperation. Japan will continue such contribution for further promoting the regional cooperation in the Black Sea region.

We consider that the BSEC can play an irreplaceable role in the Black Sea region, because it is the only regional organization of which all the countries around the Black Sea are members. I would like to express the Japanese Government’s readiness to more actively participate in the discussions on the arena of the BSEC and further strengthen cooperation with the BSEC.

It should be desirable that the regional cooperation in the Black Sea region further develop and that the Black Sea become the today’s “hospitable” sea again to both inside and outside the region. Japan will continue to provide assistance for achieving that goal as much as possible.

Session I: New Trend in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests

Co-Chairperson

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Governor, GFJ

Since the end of Cold War, the international community has started to pay a lot of attention to the Black Sea Area and the importance of this region has been rapidly increasing. While regional cooperation is advancing within the region, many outside countries are now also getting more and more interested and involved in this region.

Keynote Speaker

*Celalettin KART, Director General for the Economic Affairs of the
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey*

With the end of the Cold War, the Black Sea area has assumed a more central international role. The region is seen as Europe's final frontier on the east, with windows opening onto completely dissimilar regions, the Caucasus, Central Asia and the Middle East, requiring different policy responses.

After the September 11 attacks, the fight against terrorism and the efforts to dry up the financial sources of terrorism, which are mostly linked to various forms of organized crime such as the trafficking of arms, drugs and human beings, have also led to the growing importance of the Black Sea region. In addition to its proximity to some of the hot spots in the world, the region itself is also tackling with some internal disputes. "Frozen conflicts" in the Euro-Atlantic area are concentrated in the Black Sea region.

With the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, the EU has become a littoral of the Black Sea and its interest in furthering stability and prosperity in the region has grown even greater.

Another factor which draws the interest of international players to the region is the vast economic potential it harbors. The members of the BSEC encompass an area of approximately 20 million square kilometers with 330 million people. This can be translated as a huge economic potential. The quest for the diversification of energy sources is another dimension of the growing profile of the region. The Black Sea has also been steadily gaining importance as a key energy supply route for Europe and the rest of the world.

Turkey took the lead to launch a regionally owned initiative to help transform the centrally planned economies of the Soviet era and integrate them into the world economy, in order to maximize the potential of the region. With this understanding, the BSEC was established in 1992 on the idea that stronger economic cooperation among the Black Sea countries would enhance peace and stability in the region. Turkey has been pursuing a constructive and balanced policy in the Black Sea, the main pillars of which are inclusiveness, transparency and regional ownership. These principles are important as they are the very principles that would ensure the prevention of creating new dividing lines in the Black Sea region as we had in the past.

To secure the success of BSEC, it is necessary to continue to foster a pragmatic, result-oriented approach in sectors of common relevance and interest, where improved regional cooperation could create synergies and increase the efficiency of resources used. The success of BSEC depends on the concreteness and effective implementation of common projects. Bold projects on the development of transport links in the region within the framework of BSEC, namely the 7,000 kilometer Black Sea Ring Highway project and the Motorways of the Sea project, are expected to do much to foster trade, economic prosperity and tourism among the countries of the region and to bring them closer together.

The BSEC is viewed by the international community as an anchor of cooperation in the region. Turkey welcomes Japan's application for Observer status. Turkey and Japan enjoy

excellent bilateral relations. Japan is not foreign to the Black Sea region. It has always shown interest in the developments in the region. Japan's presence at BSEC meetings would bring with it a potential to contribute to the Organization. Japan's economic strength and engineering skills will be of particular importance for BSEC since a wide range of economic, investment and infrastructural projects and activities are underway in the region. On the other hand, the EU Commission has recently been granted Observer status within BSEC. This will allow the EU to witness the activities of the BSEC and the opportunities and potential it offers for a mutually beneficial and fruitful cooperation between the two organizations.

Increased cooperation in the region through BSEC mechanisms not only generates economic benefits, but also contributes to building confidence and reducing persistent bilateral tensions. This, in turn, consolidates stability and security in the region, which is the common interest of both the region and the international community. With this in mind, capitalizing on the past experience and making use of the growing interest from the international community to our region, Turkey will continue to support the endeavors of BSEC and its objective to become a project-oriented organization serving the common benefit of all its members.

Keynote Speaker

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor, University of Shizuoka

In general, the interests of the West and Russia cannot be considered coincident. To the contrary, they are almost discrepant. The West pursues stability in the region through soft power based on values like democratization, the market economy, the rule of law, etc., while Russia seeks increased influence in the region through its use of its own capital, energy, the attractiveness of Russian citizenship, cultural links, trade (including embargos), and Russian troops.

Looking for common interests with Russia in the region, the West tries to cooperate with Russia for regional stability. This option has been attempted by the EU without any fruitful results until now, while the US seems to have been changing its policy towards Russia recently, as demonstrated in the speech by Vice-President Dick Cheney in Vilnius in the summer of 2006, which harshly criticized the recent accentuated tendencies in Russian domestic politics.

Behind such a confrontation among the EU, NATO, and the US on the one hand and Russia on the other, it seems to me that the balance of powers among the big powers has been transformed. When the first conference was held in 2005, the power balance was inclined favorably toward the EU, NATO, and the US as a result of the EU/ NATO enlargements in the spring of 2004, as well as the Rose and Orange Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine in 2003 and 2004 respectively. However, the pendulum has swung back again. The US had enjoyed unilateralism after the end of the Cold War, but it has now devoted its energy to the Iraq issue. The EU could not adopt a new Constitution, and its internal integration began to

decline after 2003. NATO barely succeeded in persuading France to accept the concept of global partnership and in declaring it at the Riga summit in 2006, but it has also had serious difficulties with ISAF activities in Afghanistan.

In this situation, Russia began to enjoy a one-sided victory in the power game in international arena. The Rose and Orange Revolutions reduced Russian influence over the "Near Abroad" for a time, but it regained its power and influence through increased gas and oil export prices and economic sanctions against Moldova and Georgia. The confident speech of President Putin at Munich in February 2007 showed clearly that Russia had completely recovered its power in the region, and what's more, it had become a powerful, self-confident power in international politics as well. This transformation of the power balance among the big powers has been closely related to the international relations of the Black Sea region. After the parliamentary election in the Ukraine in the spring of 2006, the GUAM and the CDC became less active, although GUAM has continued to organize its summits.

Japanese foreign policy towards the Black Sea region has been prudent and cautious. However, Mr. ASO Taro, the former Minister of Japanese Foreign Affairs, emphasized that Japan would engage itself to create the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" along the outer rim of the Eurasian continent, stretching from Northern Europe, the Baltic states, Central and South Eastern Europe, Central Asia and the Caucasus, the Middle East, the Indian subcontinent, Southeast Asia to Northeast Asia, with a foundation in universal values such as democracy, freedom, human rights, the rule of law, and the market economy.

Until recently, Japanese foreign policy was promoted on the basis of three pillars, namely, the Japan-US alliance, international cooperation, most notably under the auspices of the United Nations, and relations with neighboring countries such as China, the Republic of Korea, and Russia. The Japanese diplomatic horizon has now reached the dimension of universal values. It may be able to provide useful advice and aid to the new independent states, which are turning to democracy and prosperity. Moreover, it may be seen not only as a possibility, but even as a duty for Japan, as its GDP is more than that of whole groups of nations in East Asia, including China, South Asia, and Pacific island states.

Japan has introduced a fourth pillar to its foreign policy, the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity." One result of this introduction is the increasing interest in the Wider Black Sea region in the Japanese Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Attempts are being made to elaborate the concept and methods to realize the fourth pillar of Japanese foreign policy in the Wider Black Sea region.

Lead Discussant A *Fabrice VAREILLE, Counsellor, Head of Political and Economic Section,
Delegation of the European Commission to Japan*

The Black Sea Area is important for the EU and has been attracting more attention due to its strategic importance. With the addition of Romania and Bulgaria to the EU, the EU can now be considered a direct player in the region. The EU Commission issued a paper in April outlining a synergy approach which seeks to incorporate the Black Sea area into its structure and strategy as the main strategy framework for the future. The paper signifies that the EU wants to be an active player in the region, with the objective of developing regional cooperation to help strengthen the relationship between the EU and the Black Sea area.

The EU supports the promotion of human rights and good governance, and views the safe interoperability of transport networks as key. Other important issues include energy, marine and climate change issues, and dealing with transnational crimes. The process of cooperation should be an inclusive one that involves all states in the region. Therefore, the role of regional organizations is important. In that regard the EU need to develop better ties with BSEC. The meeting of the Ministers of Foreign Affairs of the countries of the Black Sea region and of the EU in February 2008 will be important in filling the gaps between the EU and the northern dimension.

Lead Discussant B *SUEZAWA Megumi, Associate Professor, Heisei International
University*

It is very significant to focus on the Black Sea area cooperation as it is generally not considered a high profile issue. Focusing on the area provided an opportunity to increase interaction between Islam/non-Islam and EU/non-EU groups. Ukraine is seen as a buffer zone and a merging point between North and South. The area is politically unstable, with a number of border issues that will be hard to solve without third-party mediation. Many problems are related to energy issues. It is important to note that Black Sea regional integration is developing at the sub-national level between cities, and that such multidimensional development plays a key role in regional cooperation. The Black Sea should be seen not as a dividing land but a joining land, and Japan could play a key role as an independent third party.

Lead Discussant C *Sergei GONCHARENKO, Deputy Director, Department of Economic
Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Russian Federation*

A new trend in the Black Sea area is the BSEC Member States' approach to large scale joint projects. An important step in this direction was made in 1996-1997, when two telecommunications projects were launched.

In mid-90s BSEC experts proposed to implement several projects, important for the whole region. One of them was the drafting of three common schemed maps on road, rail, ports and maritime transport networks in the BSEC region in direct connection with the Trans-European Transport System. Another project was the proposed concept of interconnecting regional electrical power systems of BSEC Member States. This project could help to form an energy market in the region and to develop interconnected Euro-Asian power system.

In May-October 2006, during the Russian sessional chairmanship in BSEC, several proposals were introduced in BSEC by the relevant Russian ministries.

In accordance with the proposals of the Russian Federation BSEC Member States also discussed their further possible steps aimed at development of cooperation in energy and transport. A Memorandum of Understanding on Multilateral Cooperation in the field of Postal Service was concluded in October 2006. But most important, of course, was elaboration of two memoranda in the field of transport – that on the Black Sea Ring Highway and on the Motorways of the Sea.

Looking from today, we may say that regional projects are not of the same value: some of them are big enough on a regional scale, while others are smaller. Important is that taken together, they form a real and practical tissue of cooperation.

Lead Discussant D *OKAMOTO Michiro, Deputy Editor in Foreign Department, The Yomiuri Shimbun*

The landslide victory of the Justice and Development Party (AKP) in Turkey in the July elections was a significant event. It resulted in an increased majority for the AKP and showed the significance of the political process because the showdown with the military took place in a democratic context and established the principle that civilian interests took precedence over military interests. The election can be seen as something of a people's ultimatum on military involvement in the political process in the battle between old secularists and new liberal reformers.

The fact that a moderate Islamic party won consecutive elections is important in enhancing democracy in the region. Political gains by the Muslim Brotherhood in Egypt show that under democracy, the Islamist parties represent the people's will. The Black Sea area and the Middle East are intertwined politically, and Turkish leader Recep ERGODAN has shown self-control in dealing with PKK rebels hiding in northern Iraq.

Free Discussions *All Participants*

A Japanese participant asked how BSEC was attempting to fight terrorism, and if there was any regional framework for common threat other than those limited to specific regions. A

Black Sea area participant responded that BSEC has a working group on terrorism and organized crime that meets once every six months. The naval forces of Black Sea littoral states patrol the Black Sea in search of terrorism and organized crime related activities like human trafficking. These efforts are so effective that the US choose not to send its forces to the Black Sea. Another participant said that BSEC does not discuss political issues such as the frozen conflicts in line with its founding principles and charter that all members have agreed on. Rather, it focuses mainly on economic issues, following an agenda adopted in 2001 that has been very effective. Some clauses are devoted to security not in relation to the frozen conflicts but more to do with organized crime. He said there was a need to focus on issues that unite and not divide, and that issues related to the frozen conflicts ought not to be discussed.

A Black Sea area participant said that once Romania and Bulgaria became EU members, it was inevitable that relations would strengthen between the EU and BSEC. There was a close link between the EU's Black Sea policy and its Central Asia strategy and Japan should take note of this. Another participant mentioned that the Black Sea region stretches to Central Asia and that there was a need for the EU and other nations to coordinate their regional policies toward various regions. The EU is not an absentee in the region and strongly supports such regional frameworks as the Baku initiative. It was also pointed out by a participant from the Black Sea area that there would be a joint declaration by BSEC and the EU at the February 14 meeting next year in Kiev, after a meeting for foreign ministers which will discuss practical cooperation. For example, with bilateral programs for road-building it may be more effective to fund a section of the Black Sea highway. In this regard there was a need for better coordination between BSEC and bilateral programs that existed between the EU and states in the Black Sea region.

A Japanese participant asked what concrete methods existed in the functional approach to stability. A Black Sea area participant answered that BSEC would prefer to have an EU-BSEC framework, but EU member states did not want another institutionalized system so adopted a synergy approach which is more flexible and created more important results on the ground. With this approach, it is possible to go directly to the essence of the issues that exist between BSEC and the EU and that this would be stressed at the February 2008 meeting. He added that BSEC does not deal directly with the frozen conflicts, but in terms of economic cooperation it needed to be considered whether projects are worth pursuing in light of regional stability. For example, when considering if was it worth building a road through a region in conflict, a flexible approach could be taken on political matters to find a solution.

A participant from the Black Sea area said there was a need for multidimensional dialogue with Japan, and that discussions should speak about peace and security in the region in a

broad sense. Conflict prevention dialogue was also needed and the GFJ may have role to play here. Another Black Sea area participant asked how the Japanese public can be made more aware of local views, and how the Japanese media can increase the use of local sources in relation to Black Sea news. A Japanese participant responded that the Japanese media needed to continue to stress that the region was important to Japan due to its location and broad geographical area.

Summarization by Chairpersons

Co-Chairperson *Andreas FRYGANAS, First Counsellor, the Embassy of Greece in Japan*

The Black Sea area is Europe's final frontier to the East, and important in terms of energy resources. The area is a focus of major world players like the EU, the US, and Russia. Relations with the EU are evolving quickly, and the status of Ukraine and Georgia within NATO was likely to become a more important issue. Japan was also increasing its involvement, and the working relationship of nations within BSEC was more productive than in some other regional forums.

Co-Chairperson *MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Governor, GFJ*

The relations among big powers in this region have been dramatically transforming, which will also change the international relations within the region. It should be emphasized that securing the stability and the prosperity is indispensable to the region.

Session II: Challenges for the Functional Cooperation in the Area

Co-Chairperson *IWAMA Yoko, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for
Policy Studies*

Debates over international relations are often comprised in terms of a liberal approach versus a realist approach. BSEC is an example of the liberal approach in that it is an effort to build cooperation based around formal institution. For that reason, BSEC is interesting in both theoretical and practical terms and the Japan-BSEC dialogue would further the process of institutionalization.

BSEC has developed into a well-defined, institutionally mature, treaty-based regional organization that has acquired a great deal of experience in dealing with regional issues in a multilateral format. According to its Charter, BSEC is defined as a regional economic organization, thus spelling out the main focus of its policies and activities, while setting certain limits to its involvement in other matters of regional importance. In actual practice, the scope of BSEC activities has expanded over the years, branching out into new areas, more or less related to its principal economic concerns.

Over the years, BSEC has successfully elaborated policy documents and legal instruments establishing its aims, structures, mechanisms and operational procedures, and fostering cooperation in specific areas. The Organization gradually enhanced its project-oriented character by generating concrete proposals for regional undertakings and by creating functional networks. In a most significant new development concerning region-wide multilateral projects, two memoranda of understanding were finalized and opened for signing in 2006. They are on a Black Sea Highway Ring and on the Motorways of the Sea. Furthermore, two regional projects concerning the increase of intraregional trade as well as investment promotion were agreed upon to be implemented in cooperation with the UNDP and OECD, respectively.

Following the accession of Bulgaria and Romania, the EU external borders lie along the Black Sea coast. It is important for Europe that this emerging reality should not create new dividing lines. On the contrary, it is desirable, and indeed possible, to preserve and foster the positive legacy of the Black Sea regionalism in ways that offer tangible benefits to all BSEC Member States. The BSEC Organization is well equipped to become a valid interlocutor and a reliable partner for EU institutions in those areas, where clear mutual interests and the availability of adequate instruments for cooperation can be jointly ascertained.

In defining the functional challenges to cooperation within BSEC, I need to name the aspects of both geographical and economic nature, which essentially are rather well-known. Lack of deposits of fossil fuels in the majority of the countries of our area (except for rich oil reserves in Azerbaijan, some coal in Ukraine and rather depleted oil reserves in Romania) means the need for more active efforts in exploration and more efficient use of energy resources. The transit position of many Black Sea area countries in between Europe and Asia prompts the necessity to improve and use more effectively the infrastructure, both land and maritime, of Ukraine and other BSEC countries. Ecological challenges are among the most serious. One area where Ukraine's cooperation with a number of BSEC countries has been and remains crucially important is preservation and more nature-friendly use of the Danube.

Japan can play an important role in helping us deal with all the challenges. It is our firm belief that Japan's traditional policy of assisting its friends and partners not with the force of

arms, but with good advice, development assistance and properly chosen investments can make real difference for our nations.

Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova (GUAM) have already started an active dialogue with Japan, regarding the enhanced cooperation in the format "4+1," meaning GUAM + Japan. Japan's economic and financial capacities can be employed successfully in smoothing the path of GUAM countries towards elimination of economic, infrastructural and social imbalances that accompany our nations' movement through the period of transition from highly centralized economic and social structures to the new socially oriented market economies, based on the rule of law and values of a truly democratic civil society. Japan's participation in overcoming the major functional challenge to both development of our countries and their cooperation, namely, the lack of liquidity and other financial resources for new economic, infrastructural and other projects, can not only be invaluable to the countries of the Black Sea area. It can also yield for Japan high returns on the funds, provided at this tumultuous for many established financial markets time.

I can only wish now that various forms of cooperation between the Black Sea area countries and Japan thrive and new sectors of such cooperation open, bearing fruits for all our nations.

Keynote Speaker

HIROSE Yoko, Associate Professor, Tokyo University of Foreign Studies

BSEC started from a small sub-regional network, but now it is developing into a significant mechanism for promoting the sustainable economic development of the Black Sea area, and even strengthening security and stability.

Rising consideration of the needs of member countries is one of the background causes for this development. In addition, the fact that the chairmanships are alternated between all the member countries at the relatively high frequency of every half a year, thus being considerate of the needs of all the member countries, is also an important factor.

BSEC activities have improved both in substance and function by the contribution of a lot of working groups. Although many impressive projects have been planned, most of them have never been achieved until now. However, the successful experience of a certain project could promote the progress of other projects; so it seems to be very important to strive for success in each project.

The keys to the development of regional cooperation includes cooperation in the science and the technology sectors, strengthening of the relationship between BSEC and the other international organizations, expanding cooperation in the areas of security and stability, the reform of systems to insure "good governance" and the "sharing of values" between member countries, promotion of agriculture and the security of food, promotion of good economic policy with mutual benefits, activation of the regional economy, cooperation to solve the energy problem, and popularizing positive images of the BSEC.

However, it is true that there are many difficulties to overcome before these goals can be achieved. It is only natural that each country tends to give much more priority to their own national interest than the interests of the entire area. The development levels of the member countries are not same; the former USSR countries are still engaged in nation-building processes. However, it is really important to convert the member countries way of thinking from "Zero-sum" to "Win-win," aiming at a common goal.

In addition, there are many conflicts and disputes, both domestic and international, in the Black Sea area and such problems have been the most serious obstacle for regional cooperation. It may certainly be very difficult, but I believe it is possible to aim for conflict resolution and peaceful reconciliation through the trust gained from regional cooperation. Such linkage, between regional cooperation and conflict resolution, could advance simultaneously and would be highly desirable. To achieve this aim, projects which are high demand, effective and equitable to member states, such as the ring road project, electric power ring project and so on, should be promoted.

Moreover, there is a great opportunity for the Black Sea area to use the 2014 Sochi Olympic Games for the development of regional cooperation, the reinforcement of security and conflict resolution, and to further a good image of the region. Moreover, if the ring road project were to be completed before the Olympic Games, their combination could be really effective. However, an adequate solution to the Abkhazia conflict is an important prerequisite for the Games to be held safely.

The Black Sea region is a region with very big potential. Within international society, the Japanese government has shown a keen interest in the Black Sea area in recent years, expressing various, significant expectations for the area's future. BSEC member states should act on the multifaceted appeals from international society and achieve effective cooperation within and beyond the region.

Lead Discussant A Azer HUSEYN, Ambassador of Republic of Azerbaijan to Japan

Japan has a larger role to play in the Black Sea region and the concept of the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" may help it achieve more in the region. The position of the Black Sea region between the economic powerhouses of Europe and Asia gives rise to the concepts of East-West transport and energy corridors. Japan can play a larger role in improving functional cooperation by better coordinating with international stakeholders like the EU, the US and organizations such as the UNDP and OECD. Japan can also support regional projects and develop initiatives related to Japan's area of expertise such as energy efficiency. Much work needs to be done in reform and restructuring through such mechanisms as the BSEC Project Development Fund. The region has the potential for success, but there are many threats to peace and stability such as the various protracted conflicts that exist. Just and fair resolution of these conflicts on the basis of principles of international law remains a serious challenge for the wider international community. Efforts

by Japan to gain observer status at BSEC will broaden the opportunities for Japan to contribute to the process of regional cooperation.

Lead Discussant B *MOTOMURA Masumi, Chief Researcher, Japan Oil, Gas and Metals National Corporation*

The first pipe in the region was built in 1987, and others in 2001 and 2002. Turkey imports a lot of gas from Russia and Iran, and in the future will import gas from Azerbaijan which will become a source of energy for the EU. New pipelines are also planned such as one agreed in 2005 to go through Bulgaria and Romania, and another to Italy. A Turkey-Greece pipeline may help break reliance on Russia, but Russia is also seeking negotiation with Greece. The pipeline system should be viewed as a total system in which it is impossible to distinguish gas by origin. The oil and gas industry considers that pipelines should not be a tool of geopolitics but should be used to boost prosperity in the region.

Lead Discussant C *Ivan MRKIC, Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia to Japan*

The promotion of regional cooperation is a high priority for Serbia. There should be more cooperation between BSEC and the EU. Our priorities in BSEC are strengthening of the international position and role of BSEC; to institutionalize cooperation between BSEC and the EU as the first meeting between the representatives of the two organizations was held in March, 2007 in Istanbul during Serbia's chairmanship and the European Commission became an observer in BSEC; finalizing the process of organizational reforms; and promoting and expanding cooperation between the member countries in the extermination of organized crime and terrorism, transport, environmental protection, ensuring secure and sustained energy supply, education, tourism, cultural exchange, and other areas of mutual interest. During its chairmanship, Serbia proposed mutual cooperation in environmental protection. In line with such interest, Belgrade recently hosted the Sixth Ministerial Conference "Environment for Europe." Recently, a regional center for climate change was established in Belgrade that can play a key role in dealing with the global warming problem. Serbia also initiated the joint construction of regional highway system which would enable better links with European transport corridors. At the 17th Ministerial Meeting held in Ankara on October 25, 2007, the main focus of the Serbian delegation was on the strong need of further evolution of BSEC into a project-oriented organization. Its activity must be oriented towards achieving concrete results. On the other hand, existing mechanism of regional security have weakness. Many member countries are faced with problems such as frozen conflicts, threats of secession of parts of their territories, and similar.

Economic cooperation is a key to developing regional peace and stability, and Serbia supports Japan's aspiration for observer status at BSEC. In our support we are guided by the fact that the wider Black Sea Area is becoming one of the most important geographical

parts of the world. This is where various civilizations meet and where strategically important transport routes for gas and oil traverse.

Serbia is confronted with the problem of its southern province Kosovo, which threatens its sovereignty and territorial integrity. The Government of Serbia will spare no effort to find a compromise solution through negotiations, with strict adherence to international law and the UN Charter. One sided proclamation of Kosovo's independence would have very grave effects for the stability of the whole region and, no doubt, would project itself globally. Unfortunately, negotiations on its future status have so far been obstructed by the Kosovo Albanians, an ethnic minority aspiring to establish another Albanian state on Serbian territory through secessionism. Under international law ethnic minorities have no right to self determination. In this case, aspirations of the Albanian nation have already been consummated by the existence of sovereign state of Albania. Setting a precedent for Kosovo must be avoided, because many countries could easily face the same problem in their own back yard.

Lead Discussant D *ASAO Keiichiro, Member of House of Councilors (Democratic Party of Japan)*

There are two main areas Japan should focus on in the Black Sea region. They are economic issues and security issues. With regard to economic matters, Japanese investors are highly interested in the BRICs, but the Black Sea area is not well known among average people. Thus there is much potential for future investment in the area if information can be better disseminated to the Japanese public.

With regard to security, the Black Sea region is very close to the Middle East and so has an important influence on that region. If the Black Sea area is stable, it is more likely that the Middle East can be stabilized even as far as Afghanistan. The Kurdish issue is also very important, and if security is addressed then investment to the region would likely increase. A peaceful solution to the Kurdish problem is better than using force.

Free Discussions

One Black Sea area participant said that energy issues should be a priority and that establishing viable pipelines and securing safe gas pipeline routes were essential for this region. Not only the energy corridor of East-West but also that of North-South is important. A Japanese participant responded that it was meaningless to count pipelines by region, and that a cost effective way of managing gas was needed. Russia was said to be an unreliable supplier thus diversification was needed, but Russian gas traveled through other pipelines also and the EU needed to face the reality that building new pipelines would not necessarily solve the problem.

One Japanese participant said that because of the clash over oil pipelines BSEC is an appropriate body to deal with the issue, as it is difficult to harmonize interests among states due to the fact that there are clear winners and losers. Energy resource issues appear to be a zero-sum game. Another Japanese participant pointed out that there was a need to talk about pipeline coordination with the Middle East as well as on an electric grid, a railway system and optical fiber links in the region and that Japan could make a major contribution in these areas. A Black Sea area participant responded that there was an oil pipeline from Kirkuk to Turkey which transported only small amounts due to the political situation. Other projects included gas pipelines from Iraq to Turkey and an Egypt-Syria-Turkey pipeline.

A participant from Black Sea area said that the environmental risks in having pipelines traverse its territory also need to be taken into account. Another Black Sea area participant said that littoral states are vulnerable in an environmental sense. His country considers the issue to be important and has a working group on the ecological impact of oil pipelines. This ought to be a higher profile issue and he would welcome having a concrete contribution from Japan due to its prowess in the ecological field. A collective approach is needed and the US currently gives technological advice in this area. Several participants mentioned that supplier, receiver and transit countries need to be involved in environmental issues because they are directly affected by the fallout and that Japan could take part in related conferences.

A Japanese participant pointed out that Ukraine had given up its nuclear weapons and that the Central Asian nations had established a nuclear free zone. He asked if such an idea would work in the Black Sea area. A participant from the Black Sea area answered that non-proliferation had not become as widespread as many had anticipated, but that Ukraine had tried to set an example. Anti-nuclear feeling is strong due to Chernobyl and if possible many Ukrainians would like BSEC countries to become nuclear free.

Then participants discussed whether BSEC should address political issues in addition to economic issues. A Japanese participant said that economics and politics cannot be separated because political cooperation was needed to achieve economic stability and growth. A participant from the Black Sea area responded that the basic documents establishing BSEC state that the organization is economic. Another Black Sea area participant said that although the charter limited current activities, economic challenges often arose in relation to peace and stability. Therefore discussion of political matters should not be avoided. The charter also states that BSEC should seek ways to boost peace and stability.

One participant from Black Sea area mentioned that care was needed when analyzing Turkey-Iraq relations because in the northern part of Iraq terrorist activities were occurring and that there could be little security until this problem was addressed.

Mr. Rafael USUBOV made the following statement. To their view one of the main challenges for functional cooperation in Russia is the need to make governmental and non-governmental bodies dealing with regional cooperation to work in the most coordinated and effective way. They understand that in order to achieve this result some additional efforts should be made.

In order to manage their work effectively the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, that is empowered by the Russian Government to coordinate all activities related to the BSEC, initiated establishment of a special body - the Interministerial Commission on Issues related to the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. In July 2006 this Commission was established and some significant results have already been attained since then. The Commission is chaired by the First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation, Mr. Andrei DENISOV, while its Executive Secretary is Deputy Director of our Economic Department, Mr. Sergei GONCHARENKO. Russian ministries, involved in BSEC activities, are members of this Commission. Three Russian Southern regions facing the Black Sea, namely Stavropol, Krasnodar and Rostov regions, also participate in it.

As of today, activities of this Commission are consolidated on fostering implementation of promising long-term socio-economic initiatives. Three Russian Southern regions mentioned above possess a good deal of experience in international affairs and all necessary potential and capacity for establishing new international contacts.

The Commission is quite active now and, hope, will continue its efforts to facilitate coordination among Russian governmental and non-governmental bodies. You may contact this Commission as follows: fax: +7(495) 253 90 88, e-mail: subintegr@mid.ru.

Summarization by Chairpersons

Co-Chairperson

Leonidas CHRYSANTHOPOULOS, Secretary General, BSEC

Projects of Black Sea Ring Highway and Motorways of the Sea are highly evaluated as a significant development of region-wide multilateral projects. We need to further develop project-oriented regional cooperation in various fields including transportation, environment, energy, tourism, and cultural exchange. Cooperation with other regional frameworks including the EU and with international organizations such as UNDP and

OECD is also important in this regard. There are a lot of areas, including the increase of investment, to which Japan can make contributions for the stability and the prosperity of Black Sea area. We have found through the discussion of this session where we should increase our efforts.

Session III: The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity and Prospects of Japan-Black Sea Area Cooperation

Co-Chairperson

KAWATO Akio, General Manager, Japan and World Trends

Foreign Minister ASO had launched the idea of the arc of freedom and prosperity in the public sphere. Despite Mr. ASO stepping down from his post in August, the substance of the policy remains unchanged even if it now has a lower profile. The possibility of cooperation between the BSEC area and Japan is one that offers great promise.

Keynote Speaker

HABA Kumiko, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University

The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity (AFP) Policy covers a huge framework from Northern Europe, Baltic Countries, Central Europe, Central Asia, ASEAN, and Korean peninsula to Japan. If one pays attention to these small but diverse and rich resourced countries, and builds close relations on the basis of freedom, development, prosperity and dialogue, this would accord with the values of these countries and also the new international norms' policy of the Enlarged EU. Therefore, it is completely understandable that this AFP policy is highly estimated and welcomed all over the world.

The AFP policy is also important considering the development of the Shanghai Cooperative Organization (SCO) by China, and South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) by India. East Asian Community does not develop so fast, because it has no substantial functions, on the other hand, SCO and SAARC are developing and working substantially as the biggest Asian Alliances. Therefore, under this new Asian situation, Japan needs to widen and develop its involvement in various cooperative networks in Asia and around the world. One of the important approaches for Japan is the AFP Policy--- Central Asia, GUAM countries, CLV countries, Turkey, and so called New European former Socialist countries, especially Romania, Bulgaria, Poland, Hungary and other Central European countries, which lie on the new EU's eastern borders facing Russia and Ukraine. These countries are pro-Japanese and pro-America, have original worldviews, and are all now inside in the EU and NATO. Turkey is also the leader of the Middle East, and a very important partner and pro-Japanese thanks to the Japanese Middle East Policy.

Considering Japan and the Wider Black Sea Cooperation, the BSEC declared the Regional Economic Development, Solution of the Ethnic Conflicts by the European Security Cooperation Organization rules, and maintains correspondence and communication networks. Japan started the collaboration with BSEC especially through economic aid, human rights, democratization and regional stability. The AFP region lies just among the Big Regional Organization as a buffer zone, now democratizing and developing so quickly and have very important resources. Therefore, if they develop as a region of the democracy and prosperity, it helps world stability.

However, there might be a possibility the AFP region is used as a “soft containment” region against China and Russia. It is very important that AFP policy must not be used against Russia and China, but is used as a tool of coexistence and cooperation with Russia and China, by promoting economic development, prosperity, and the stability of democratization and freedom. Therefore, Japan may have a very important role in helping economic development and stability in the conflict region.

It might be difficult for Japan to take leadership in East Asian regional cooperation. This is because Japan is somehow outside of the East Asian Continental history and culture, like Great Britain in Europe. Even if it is strong economically and politically, it cannot take leadership from outside of the continent. Historically and politically, it is very difficult that a “loser “of a World War has hegemony in the regions. However, Japan can show leadership by democratization, development and prosperity. Japan might take leadership by cooperating with the USA, like the European Union. Regional Integration is the relaxation of the conflicts among Big Powers and coexistence. It is not the states alliance, but harmony and adjustment are important.

The lessons from the European Union to Asia are;

- 1) from allied Power Politics to the Regional coexistence and Stability, like the AFP proposed,
- 2) Community of no-war and cooperation with historical enemy.

This will bring high prosperity and development as globalization proceeds. That is the most important role of regional cooperation and the AFP policy shows the way to soft and substantial regional cooperation and coexistence between Japan and other Asian-European region, especially between Japan and the Black Sea Area.

Keynote Speaker

Aurelian NEAGU, Ambassador of Romania to Japan

For Romania, the Black Sea region is a major foreign policy priority, which we actively pursue at three different levels, complementing each other. Over the past years, we did not spare any effort to try to increase the awareness of our partners in NATO and the EU on the growing importance of this region and we managed to bring it higher on their agenda. We welcomed the Communication of the European Commission regarding the Black Sea

Synergy, released this April, as well as the Commission's achieving observer status at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation. We also contributed to the promotion of the Eastern dimension of the European Neighborhood Policy.

At a different level, we attach a great importance to the regional cooperation in the Black Sea Basin. The underlying philosophy of our approach is to foster cooperation among the adjacent states, in flexible formats, and also to attract foreign parties and interested stakeholders. We regard BSEC as a useful instrument, but we would like to see the BSEC more oriented towards concrete projects and tangible results. At the same time, based on a Romanian initiative, in June 2006, at the Bucharest Summit, the Black Sea Forum for Dialogue and Partnership was launched. One month ago another official inauguration took place in Bucharest, which was the "Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation", a program of the German Marshall Fund of the United States.

The third level is one which is widely spread in Europe, but rather unfamiliar in Asia. "Euro-regions" are a form of cooperation among several countries, at the level of the local authorities, in the common border area, where they usually share geographical elements, similar historical experiences, ethnic minorities, similar socio-economic problems.

The success of the Black Sea political project depends on many factors. It will depend on the future course of EU-Russia and EU-Turkey relations. It will also depend on the neighboring countries' political will to strengthen and deepen their cooperation, but also to carry out domestic reforms that would elevate the Wider Black Sea Area's level of political, economic and social development. At the same time, it will depend on our common success in promoting our region's attractiveness and relevance to other important partners from outside our region, including Japan.

Indeed, there is much room for Japanese involvement. Japan is a natural partner of the EU, which means that stronger Japanese involvement in the Black Sea Area will strengthen the overall cooperation between the EU and Japan, but also Japan's bilateral relations with the neighboring countries which have different statuses with respect to the EU and countries covered by the European Neighborhood Policy and, at the same time, by another Japanese initiative, the "GUAM + Japan Meeting".

Since the early 1990s, through its Official Development Assistance and based on the new principles of the ODA Charter, Japan significantly contributed to the Black Sea Area countries' transition to democracy and free market economy. Some of the projects which benefitted of Japanese ODA are directly related to the Black Sea, such as the container terminal in the Romanian harbor-city of Constanta, and the Bosphorus Rail Tube Crossing Project in Turkey. Others are related to energy, such as the development of some of Azerbaijan's biggest offshore oil and natural gas fields in the Caspian Sea, the Baku-Tbilisi-Ceyhan oil pipeline and the South Caucasus natural gas pipeline from Azerbaijan to Turkey via Georgia.

Japan expressed its interest in achieving observer status at the Black Sea Economic Cooperation, which Romania strongly supports. Japan is an already well-established

partner when it comes to financing infrastructure projects. A broader cooperation between consolidating democracies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia and Japan could pave the way for a comprehensive Japanese “Black Sea Policy”, in the sense that it could initiate an integrated, coordinated approach of Japan’s bilateral relations with the neighboring countries at a higher, regional level.

Lead Discussant A *KOKUBO Yasuyuki, Professor, University of Shizuoka*

The external relations of the EU are becoming more coordinated and the Black Sea synergy policy is an example of this. The Black Sea area is important due to the mixture of members and potential for future EU members being recruited from the area. The EU should try to enlarge on the basis of a community of universal values such as human rights and the rule of law, and boost the role of civilian power. The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity policy can be seen as an effort to build such a community of values and such an approach ought to remain central to Japanese foreign policy.

Lead Discussant B *David NOZADZE, Charge d’Affaires a. i., Embassy of Georgia to Japan*

The Georgian view of the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity is most positive. Georgia has a rapidly reforming economy and the success of reforms is a result of an effort of the whole nation. The geographic location of Georgia provides unique opportunities for development, as well as brings equally big responsibilities. Therefore, Georgia is irreversibly embarked on the road of state-building with paramount respect to the universal values of democracy, human rights and rule of law. Cooperation with neighboring countries and the rest of the international community is also essential for ensuring sustainable regional development. However, the frozen conflicts are having negative effect on economic life of our nations, as these uncontrolled territories are major sources of threats such as smuggling, trafficking etc. Hence the governments have to divert significant resources to negate them. However, if not the conflicts, these very resources could have been used for further promotion of the reforms and regional cooperation. Therefore the frozen conflicts should not be viewed only as a political problem, as they have very tangible economic implications. Georgia sees dialogue and economic incentives as the only way of solution of the problem. Being included in the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity was seen in Georgia as a stamp of approval of this vision from a most progressive and peace-loving nation - Japan. Japan’s support of our efforts through the AFP initiative is fully consonant with the spirit of cooperation in BSEC framework.

Lead Discussant C

NAGOSHI Kenro, Director, Foreign News Section, Jiji Press

The fact that Japan plans to open an embassy in Georgia in 2008 highlighted the country's strategic significance. The new embassy is in line with Japan's Arc of Freedom and Prosperity policy. The rhetoric approach of the foreign policy is a break from the post-World War II style of Japanese foreign policy. The geopolitical meaning of the policy is that Japan is starting to respond to the strategies of major powers such as China and Russia. Some Russians are worried that Japan is trying to contain Russian influence, and this view should not be forgotten. Nevertheless, Japan-Russian relations appear to be improving due to trade flows while China-Russia coordination may have already reached its peak.

Lead Discussant D

Sermet ATACANLI, Ambassador of the Republic of Turkey to Japan

The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity idea contains Turkey as a key nation and signifies a new era defined by both risks and opportunities. The Black Sea area nations face both old and new challenges and the frozen conflicts in the southern Caucasus pose a threat to regional stability. BSEC works to unite the interests of the region and identify regional means and capabilities that can be mobilized. Clearer long term goals are needed for BSEC.

Lead Discussant E

*OZAWA Hitoshi, Director, Central and Eastern Europe Division,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*

The underlying idea of the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity has existed in the Japanese foreign policy approach for a long time, but was not explicitly stated until recently. The idea did not emerge suddenly out of the blue, but was built on policies toward many countries in the past such as those in the Balkans and the former Soviet states. Supporting countries working toward democracy and building a market-orientated economy has been a long-standing approach of Japan and Foreign Minister ASO simply captured that fact in a speech that differed from the normal style in that it was more rhetorical than usual. Japan is currently experimenting with various sub-regional dialogues such as BSEC and GUAM.

Free Discussion

One Japanese participant said that many in the business sector welcomed the announcement of the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity idea as there was a possibility it would help boost business opportunities in the countries that were the target of the policy. He said the Japan should continue to openly improve relations with these nations and asked why the slogan of the arc of freedom and prosperity disappeared when Foreign Minister ASO stepped down, and how the momentum of the policy could be maintained if the high-profile arc of freedom and prosperity slogan was lost. Another Japanese participant

responded that Japan's approach toward the policy will remain the same because it is now recognized that Japan has aspirations to become a global power. It was also pointed out by a participant from the Japanese side that the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity policy was formulated by a mixture of government, bureaucracy and academic players and that it was radical for Japan due to its forthrightness but was not necessarily so when considered from a Western-government point of view. The idea of co-existence against power politics is one part of the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity that is important not only for BSEC regions but also in the Asian region. Even if the Japanese government changes, the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity idea will continue to be an important foreign policy experiment for Japan.

A Japanese participant asked about the general attitude of BSEC nations toward the state of their relations with Japan. A participant from Black Sea area answered that when Japan approached BSEC before the first dialogue several years ago, many members were impressed at the interest and so worked to improve mutual relations. Japan is considered in the region as likely to become more involved with BSEC in the future though becoming an observer nation.

Another Japanese participant asked whether the freedom part of the policy meant that Japan supported the democratization of nations in the same manner as the EU or the US approach, and whether Japan planned to point out the aspects of countries' political processes that it disagreed with in relation to the freedom issue. A Japanese participant replied that Japan never imposes its values on other nations but merely introduces them through dialogue. Japan's policy is to promote dialogue among countries with regard toward promoting democracy and market economies. A participant from Black Sea area said that he thought countries in the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity would not have any objections to freedom being included in the approach as all BSEC countries cherish the idea of freedom. Another Black Sea area participant said that prosperity cannot be enjoyed without freedom, and freedom cannot be enjoyed fully without prosperity.

A participant from Black Sea area said BSEC attempts to ensure that it does not duplicate work that other regional organizations are already doing. In that regard, BSEC focuses on economic cooperation, so any issues related to security should be addressed to GUAM. But despite being an economic organization, BSEC is still developing its approach and non-economic issues should not necessarily be considered off the table in the future if members change their position from working under the current charter to seeking to revise the charter at some point. He added that there was a need to discuss development aid and ODA.

A Japanese participant asked how cultural and educational exchange can be boosted. Currently, around 1000 students from the BSEC countries were studying in Japan, but he

wondered how this can be promoted better. There is also a need to promote Japanese students studying in BSEC nations as currently they are very limited in number. One Japanese participant answered that a national program for exchanges on a bilateral basis exists, but that may not be adequate. Many Japanese students saw BSEC countries as remote and there was a need to investigate what kind of PR could be pursued. Another Japanese participant said that one promising area for boosting cooperation was ecological cooperation.

A Japanese participant asked if it were really true that Japan-Russia relations were improving. While one Japanese participant answered that he believed the peak of Russia-China relations strengthening had passed and that Russia appears to be paying more attention to Japan than previously, another Japanese participant disagreed and did not consider Russia-China cooperation to have reached its peak yet.

Summarization by Chairpersons

Co-Chairperson

Kossio KITIPOV, Director Department Europe-I Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria

Countries in the BSEC area have high hopes for more cooperation from Japan under the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity. The diversity of security situations in the area is an important issue. The diversity of religions and groups within religions such as moderate Muslims and orthodox Muslims also needs to be taken into account. BSEC needs to move from power politics to regional cooperation to establish a peaceful area in which groups can work together with historical enemies. As far as Japan's involvement in the region is concerned, Tokyo should work to strengthen ties with Brussels and coordinate its approach to the BSEC area. Japan should also join regional climate change initiatives as it has expertise in this area, and seek to expand its involvement in all areas of BSEC economic and regional cooperation. The road to democracy is a process that is long-term and such a marathon could not be undertaken without support from Japan.

Appendix

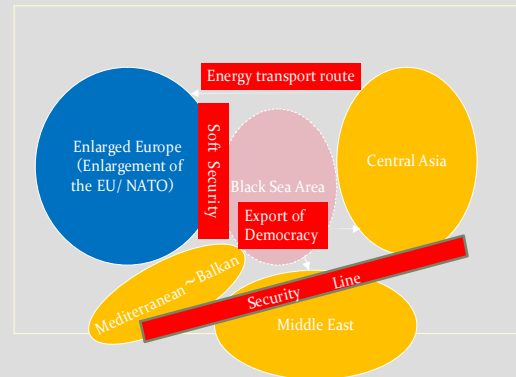
1. Distributed Materials

(1) MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo

New Trends in the Black Sea Area and Big Power Interests

Professor Shigeo Mutsushika
Graduate School of International Relations
University of Shizuoka

The Interests of the West in the BSA ?



Contents

- Big power interests in the Black Sea Area (BSA)
- Big power policy toward BSA
- Background to the new pillar of Japanese foreign policy

Interests of the Big Powers in the BSA - EU, NATO, US and Russia

EU/NATO/USA:

soft security in the BSA after enlargements
- democracy, market economy, rule of law etc.

security of **energy transport** corridor

export of security as well as its import

- ESDP/ KFOR; ISAF; Active Endeavour etc.

security line from Mediterranean to Afghanistan

USA:

export of democracy (Bush's speech in Georgia, 2005)

utilize BSA in its global **military strategy**

- use of military bases; enforcement of missile defense

Russia:

maintenance and increase of **Russian influence** in BSA

EU Policy toward the WBAR

Integration

Enlargement

Accession: Greece + Bulgaria + Rumania (2007.1)

Candidate Countries : Croatia, Turkey, Macedonia

Potential Candidate Countries: Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina,

| | Montenegro, Serbia, Kosovo (UNSC1244)

SAP(Stabilization Association Process)

ENP (European Neighborhood Policy) - bilateral

Action Plan (2005.2) Ukraine, Moldova

Action Plan (2006.11) Armenia, Azerbaijan, Georgia

Black Sea Synergy – multilateral

Others: EC offices; EUSR(Special Representative); Transnistria <5+2>
EUBAM; CBM etc.

Russian Policy toward the BSA

'Near Abroad' diplomacy

1. Involvement in elections in 'Near Abroad' countries
 - Support and cooperation with pro-Russian political elites
 - Criticism of pro-western political elites by Russian media
2. Energy diplomacy
3. Penetration of Russian capitals in the BSA
4. Economic embargo in Moldova and Georgia
5. Peace and stability by freezing conflicts
6. Stationing of Russian army in 'Near Abroad' countries

The Policy of the N A T O toward the WBSR

<The End of Cold War> ~ <9. 11 > ~ <2005~>

Transformation→Balkan→Mediterranean→Global Partnership
(Operation 'Active Endeavor')→BSR(failed)
Afghanistan (ISAF)

Enlargement→Central Europe→Baltic states →MAP→Accession?
↓ (1999) Balkan(2004) =Western Balkan
NATO members: Turkey+ Bulgaria, Rumania (Albania, Croatia, Macedonia)

NACC(North Atlantic Cooperation Council) (1991)
→EAPC(Euro-Atlantic Partnership Council) (1997)(49 countries)

PPF(Partnership for Peace)(1994)

Russia: PJC(Permanent Joint Council)(1997) →NRC(NATO Russia Council)(2002)

Ukraine: NUC(NATO Ukraine Council)(1997)+Action Plan(2002)

+ Intensified Dialogue(2005.4)→MAP(2008.4?)

Georgia: IPAP(Individual Partnership Action Plan) +Intensified Dialogue(2006.9)

→MAP(2008.4?)

Armenia, Azerbaijan, Moldova: IPAP

The Policy of the US toward the BSA

- Support of democracy, market economy, rule of law etc.
 - the Black Sea Trust for Regional Cooperation
- Anti-terrorism cooperation with the BSA countries
- Energy transport security – (ex.) BTC pipeline
- Hard security
 - US use of military bases in Rumania and Bulgaria
 - missile defense radar in Czech Republic
 - a base of missile interceptors in Poland

Conflicts between the US and Russia on Military dimension around the BSA

<US demand>

- Ratification of the CFE treaty by the West on condition of withdrawal of Russian army from Moldova and Georgia
- Missile defense negotiation with Central European states
- US use of military bases in Bulgaria and Rumania

<Russian demand>

- Suspension of the CFE treaty by Russia in December 2007
- Linkage of Kosovo with 'frozen conflicts' in Transnistria, South Osetia, Abkhazia and Nagorno-Karabakh
- Baltic states participation in the CFE Treaty

Review of Japanese Foreign Policy

- ① objective = a permanent member of the UNSC
→ responsibility as a permanent member of the UNSC to be assumed for international security with global perspective
≠ diplomacy centered on Asia-Pacific rim
→ expansion of Japanese diplomatic horizon
- ② intensification of relations between Europe and Asia
→ <Japan = Asia → Japan = Europe>
- ③ Fourth Wave of democratization in the former Soviet Union
insufficient resources of Europe to support the Fourth Wave
- ④ space discontinuity of Japanese diplomacy from Central Asia to Balkan with lack of its attention to the Black Sea area
- ⑤ expansion of Japanese diplomacy from economic aids through
military contribution to security to universal values.

A New Pillar of Japanese Foreign Policy

- 'Arc of Freedom and Prosperity: Japan's Expanding Diplomatic horizons' (Mr. Taro Aso, 30 November 2006)
 - Japan would engage itself to create the "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" along the outer rim of the Eurasian continent, stretching from Northern Europe to Northeast Asia, with a foundation in universal values such as democracy, freedom, human rights, the rule of law, and the market economy.
 - Japan has been walking down the road to "peace and happiness" through economic prosperity and democracy, and Japan could walk together with these states towards creating a prosperous and stable region, that is to say, an Arc of Freedom and Prosperity.
- Three Pillars
 - ① Japan-US alliance
 - ② International cooperation, under the auspices of the UN
 - ③ Relations with neighboring countries

Gas Pipeline Network around the Black Sea Area

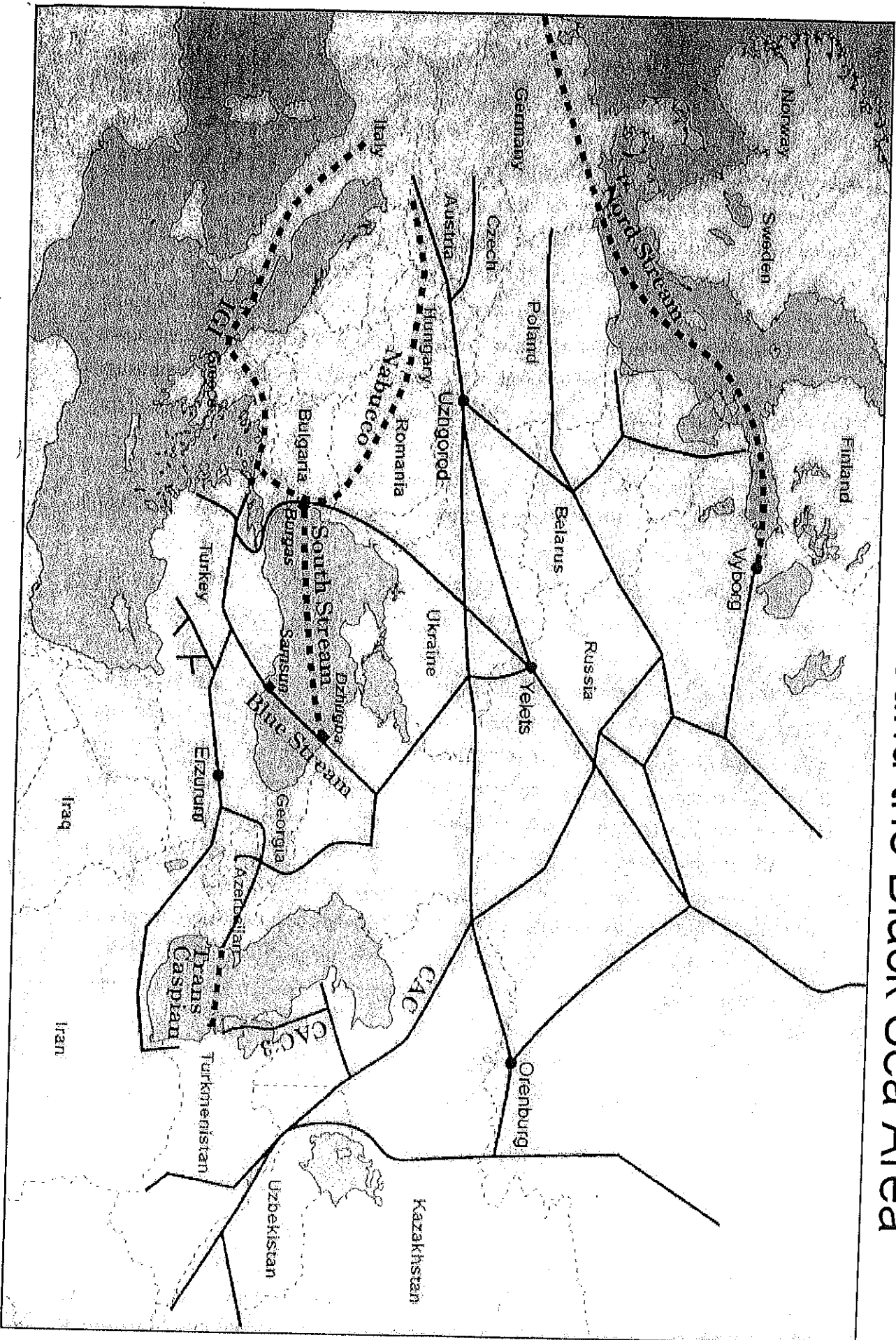
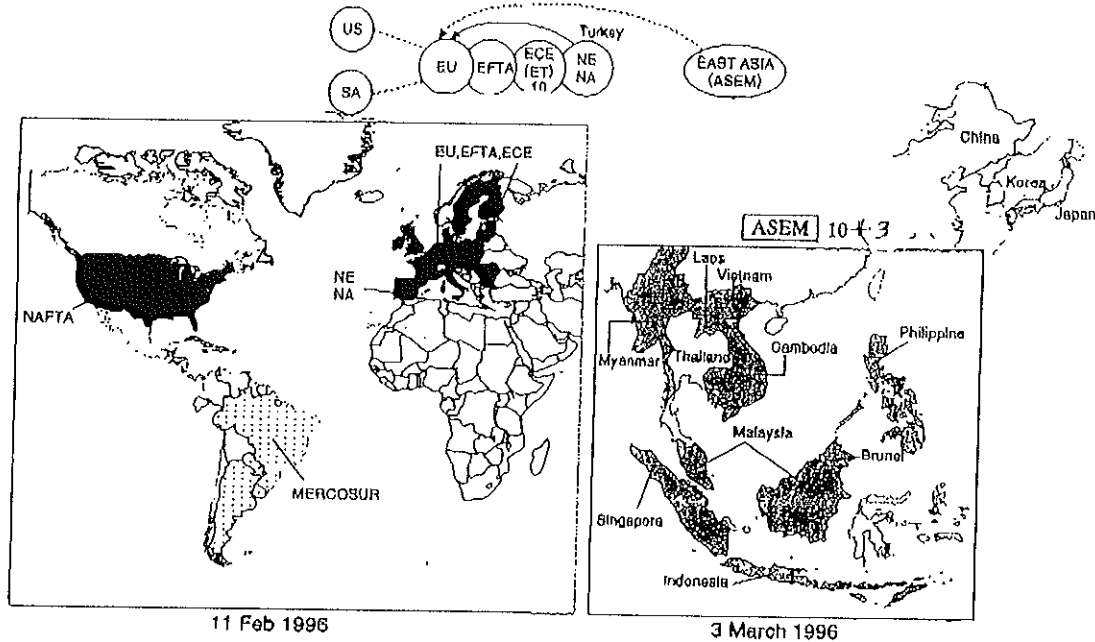


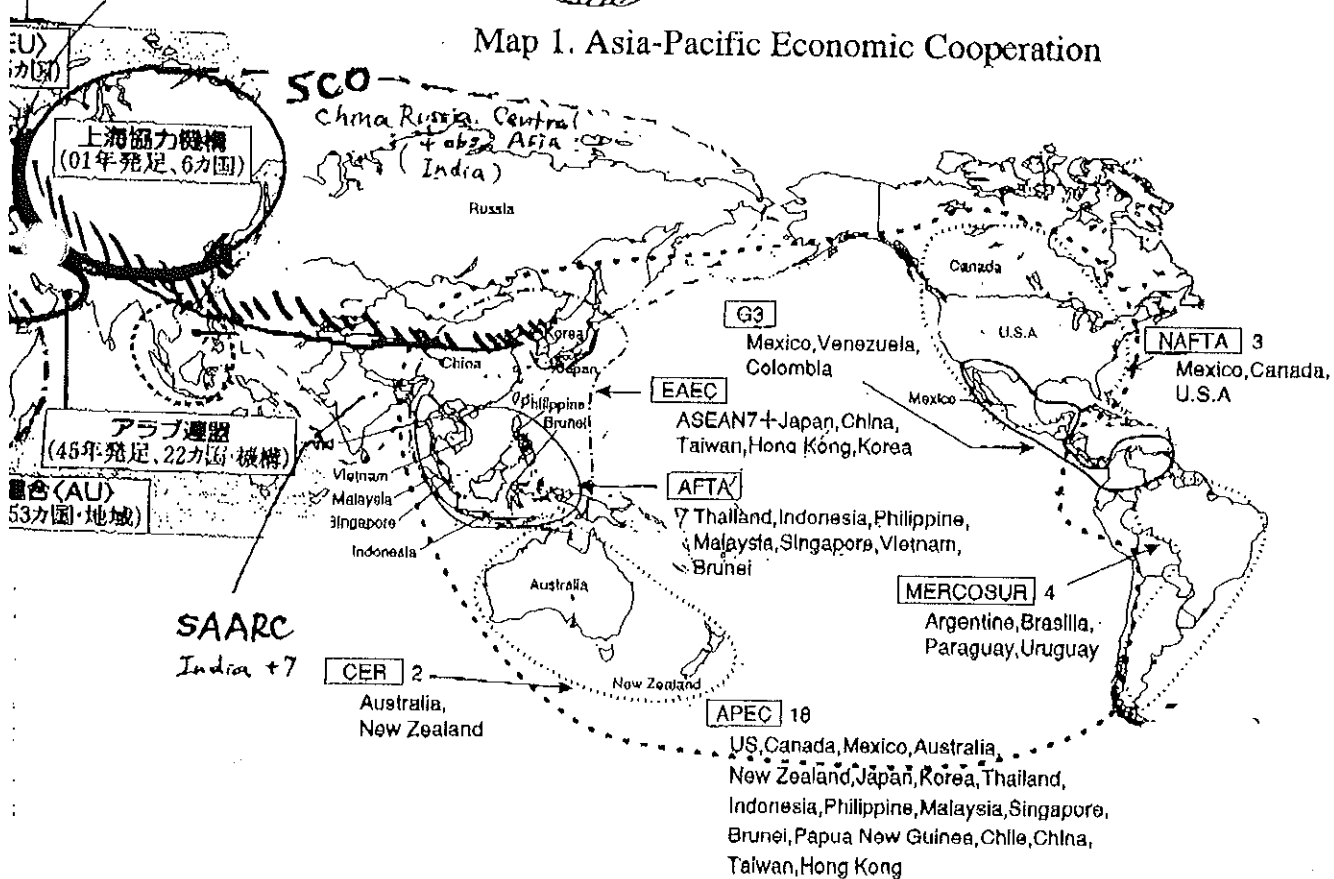
Table 1. Expansion of the EU Trade Treaty



ASAHI SHINBUN

The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity

Map 1. Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation



GDP based by market exchange rate

cf. IMF, Report for Selected Countries and Subjects (April 2005)

No	Country	GDP (million \$)
1	USA	12,438,873
2	Japan	4,799,061
3	Germany	2,906,658
4	UK	2,295,039
5	France	2,216,273
6	China	1,843,117
7	Italy	1,836,407
8	Spain	1,120,312
9	Canada	1,098,446
10	Russia	755,437
11	India	749,443
12	Brazil	732,078
13	Korea	720,772
14	Mexico	714,530
15	Australia	692,436
16	Netherlands	629,391
17	Belgium	387,840
18	Switzerland	384,642
19	Sweden	383,816
20	Taiwan	345,105
21	Turkey	340,263

GDP based by purchasing Power Parity (PPP)

cf. CIA - The World Factbook -- Rank Order - GDP, 2006.

No	Country	GDP (million \$)
1	USA	12,310,000
2	China	8,883,000
3	Japan	4,025,000
4	India	3,666,000
5	Germany	2,480,000
6	UK	1,818,000
7	France	1,794,000
8	Italy	1,667,000
9	Russia	1,584,000
10	Brazil	1,536,000
11	Canada	1,111,000
12	Spain	1,089,100
13	Mexico	1,006,000
14	Korea	994,300
15	Indonesia	977,400
16	Australia	635,500
17	Taiwan	630,000
18	Turkey	584,500
19	Iran	569,900
20	Thailand	550,200
21	Argentina	543,400

2. The Article of the Yomiuri Shimbun on the Dialogue

This Dialogue appeared in the morning edition of "The Yomiuri Shimbun" on November 22, 2007.

2007年11月22日(木)『読売新聞』朝刊6面

黒海地域支援など 日本外交巡り議論 都内で国際会議	日本と黒海周辺諸国の有識者が多国間協力のあり方を探る国際会議「日本・黒海地域対話」(グローバル・フォーラム主催、読売新聞社など後援)が21日、都内で開かれた。会議では、ロシアやトルコなど10か国	の参加者約120人が黒海地域などの支援策を掲げた日本の新たな外交方針「自由と繁栄の弧」の展望などについて意見を交わした。	り重要性が増したと指摘。その上で、日本の麻生外相(当時)が06年11月に提唱した、東欧から東南アジアにかけて地域で民主制度の定着や経済発展を支援する「自由と繁栄の弧」について、「アジアと欧州の持続的な発展協力につながる」(羽場久澄子・青山学院大教授)などの意見が相次いだ。(国際部 田尾茂樹)
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3. An Introduction to the Global Forum of Japan

(1) [Introduction]

【Objectives】 As we embrace the 21st century, international relations are becoming increasingly interdependent, and globalization and regionalism are becoming the big waves. In this global tendency, communicating with the world, especially neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region at both governmental and non-governmental level, is one of the indispensable conditions for Japan to survive. On the basis of such understanding, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote the exchange of views on commonly shared interests and issues in the field ranging from politics and security to economy, trade, finance, society and culture, and to help business leaders, Diet members and opinion leaders both in Japan and in their counterpart countries to discuss about the formulation of new orders in global and regional arenas.

【History】 The 1982 Versailles Summit was widely seen as having exposed rifts within the Western alliance. Accordingly, there were expressed concerns that the summit meetings were becoming more and more stylized rituals and that Western solidarity was at risk. Within this context, it was realized that to revitalize the summit meetings there must be free and unfettered exchanges of private-sector views to be transmitted directly to the heads of the participating states. Accordingly, Japanese former Foreign Minister OKITA Saburo, U.S. Trade Representative William BROCK, E.C. Commission Vice President Etienne DAVIGNON, and Canadian Trade Minister Edward LUMLEY, as representatives of the private-sector in their respective countries, took the initiative in founding The Quadrangular Forum in Washington in September 1982. Since then, the end of the Cold War and the altered nature of the economic summits themselves had made it necessary for The Quadrangular Forum to metamorphose into The Global Forum established by the American and Japanese components of The Quadrangular Forum at the World Convention in Washington in October 1991. In line with its objectives as stated above, The Global Forum was intended as a facilitator of global consensus on the many post-Cold War issues facing the international community and reached out to open its discussions not only to participants from the quadrangular countries but also to participants from other parts of the world. Over the years, the gravity of The Global Forum's activities gradually shifted from its American component (housed in The Center for Strategic and International Studies) to its Japanese component (housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations), and, after the American component ceased to be operative, the Board of Trustees of the Japanese component resolved, on February 7, 1996, that it would thereafter act as an independent body for organizing bilateral dialogues with Japan as a hub for all countries in the world, and amended its by-laws accordingly. At the same time, The Global Forum's Japanese component was reorganized into The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in line with the principle that the organization be self-governing, self-financing, and independent of any other organization.

【Organization】 The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) is a private, non-profit, non-partisan, and independent membership organization in Japan to engage in and promote international exchanges on policy-oriented matters of bilateral, regional and global implications. While the secretariat is housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations, GFJ itself is independent of any other organizations, including The Japan Forum on International Relations. Originally established as the Japanese component of The Quadrangular Forum at the initiative of HATTORI Ichiro, OKITA Saburo, TAKEYAMA Yasuo, TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Chairman and ITO Kenichi as President. The membership is composed of 12 Business Leader Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 87 Opinion Leader Members including the four Governors, ITO Kenichi, MURAKAMI Masayasu, OKAWARA Yoshio, and SHIMADA Haruo; and 21 Political Leader Members including the three Governors, KOIKE Yuriko, HATOYAMA Yukio, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu. Friends and supporters of The Global Forum of the Japan are organized into the Supporters' Club of the Global Forum of Japan. Financially the activities of GFJ have been supported by the annual membership fees paid by 12 leading Japanese business corporations (with 2 corporations, Toyota Motor Corporation and Kikkoman Corporation contributing 5 shares each and the other 10 corporations contributing 1 share each) as well as by the grants provided by The Japan Foundation, Japan-ASEAN Exchange Projects, The Tokyo Club, The Japan-Korea Cultural Foundation, etc. WATANABE Mayu serves as Executive Secretary.

【Activities】 Since the start of The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in 1982, GFJ has shifted its focus from the exchanges with the Quadrangular countries for the purpose of contributing to the Western Summit, to those with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region including US, China, Korea, ASEAN countries, India and Australia European countries, Wider Blacksea area, for the purposes of deepening mutual understanding and contributing to the formation of international order. GFJ has been active in collaboration with international exchange organizations in those countries in organizing policy-oriented intellectual exchanges called "Dialogue." In order to secure a substantial number of Japanese participants in the "Dialogue", GFJ in principle holds these "Dialogues" in Tokyo. A listing of topics of "Dialogues" and its overseas co-sponsors in last five years is given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2003	January April October	Cooperation for Peace and Prosperity in the Asia-Pacific Region Entrepreneurship in Asia New Situation in Asia-Pacific region and Japan-Taiwan Cooperation	ASEAN-ISIS The Mansfield Center for Pacific Affairs (US) Foundation on International & Cross-Strait Studies (Taiwan)
2004	July September November	A Roadmap towards East Asian Community Future Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-China Relationship Future of Korean Peninsula and Japan-U.S.-Korea Security Cooperation	ASEAN-ISIS China Association for International Friendly Contact (China) The Institute for Foreign Policy Analysis, The Fletcher School (US), Yonsei University (Korea)
2005	April June November	The Prospect of East Asian Community and Japan-Korea Cooperation The Prospect for East Asian Community and Regional Cooperation Peace and Prosperity in the Wider Black Sea Area and the Role of Japan	Presidential Committee on Northeast Asian Cooperation Initiative (Korea) ASEAN-ISIS University of Shizuoka, The Black Sea University Foundation (Romania), The International Center for Black Sea Studies (Turkey)
2006	February June September	Review and Perspective of the Japan-Taiwan Relationship An East Asian Community and the United States Prospect for Japan-ASEAN Strategic Partnership after the First East Asia Summit	Taiwan International Studies Association (Taiwan) Pacific Forum CSIS (US), The Council on East Asian Community ASEAN-ISIS
2007	January June July November	The China-Japan Relationship and Energy and Environmental Issues The US-Japan Alliance in the 21st Century The Challenges Facing Japan and ASEAN in the New Era The Second Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China), Energy Research Institute, National Development and Reform Commission (China), The Japan Forum on International Relations National Committee on American Foreign Policy (US) ASEAN-ISIS Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC), Embassy of Turkey, University of Shizuoka
2008	January	The Second Japan-US-Asia Dialogue	The Council on East Asia Community, Pacific Forum CSIS (US)

Membership List of The Global Forum of Japan

As of February 14, 2008

In alphabetical order

【Chairman】

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

【President】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

【Executive Governor】

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

【Business Leader Governors】

MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation

TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation

【Diet Member Governors】

HAToyAMA Yukio, Member of the House of Representatives (DPJ)

KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)

TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)

【Opinion Leader Governors】

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

MURAKAMI Masayasu, Acting Executive Director, The Japan Forum on International Relations, Inc.

OKAWARA Yoshio, President, Institute for International Policy Studies

SHIMADA Haruo, President, Chiba University of Commerce

【Business Leader Members】(12 Members)

IMAI Takashi, Honorary Chairman, Nippon Steel Corporation

ISHIKAWA Hiroshi, Director, Kajima Corporation

KATSUMATA Tsunehisa, President, Tokyo Electric Power Company

KOBAYASHI Yotaro, Chief Corporate Advisor, Fuji Xerox Co., Ltd.

KUSAKARI Takao, Chairman, Nippon Yusen Kabushiki Kaisha

MATSUNO Haruki, Chief Executive Counselor, Member of the Board, Nippon Telegraph and Telephone Corporation

MOGI Yuzaburo, Chairman and CEO, Kikkoman Corporation

OKAYAMA Norio, Chairman, Sumitomo Electric Industries, Ltd.

SEYA Hiromichi, Senior Corporate Adviser, Asahi Glass Co., Ltd.

TAKAGAKI Tasuku, Senior Advisor, The Bank of Tokyo-Mitsubishi, Ltd.

YAGUCHI Toshikazu, President, Biru Daiko Co., Ltd.

TOYODA Shoichiro, Honorary Chairman, Toyota Motor Corporation

【Diet Member Members】(21 Members)

AICHI Kazuo, Member of the House of Representatives (LDP)

HAToyAMA Yukio, M.H.R. (DPJ)

HOSODA Hiroyuki, M.H.R. (LDP)

IWAKUNI Tetsundo, M.H.R. (DPJ)

KITAGAMI Keiro, M.H.R. (DPJ)

KOIKE Yuriko, M.H.R. (LDP)

NAGASHIMA Akihisa, M.H.R. (DPJ)

NAKAGAWA Masaharu, M.H.R. (DPJ)

OGUSHI Hiroshi, M.H.R. (DPJ)

SHIOZAKI Yasuhisa, M.H.R. (LDP)

SUZUKI Keisuke, M.H.R. (LDP)

TANIGAKI Sadakazu, M.H.R. (LDP)

UEDA Isamu, M.H.R. (NK)

YAMAGUCHI Tsuyosi, M.H.R. (DPJ)

YAMANAKA Akiko, M.H.R. (LDP)

ASAO Keiichiro, Member of the House of Councillors (DPJ)

FUJITA Yukihisa, M.H.C. (DPJ)

HAYASHI Yoshimasa, M.H.C. (LDP)

HIRONAKA Wakako, M.H.C. (DPJ)

NAITO Masamitsu, M.H.C. (DPJ)

SEKOU Hironari, M.H.C. (LDP)

【Opinion Leader Members】(87 Members)

AKASHI Yasushi, Chairman, The Japan Center for Conflict Prevention

AOKI Tamotsu, Commissioner, Agency for Cultural Affairs

AMAKO Satoshi, Professor, Waseda University

ASOMURA Kuniaki, Dean, International Cooperation Course, Graduate School, Kibi International University

EBATA Kensuke, Defense Commentator

FUKUSHIMA Teruhiko, J.F. Oberlin University

GYOHTEN Toyoo, President, Institute for International Monetary Affairs

HAKAMADA Shigeki, Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University

HARUNA Mikio, Professor, Graduate School of Nagoya University

HASEGAWA Kazutoshi, President, Japan-Australia-New Zealand Society

HATA Kei, Vice Principal, Sakushin Gakuin

HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Councilor, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University

ICHIKAWA Isao, Executive Advisor for Financial Affairs, Keio University

IKEO Aiko, Professor, Waseda University

IMAGAWA Yukio, Former Ambassador to Cambodia

INA Hisayoshi, Columnist, The Nikkei Newspaper

INOUCHI Takashi, Professor, The University of Tokyo

IOKIBE Makoto, President, The National Defense Academy of Japan

ITO Eisei, Corporate Auditor, Toyota Auto Body Co., Ltd.

ITO Kenichi, President and CEO, The Japan Forum on International Relations Inc.

ITO Tsuyoshi, Professor, Meiji University

IWAMA Yoko, Associate Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

IZUMI Hajime, Professor, University of Shizuoka

JIMBO Ken, Assistant Professor, Keio University

KAKIZAWA Koji, former Minister of Foreign Affairs

KAMIYA Mataka, Professor, National Defense Academy

KANEKO Kumao, President, Japan Council for Economic Research

KAWAI Masao, Guest Professor, Hakuo University

KIMURA Takayuki, Guest Professor, International Christian University

KINOSHITA Hiroo, Advisor, National Small Business & Information Promotion Center

KOGURE Masayoshi, former Professor, Toyo University

KOJIMA Tomoyuki, Professor, Keio University

KOKUBUN Ryosei, Professor, Keio University

KONDO Tetsuo, President, Institute for New Era Strategy (INES)

KUBO Fumiaki, Professor, Keio University

MANO Teruhiko, Professor under special assignment, Seigakuin University

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[Note] DPJ: Democratic Party of Japan
LDP: Liberal Democratic Party
NK: New Komeito

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4. An Introduction to Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)

About BSEC

On 25 June 1992, the Heads of State and Government of eleven countries, Albania, Armenia, Azerbaijan, Bulgaria, Georgia, Greece, Moldova, Romania, Russia, Turkey and Ukraine signed in Istanbul the Summit Declaration and the Bosphorus Statement, giving birth to the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC).

It came into existence as a unique and promising model of multilateral political and economic initiative aimed at fostering interaction and harmony among the Member States, ensuring peace, stability and prosperity, and encouraging friendly and good-neighborly relations in the Black Sea region.

In March 1994, the BSEC Headquarters—the Permanent International Secretariat of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC PERMIS)—was established in Istanbul. With the entry into the force of its Charter on 1 May 1999, BSEC acquired international legal identity and was transformed into a full-fledged regional economic organization: ORGANIZATION OF THE BLACK SEA ECONOMIC COOPERATION. With the accession of Serbia in April 2004, the organization's Member States increased to twelve.

Facts about the BSEC Region

BSEC covers a geography encompassing the territories of the Black Sea littoral States, the Balkans and the Caucasus with an area of nearly 20 million square kilometers. The BSEC region is located on two continents.

BSEC represents a region of approximately 350 million people with a foreign trade capacity of over USD 300 billion annually.

Next to the Persian Gulf region, it is the second-largest source of source of oil and natural gas along with its rich proven reserves of minerals and metals.

It is becoming Europe's major transport and energy transfer corridor.

BSEC Economic Agenda

BSEC Economic Agenda for the future towards a more consolidated, effective and viable BSEC partnership:

- I. Acceleration of effective multilateral economic cooperation and attainment of sustainable development
- II. Cooperation in the field of institutional renewal and governance
- III. Soft security measures in the framework of multilateral economic cooperation
- IV. BSEC: towards the mature partnership, common, endeavor and shared values
- V. External relations of the BSEC organization

Related Bodies and Affiliated Centers : Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC), BSEC Business Council (BSECBC), Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB), International Center for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS), BSEC Coordination Center for the Exchange of Statistical Data and Economic Information

Sectoral Dialogue Partnership : Black Sea International Shipowners Association (BINSIA), Black & Azov Seas Ports Association (BASPA), Union of Road Transport Association in the Black Sea, Economic Cooperation Region (BSEC-URTA), Black Sea Region Association of Shipbuilders and Shiprepairers (BRASS), Regional Commonwealth in the Field of Communications (RCC), International Network for SMEs (INSME)

5. An Introduction to University of Shizuoka

Mission

In order to promote local development within the context of the nation's future as a center of "Creativity, Knowledge, Cooperation, and Diligence," the University of Shizuoka constantly dedicates itself to:

- taking up the challenge of establishing new advanced fields of knowledge
- supporting students in their quest to realize future dreams
- contributing to regional development and problem solving
- anticipating and managing change for on-going institutional improvement

Vision

As it promotes excellence in education and maintains a superior record of academic research, the University of Shizuoka focuses on the quality of the living and study environment of the students, while remaining ever-mindful of the need to manage the institution in such a way that it can capitalize on its close relationship with local society. Our ever-present goal is to keep the university move toward the future.

History and Highlights

In 1982, Shizuoka Prefectural Assembly decided to recognize the prefectural university and colleges. In 1987 the Shizuoka College of Pharmacy (est. 1953), Shizuoka Women's University (est. 1967) and Shizuoka Women's Junior College (est. 1951) were amalgamated into one broad-based university and named the University of Shizuoka, which was opened with Dr. Koji UCHIZONO as the first president. Since then the University of Shizuoka developed its postgraduate programs, and founded Graduate School of Pharmaceutical Sciences (1988), Graduate School of Nutritional and Environment Science (1990) and of International Relations (1991), Graduate School of Administration and Informatics (1997), and Graduate School of Nursing (2000). The University of Shizuoka has also established friendship agreements or so-called Inter-University Agreements with 12 universities and Inter-Departmental Agreements with 7 universities from overseas, including Hangzhou University in Zhejiang Province, China (1988), California State University in Northridge, CA, U.S.A., and Moscow State Institute of International Relations in Moscow, Russia (1991), the University of Philippines (1996), and the University of Newcastle upon Tyne in Newcastle, U.K. (1999). Beginning in the 2002 academic year, the University of Shizuoka was designated by the Ministry of Education, Culture, Sports, Science, and Technology as a center for the nation-wide "21st Century Center of Excellence (COE) Program." In the summer of 2007, the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science (JSPS) approved of the university's proposal for Global COE program—a novel 5-year program, which provides funding support for establishing Centers of Excellence with a distinguished education system and outstanding research activities to elevate the international competitiveness of Japanese universities.

This year, the University of Shizuoka is celebrating the 20th anniversary of its foundation. Just as the traditions and characters of the old colleges combined to inspire the newly-established university 20 years ago, the University of Shizuoka will continue to count on the tradition of quality and excellence, which has been maintained as guidance to the next new important era, as the university becomes an independent corporate body devoted to education.

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