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# THE 4th JAPAN-BLACK SEA AREA DIALOGUE

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**“How to Develop Japan and Black Sea Area Cooperation”**

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## Conference Papers

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February 20-21, 2013  
At the International House of Japan  
Tokyo, Japan

Co-sponsored by  
The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)

Supported by  
Worldwide Support for Development (WSD)  
The Tokyo Club

Under the Auspices of  
The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan  
The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

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# 1. program

**第4回「日・黒海地域対話」**  
**The Fourth JAPAN-BLACK SEA AREA DIALOGUE**  
**「日・黒海地域協力の発展に向けて」**  
**How to Develop Japan and Black Sea Area Cooperation**

on February 20-21, 2013  
 at International House of Japan / 国際文化会館

共催 / Co-Sponsored by  
 グローバル・フォーラム / The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)  
 黒海経済協力機構 / Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)

助成 / Supported by  
 世界開発協力機構 / Worldwide Support for Development (WSD)  
 東京倶楽部 / The Tokyo Club

後援 / Under the Auspices of  
 日本国外務省 / The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan  
 日本国際フォーラム / The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)

**Wednesday, 20 February, 2013**

**"Room Tsuru," Imperial Hotel / 帝国ホテル「鶴の間」**

**開幕レセプション \*特別招待者のみ / Welcome Reception \*Invitation Only**

**19:00-20:30** 松山 政司 日本国外務副大臣主催開幕レセプション  
 Welcome Reception hosted by MATSUYAMA Masaji, Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

**Thursday, 21 February, 2013**

**"Lecture Hall," International House of Japan / 国際文化会館「講堂」**

**開会挨拶 / Opening Remarks**

<b>9:30-10:00</b>	
開会挨拶 A (5分間) Opening Remarks A (5min.)	伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム執行世話人 ITO Kenichi, President, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)
開会挨拶 B (5分間) Opening Remarks B (5min.)	ヴィクトル・ツヴィルクン BSEC事務総長 Victor TVIRCUN, Secretary General, BSEC
開会挨拶 C (15分間) Opening Remarks C (15min.)	山田 淳 外務省欧州局審議官 YAMADA Jun, Deputy Director-General, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs

**本会議 I / Session I**

<b>10:00-12:00</b>	<b>「変容する世界における黒海地域」</b> <b>The Black Sea Area in the Changing World</b>
共同議長 (5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	竹中 繁雄 前アジア生産性機構事務総長 TAKENAKA Shigeo, former Secretary General of Asian Productivity Organization ミコラ・メレネフスキ ウクライナ外務省無任所大使(ウクライナ) Mykola MELENEVSKYI, Ambassador at large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (Ukraine)
基調報告 A (15分間) Keynote Speaker A (15min.)	六鹿 茂夫 静岡県立大学教授 / グローバル・フォーラム「日・黒海地域関係研究会」代表 MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Professor, University of Shizuoka / President, The Study Group on "Japan-Black Sea Area Relations," GFJ
基調報告 B (15分間) Keynote Speaker B (15min.)	ミシャト・レンデ トルコ外務省多国間経済局長 (トルコ) Mithat RENDE, Director General, Multilateral Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (Turkey)
コメントA (5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	小池百合子 衆議院議員(自由民主党) / グローバル・フォーラム国会議員世話人 KOIKE Yuriko, Member of the House of Representatives (LDP) / Diet Member Governor, GFJ
コメントB (5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	ユアン・ミルチャ・パシュク 欧州議会議員・同外交副委員長 Ioan Mircea PASCU, Member of the European Parliament (EP), Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of EP
コメントC (5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	宇山 智彦 北海道大学スラブ研究センター教授 UYAMA Tomohiko, Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University
コメントD (5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	レヴァズ・ベシツェ 駐日グルジア大使 (グルジア) Revaz BESHIDZE, Ambassador of Georgia to Japan (Georgia)
自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (45min.)	出席者全員 All Participants
議長総括 (10分間) Summarization by Co-Chairpersons (10min.)	竹中 繁雄 前アジア生産性機構事務総長 TAKENAKA Shigeo, former Secretary General of Asian Productivity Organization ミコラ・メレネフスキ ウクライナ外務省無任所大使(ウクライナ) Mykola MELENEVSKYI, Ambassador at large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (Ukraine)

**昼食 / Lunch**

**12:00-13:00** Lunch Break / 昼食休憩

本会議Ⅱ / Session II	
13:00-15:05	<b>「黒海地域の開発戦略」 The Development Strategy of the Black Sea Area</b>
共同議長(5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	<p>廣野 良吉 成蹊大学名誉教授 / 日本国際フォーラム客員上席研究員 HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University/ Visiting Superior Research Fellow, The Japan Forum on International Relations</p> <p>エミン・ママドフ アゼルバイジャン外務省経済開発協力局局長 (アゼルバイジャン) Emin MAMMADOV, Head of Division, Department of Economic Cooperation and Development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs</p>
基調報告 A (15分間) Keynote Speaker A (15min.)	<p>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 (ロシア) Sergei GONCHARENKO, Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Russia)</p>
基調報告 B (15分間) Keynote Speaker B (15min.)	<p>服部 倫卓 ロシアNIS経済研究所次長 HATTORI Michitaka, Deputy director, Institute for Russian &amp; NIS Economic Studies</p>
コメントA(5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	<p>アジム・パシヨリ アルバニア外務省地域協力局長 (アルバニア) Agim PASHOLLI, Head of Regional Initiatives Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Albania)</p>
コメントB(5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	<p>蓮見 雄 立正大学教授 HASUMI Yu, Professor, Rissho University</p>
コメントC(5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	<p>ニコラオス・ツアマドス 駐日ギリシャ大使 (ギリシャ) Nikolaos TSAMADOS, Ambassador of Greece to Japan (Greece)</p>
コメントD(5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	<p>袴田 茂樹 新潟県立大学教授/日本国際フォーラム評議員 HAKAMADA Shigeki, Professor, University of Niigata Prefecture / Trustee, JFIR</p>
コメントE(5分間) Lead Discussant E (5min.)	<p>ボヤナ・アダモビッチ・ドラゴビッチ 駐日セルビア大使 (セルビア) Bojana ADAMOVIC DRAGOVIC, Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia (Serbia)</p>
自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (45min.)	<p>出席者全員 All Participants</p>
議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Co-Chairpersons (10min.)	<p>廣野 良吉 成蹊大学名誉教授 / 日本国際フォーラム客員上席研究員 HIRONO Ryokichi, Professor Emeritus, Seikei University/ Visiting Superior Research Fellow, The Japan Forum on International Relations</p> <p>エミン・ママドフ アゼルバイジャン外務省経済開発協力局局長 (アゼルバイジャン) Emin MAMMADOV, Head of Division, Department of Economic Cooperation and Development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Azerbaijan)</p>
15:05-15:15	<b>休憩/Break</b>
本会議Ⅲ / Session III	
15:15-17:15	<b>「黒海地域の将来と日本の役割」 The Role of Japan for the Future of the Black Sea Area</b>
共同議長(5分間) Co-Chairpersons (5min.)	<p>平林 博 グローバル・フォーラム常任世話人 HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Vice President, GFJ</p> <p>ラドゥ・ペトル・シェルバン 駐日ルーマニア大使 (ルーマニア) Radu Petru SERBAN, Ambassador of Romania to Japan (Romania)</p>
基調報告 A (15分間) Keynote Speaker A (15min.)	<p>河津 邦彦 外務省欧州局中・東欧課長 KAWAZU Kunihiko, Deputy Director, Central and South Eastern Europe Division, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs</p>
基調報告 B(15分間) Keynote Speaker B (15min.)	<p>ゲオルギ・ヴァシレフ 駐日ブルガリア大使 (ブルガリア) Georgi VASSILEV, Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria to Japan (Bulgaria)</p>
コメントA(5分間) Lead Discussant A (5min.)	<p>小寺 清 国際協力機構理事 KODERA Kiyoshi, Vice President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)</p>
コメントB(5分間) Lead Discussant B (5min.)	<p>アレクセイ・ニステリアン モルドバ外務省地域協力局長(モルドバ) Alexei NISTREAN, Director of Regional Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Moldova)</p>
コメントC(5分間) Lead Discussant C (5min.)	<p>金原 主幸 日本経済団体連合会国際経済本部部長 KINBARA Kazuyuki, Director, International Affairs Bureau, Japan Business Federation (KEIDANREN)</p>
コメントD(5分間) Lead Discussant D (5min.)	<p>グラント・ポゴシヤン 駐日アルメニア大使 (アルメニア) Grant POGOSYAN, Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to Japan (Armenia)</p>
自由討議 (55分間) Free Discussions (45min.)	<p>出席者全員 All Participants</p>
議長総括(10分間) Summarization by Co-Chairpersons (10min.)	<p>平林 博 グローバル・フォーラム常任世話人 HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi, Vice President, GFJ</p> <p>ラドゥ・ペトル・シェルバン 駐日ルーマニア大使 (ルーマニア) Radu Petru SERBAN, Ambassador of Romania to Japan (Romania)</p>

[NOTE] English-Japanese simultaneous interpretation will be provided / 日本語・英語同時通訳付き

## 2. Biographies of the Panelists

### **【Black Sea Area Panelists】**

**Victor TVIRCUN**

*Secretary General, BSEC*

Received Ph.D. in History. Served as various posts including Ambassador of the Republic of Moldova in the Republic of Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Arab Republic of Egypt (2001-2005), State of Kuwait, State of Qatar, Republic of Lebanon, Kingdom of Saudi Arabia, Sultanate of Oman, Minister of Education and Youth of the Republic of Moldova (2005-2008), Director of the Institute of European Integration and Political Science in Chisinau (2009-2010), Professor of the Pedagogical University (2010-2012).

**Mykola MELENEVSKYI**

*Ambassador at large, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (Ukraine)*

He worked as an interpreter, and at the Academy of Sciences of Ukraine for one year. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1981, but returned to the Academy of Sciences three years later, where he enrolled for post graduate studies in 1983. He worked at the Kyiv City Trade Union council for six years until 1992, after which he returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Served as Head of the Human Rights Division in the ministry's United Nations Department, Deputy Director of the United Nations Division and Deputy Director General for the Central European Initiative.

**Mithat RENDE**

*Director General, Multilateral Economic Affairs,*

*Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey (Turkey)*

Graduated from Faculty of Political Sciences in Ankara University. Completed the Post Graduate Program of the Royal College of Defence Studies London on Security and International Relations in 2000. Served as Counsellor at the Turkish Embassy in London and Deputy Permanent Representative of Turkey to the International Maritime Organisation (IMO) from 1996-2000. Ambassador of Turkey to the State of Qatar before assuming the current post.

**Ioan Mircea PASCU**

*Member of the European Parliament (EP),*

*Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Committee of EP*

Received Ph.D. in Political Science from the Institute of Political Sciences, Bucharest in 1980. Served as various posts including Presidential Counselor (1990-92), Visiting Senior Research Fellow at the Japan Forum on International Relations (1992-1993), State Secretary in Defense Ministry (1993-96), Chairman of the Defense Committee in The Chamber of Deputies (1996-2000), Minister of National Defense of Romania (2000-2004), Member, Vice-Chair of the Foreign Affairs Ctee since 2007.

**Revaz BESHIDZE**

*Ambassador of Georgia to Japan (Georgia)*

Received Ph.D. in Geography from Tbilisi State University in 1990. Entered the Georgian Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1996. Held various positions, including Head of Military Cooperation Division Department for Politico-Military Affairs, Director of the Department for Politico-Military Affairs,

Director of the Department for Security Policy and Euro-Atlantic Integration, Head of Mission of Georgia to NATO before assuming the current post in 2009.

**Emin MAMMADOV** *Head of Division, Department of Economic Cooperation and Development of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Azerbaijan)*

Received M.A. in Business Administration from Azerbaijan State University of Economics in 2007. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Served in various positions, including Attaché and Third Secretary, Economic and trade section, Permanent Mission of Azerbaijan to UN Office and other International Organizations in Geneva (2001-2004), Second and First Secretary, Economic and trade issues, Embassy of Azerbaijan to Switzerland(2006-2010).

**Sergei GONCHARENKO** *Deputy Director, Department of Economic Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation (Russia)*

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 in 2001 and in 2006, Chairman of the Working Group on Economic Cooperation at the Barents/Euro-Arctic Council in 2000-2001 and in 2006-2009, and Chairman of the Working Group on Economic Cooperation at the Council of the Baltic Sea States in 2001-2002.

**Agim PASHOLLI** *Head of Regional Initiatives Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Albania)*

Graduated from University of Tirana (1973). Served as Head of Division and Deputy Director, "M.Duri" Company (1973-1989), Chief of Economic Relations Office at the Albanian Embassy, Hungary (1993-1996), National Coordinator of the BSEC (1996-2013) National Coordinator of CEi 1996-2013) and Director of Multilateral Initiatives Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2005-2012).

**Nikolaos TSAMADOS** *Ambassador of Greece to Japan (Greece)*

Received Ph.D. from the Freie Universität Berlin. Entered the Greek Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1982. Held various positions, including Deputy and acting General Director for Development Cooperation, Deputy Permanent Representative at the Council of Europe in Strasbourg, France, and Director of A5 Directorate for Russia and other C.I.S. countries, before assuming the current post in 2009.

**Bojana ADAMOVIC DRAGOVIC** *Ambassador of the Republic of Serbia (Serbia)*

Entered the Foreign Affairs in 1979. Served as various positions, including First Counsellor, Department for International Organizations (1990-1998), Counsellor, Mission of the Federal Republic of Yugoslavia to the United Nations in New York (1998-2001), Minister Counsellor, Department for International Organizations,(2001-2004), Minister Counsellor, Embassy of the Republic of Serbia and Montenegro/Republic of Serbia, New Delhi, India, Deputy Head of Mission (2004-2008), Head of Asia, Australia and Pacific Department (2009).

**Radu Petru SERBAN**

*Ambassador of Romania to Japan (Romania)*

Graduated from the Academy of Economic Studies – Faculty of International Economic Relations, Bucharest (1975), holds a Ph.D in Economy on “European Economic Integration” (2000) and a Diploma on “Global Security Issues” from Georgetown University (2003). Joined the Ministry of Economy and Commerce in 1989. Served as various positions, including Economic Counselor in Sweden, Minister Counselor for Economic Affairs at the Mission of Romania to the EU. In 2002, he joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Romania, being appointed Director General for Economic Diplomacy. His overseas assignments from MoFA include Brussels as Deputy Chief of Mission and London as Minister Plenipotentiary of the Romanian Embassies. The ambassador is also author of a number of articles and books on economy, trade and European integration.

**Georgi VASSILEV**

*Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria (Bulgaria)*

Graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations. He has completed a number of courses and academic specializations for diplomats and senior executives in the field of foreign, security and defense policy. Joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Bulgaria in 1988. Served as Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Bulgaria to the Socialist Republic of Vietnam (2006-2010). He has received an Honorary Sign of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Republic of Bulgaria, as well as numerous other Bulgarian and foreign distinctions.

**Alexei NISTREAN**

*Director of Regional Cooperation Directorate, Ministry of Foreign Affairs (Moldova)*

Received PhD in Economics from the Academy of Economic Studies, Moldova. Received M.A. in Diplomatic Studies from University of Westminster, UK. Served in various posts, including Director of the Department of International Economic Organizations, Mofa (1996-1997), Director of the Department of UN and Specialized Agencies, Mofa (2003-2006), Executive Manager, BSEC PERMIS, Istanbul, in Turkey (2006-2012).

**Grant POGOSYAN**

*Ambassador of the Republic of Armenia to Japan (Armenia)*

Received Ph.D. in Computer Science from USSR Academy of Sciences in 1982. Served as Professor at International Christian University, Tokyo (1996-2012), Visiting Professor at University of Montreal, Canada (1997-1998), Rutgers University, USA (1999-2000), Ecole Normale Supérieure (ENS), France (2005-2006), Advisor (Japanese Affairs) Minister of Foreign Affairs, Republic of Armenia (2004-2010), and Advisor to the Embassy of Republic of Armenia in Tokyo (2010-2012).

(In order of appearance)

## 【Japanese Panelists】

### ITO Kenichi

*President, Global Forum of Japan (GFI)*

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University. Entered Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at Harvard University (1961-1963). Served various positions, including Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Served as Professor at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). Concurrently serving as President of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR), President of Council on East Asian Community (CEAC), and Professor Emeritus at Aoyama Gakuin University. Received an Honorary Doctorate from the University of Cambodia (2011).

### YAMADA Jun

*Deputy Director-General, European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Received LLM from University of London in 1985. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1985. Served as various positions, including Deputy Director, Science & Nuclear Energy Division, Arms Control & Science Department (1993-1995), Senior Coordinator for G8 Summit, Economic Affairs Bureau (1998), Counsellor, Embassy of Japan in the United States (2002-2005) and Ambassador and Deputy Chief, Mission of Japan to the European Union (2011-2012).

### TAKENAKA Shigeo

*former Secretary General of Asian Productivity Organization*

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University and enter Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1965. Served in various posts including Ambassador to Bangladesh and Ambassador to Turkey until 2003. Served as Secretary-General of the Asian Productivity Organization until 2009.

### MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo

*Professor, University of Shizuoka*

*/ President, The Study Group on "Japan-Black Sea Area Relations," GFI*

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 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. Concurrently serves as President of the Study Group on Japan-Black Sea Area Relations of GFI as well as Director of the Wider Europe Research Center at University of Shizuoka.

### KOIKE Yuriko

*Member of the House of Representatives (LDP)/ Diet Member Governor, GFI*

Graduated from Cairo University. Severed as a TV Personality and Arabist (2003-06), Minister of the Environment (2006), Special Advisor to Prime Minister on National Security Affairs (2007), Japan's first female Defense Minister (2007-2008). Currently serves as a member of the House of Representative. Author of books and magazine articles on Japanese politics, international affairs and career women's networking.

**UYAMA Tomohiko**

*Professor, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo in 1991. Received M.A. in Area Studies, Graduate School of Arts and Sciences from the University of Tokyo in 1993. Served as Attaché, Embassy of Japan in the Republic of Kazakhstan (1994–1995), Visiting Scholar, Institute of Oriental Studies, National Academy of Sciences of the Republic of Kazakhstan (1995–1996) and Associate Professor of Central Asian Studies, Slavic Research Center, Hokkaido University (1996–2006).

**HIRONO Ryokichi**

*Professor Emeritus, Seikei University/*

*Visiting Superior Research Fellow, The Japan Forum on International Relations*

Graduated from the University of Chicago and completed research program in 1958. Served as Assistant Professor, Associate Professor and Professor at Seikei University. Currently Professor Emeritus, Seikei University, and concurrently serving as Director, Japan Committee for UNICEF, Senior Advisor, Japan Evaluation Society (JES), Senior Program Advisor, United Nations University (UNU) and Visiting Superior Research Fellow of JFIR.

**HATTORI Michitaka**

*Deputy director, Institute for Russian & NIS Economic Studies*

Graduated from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies, Russian Faculty. Received M.A. from School of International Politics, Economics and Communication, Aoyama Gakuin University in 1989. Served as Attaché, Japan Embassy in Republic of Belarus (1989-2001), Economist, Senior Economist and Vice Director, Institute for Russia & NIS Economic Studies (1989-), Editor in Chief, Russia & NIS Business Monthly (2004-).

**HASUMI Yu**

*Professor, Risho University*

Received M.A. in Area Studies from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies in 1988. Served as Economist at Institute for Russian & NIS Economic Studies, Japan Association for Trade with Russia & NIS. Chief of Secretariat at Institute of Eurasian Studies, Associate Researcher at Keio Jean Monnet Centre for EU Studies, Vice-chief Editor at Monthly Journal 'Russian-Eurasian Economy and Society', Director at the European Union Studies Association-Japan.

**HAKAMADA Shigeki**

*Professor, University of Niigata / Prefecture Trustee, JFIR*

Graduated from Faculty of Letters, University of Tokyo majoring in Philosophy. Completed postgraduate studies at Moscow State University and doctoral course at Graduate school of University of Tokyo. Entered Aoyama Gakuin University as Professor in 1982 and served as Dean of School of International Politics, Economics and Business of the same university from 2002-04. Concurrently held posts as Visiting Research Fellow of Princeton University, as Visiting Professor of University of Tokyo, Moscow State University and University of World Economy and Diplomacy in Uzbekistan.

**HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi**

*Vice President, GFI*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1963. From 1991 to 2006, served successively as Deputy Chief of Mission in Washington, D.C., Director-General of Economic Cooperation Bureau at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Chief Cabinet Councilor on External Affairs at Prime Minister's Cabinet, Ambassador to India and Ambassador to France. Actually, Vice-President of The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR), Executive Vice-President of The Council on East Asian Community (CEAC), President of the Japan-India Association.

**KAWAZU Kunihiko**

*Deputy Director, Central and South Eastern Europe Division,*

*European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Entered the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1990. Served as various positions, including Principal Deputy Director, Status of U.S. Force Agreement Office, Japan-U.S. Security Treaty Division, North American Affairs Bureau (2002-2004), First Secretary, the Permanent Mission of Japan to the United Nations and Other International Organization of Geneva (2004-2007) and Director, Cabinet Legislation Bureau (2007-2010).

**KODERA Kiyoshi**

*Vice President, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Served as Alternate Executive Director for Japan at the World Bank (1991-1994), Country Director for Central Asia at the World Bank (1997-2001), Deputy Vice-Minister of Finance for International Affairs, Ministry of Finance (2005), Executive Secretary of the Joint World Bank-IMF Development Committee, and Deputy Corporate Secretary of the World Bank (2006-2010).

**KINBARA Kazuyuki** *Director, International Affairs Bureau, Japan Business Federation (KEIDANREN)*

Graduated from the University of Tokyo. Received M.Litt. of International Relations from Faculty of Social Studies, the University of Oxford in 1983. Entered KEIDANREN in 1979. Served as various positions, including Special Assistant to the Japanese Ambassador to the Mission of Japan to the EC (Brussels), Senior Research Fellow, 21st Public Policy Institute, Group Manager for European Affairs/Trade Affairs, Deputy Director, International Economic Affairs Bureau.

(In order of appearance)

### 3. Keynote Papers

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#### *Session I: The Black Sea Area in the Changing World*

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**MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo**

**Professor, University of Shizuoka / President, The Study Group on  
“Japan-Black Sea Area Relations,” GFJ**

#### International Politics in Transition in the Black Sea Area

##### 1. Fluctuations in the international political structure of the Black Sea area

The international politics of the Black Sea area has always been in constant change. Historically, the Black Sea was controlled by the Ottoman Empire from the end of fifteenth century, was dominated by the Russian and Ottoman Empires in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, became an internationalized sea with the involvement of Britain, France, and Austria-Hungary in 19<sup>th</sup> century, and eventually became the sea where NATO and the Warsaw Treaty Organization confronted each other during the Cold War era. Immediately after the Revolutions of Eastern European in 1989 and the demise of the Soviet Union in 1991, it became a sea in a vacuum of power, where none of the great powers dominated. However, soon after it again came under Russian and Turkish control, as the two countries strengthened mutual cooperation beginning around 1997~1998 in order to maintain the status quo in region. However, the Black Sea began to become internationalized again as EU and NATO eastward enlargements approached around 2002~2003, resulting in intensified confrontation between status-quo forces aiming to keep the Black Sea closed, and revisionist forces aiming to open it to international society. As such, the power structure of international politics in the Black Sea area became, in essence, a bi-polar one.

Significantly, this structure composed of status-quo and revisionist forces in the Black Sea region can be discerned not only in the dimension of relations among the states, but also in sub-national, trans-national and regional dimensions in the Black Sea region. Thus, sub-national and trans-national actors such as political elites, ethnic organizations, religious organizations, NGOs seeking democracy and human rights, commercial enterprises, non-state military groups, terrorist organizations, organized crime syndicates, local entities, etc., in the Black Sea region have also promoted activities supporting the status-quo or revisionism in the region. This bi-polar structure is noticeable in the issues characteristic of the region, such as the frozen conflicts, democratization, and energy security.<sup>i</sup> This bi-polar structure also seems to have influenced regional cooperation within the BSEC.

However, the balance of power between status-quo and revisionist forces within the bi-polar structure has not been fixed, but in the recent past it has been fluctuating back and forth every few years. During 2003 and 2004, it was inclined favorably toward the Western powers as a result of the EU/NATO enlargements towards the East in the spring of 2004, as well as the Rose and Orange Revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine in 2003 and 2004 respectively. The GUAM organization<sup>ii</sup>

caused a restrengthening of cooperation between the member states, and expanded it from economic to political cooperation at the summits in Chisinau (2005), Kiev (2006), Baku (2007) and Batumi (2008). However, the pendulum began to swing back in 2005, as Russian foreign policy became more assertive, as suggested by the well-known speech of President Vladimir Putin in Munich in February 2007.<sup>iii</sup> As a result, the confrontation between the two sides intensified, culminating in the Georgian-Russian war in 2008. After the war, however, the West and Russia sought to “reset” relations, and reached a rapprochement. The GUAM restricted its cooperation to economic fields.

## 2. The end of the “reset” policy

These “reset” relations, however, did not extend beyond the narrow common interests of the West and Russia – the new START treaty, stability in Afghanistan, fights against terrorism, etc. – as the author anticipated in January 2010.<sup>iv</sup> After the NATO Lisbon summit in October 2010, relations abruptly deteriorated over the Missile Defense issue. At the Lisbon Summit, President Medvedev proposed the “sectoral approach”, in which Russia and NATO would create a joint missile defense system, with each of the two powers assuming responsibility for shooting down missiles traveling over specific geographical zones distributed between them.<sup>v</sup> In other words, Russia would guarantee security against the missile attacks from the East and the South for the zone assigned to it.<sup>vi</sup> However, NATO did not accept this proposal, stating that the security of its members should be guaranteed by NATO itself, not by non-member states such as Russia. Russia then demanded that NATO provide a formal guarantee of refraining from missile attacks against Russia in a legally binding document.<sup>vii</sup> When NATO rejected this demand, Russia asked for a technical guarantee that NATO’s missile defenses would never overpower Russian nuclear deterrence in the form of a limit on the number, speed, and placement of NATO’s deployed missile defense.<sup>viii</sup> However, NATO began to deploy its missile defense facilities in Europe in 2011 without accepting Russia’s demands. The NATO Chicago Summit in May 2012 declared that “NATO missile defense is not directed against Russia and will not undermine Russia’s strategic deterrence capabilities,” and it proposed a joint NATO-Russia Missile Data Fusion Centre and a joint Planning Operations Centre to cooperate on missile defense.<sup>ix</sup> President Putin was absent from the Chicago summit, and a NATO-Russia Council Joint Statement was not issued, in contrast to the Lisbon NATO Summit in October 2010, which issued a NRC Joint Statement declaring “we have embarked on a new stage of cooperation towards a true strategic partnership.”<sup>x</sup>

In addition, the confrontation also intensified over ‘sovereign democracy’ as the parliamentary and presidential elections approached in Russia in December 2011 and in March 2012, and in the US in November 2012. Secretary of State Hillary Clinton asserted in December 2011 that the elections in Russia were neither fair nor free, and President Vladimir Putin criticized her statement, asserting that it had instigated anti-government demonstrations in Russia.<sup>xi</sup> As such, the “reset” policy came to an end by late 2011, both between the US and Russia, and between the EU and Russia. EU High Representative Catherine Ashton stated at the beginning of February 2012 that the Russian government should engage in dialogue with protesters and the opposition, and she also mentioned the differences between the EU and Russia that had emerged over Syria, Iran, Georgia and Moldova.<sup>xii</sup>

The confrontation over democracy in Russia also appeared in EU-Russia relations, as the Partnership for Modernization between the EU and Russia aims not only for economic and technical modernization, but also for politico-social modernization, such as the development of civil society, rule of law, anti-corruption, etc.<sup>xiii</sup> EU High Representative Catherine Ashton criticized a variety of laws adopted after the return of President Putin to the Kremlin, including laws limiting freedom of assembly, forcing the NGOs receiving foreign funds present themselves

as ‘foreign agents’, allowing internet filtering,<sup>xiv</sup> and defining certain acts as treason.<sup>xv</sup> The confrontation between the West and Russia over democracy in Russia culminated in the adoption of a law by the US Congress in mid-December 2012 prohibiting entrance to the US of the Russians accused of involvement in the death in custody of anti-corruption lawyer Sergei Magnitsky, as well as in laws adopted by the Duma banning Americans from adopting Russian children and outlawing human rights organizations that receive any private or public support from the US or employ any US citizens.<sup>xvi</sup>

The EU and Russia confronted each other in the field of economics as well. The EU has demanded a “WTO Plus” trade regime in negotiations over a new agreement with Russia, while Russia has recently started to assert that the EU should negotiate with a Customs Union composed of Russia, Belarus and Kazakhstan, but not with Russia alone.<sup>xvii</sup> They have also opposed each other over the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA) and the Customs Union, the two of which are clearly incompatible, as well as over the Third Energy Package, which provides for increased liberalization of the gas market of the EU. The EU has insisted on de-monopolization and liberalization of the energy market by separating production, transportation and consumption, while Russia, namely Gazprom, has attempted to dominate it by monopolizing these three sectors. The European Commission announced the initiation of an anti-trust investigation against Gazprom in September 2012.<sup>xviii</sup> Furthermore, the EU and Russia have competed over gas pipelines, primarily the Southern Gas Corridor and the South Stream. In particular, Russia has opposed the Trans-Caspian Gas pipeline, arguing that all the Caspian states must be in agreement with it from a legal point of view, and Russia has also expressed its concern about environmental damage caused by the pipeline around the Caspian Sea. On the other hand, the EU has questioned Russia about whether all of the littoral countries had been in agreement over the construction of the Nord Stream. Regarding the environmental issue, the EU has promised to keep its effect on the environment to the lowest level by the use of high technology. In addition, the EU has asserted that energy imports from Russia will never decrease, as the EU’s demand for energy will continue to steadily increase.<sup>xix</sup>

### 3. The transformation of relations within the status-quo forces, Turkey and Russia

In the international environment discussed above, how have regional politics around the Black Sea area developed? The most prominent structural transformation of regional politics is that of relations within the status-quo forces – Russia and Turkey. Until recently, they had strengthened their cooperation. They concluded a strategic Eurasian action plan in 2002, and opened the Blue Stream pipeline in 2003. Turkey opposed the introduction of NATO’s Active Endeavor operation into the Black Sea, taking Russian national interests into consideration. However, these cooperative relations between the two states to maintain the status quo in the Black Sea area have recently become more confrontational. This change comes mainly from the fact that Turkey’s foreign policy has become more assertive and pro-American. It has expanded its interests into Central Asia through the South Caucasus, proposing a plan to construct a railway from Turkey across Georgia to North Ossetia,<sup>xx</sup> and it has become a dialogue partner of SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organization) at the annual summit in Beijing on June 2012. It also has strengthened relations with China<sup>xxi</sup> and Kazakhstan.<sup>xxii</sup> At the same time, Turkey has switched to more pro-American course since the confrontational foreign policy it had with the US when it refused to allow the US to use military bases in the country during the Iraq War. This change of attitude is reflected in Turkey’s officially agreeing to have in its territory an American radar system in September 2011.<sup>xxiii</sup> Turkey has also aligned itself with the international community on the Syrian issue. Such an assertive and pro-American foreign policy by Turkey may be explained by the fact that the current ruling party, the Justice and Development Party, has succeeded both in putting the army under its control and in sustaining economic development.<sup>xxiv</sup>

As a result of these developments, Turkey cannot avoid a confrontation with Russia, whose foreign policy had already become assertive under President Putin. Thus, the two states have been in opposition over many issues, including Missile Defense, CFE (Conventional Forces in Europe), the PKK (Kurdistan Workers' Party), Cyprus, South Caucasus, Mediterranean Sea gas deposits, Syria, and Iran. In the military and security sphere, Turkey has insistently opposed the Russian demand that the flank ceilings on Russian forces should be removed.<sup>xxv</sup> Russia has refrained from recognizing the PKK as a terrorist group, in contrast to the US, which has helped Turkey's fight against the PKK by agreeing to the basing of US unmanned Predator drones at Incirlik air base in Turkey.<sup>xxvi</sup> Russia and Turkey also have differing views on Syria. Russia has supported the Assad regime, while Turkey has asserted that it should step down, an opinion in line with that of the international community and the Arab League. Turkey has forced a Syrian aircraft to land in Ankara and inspected its cargo. According to Turkish authorities, found on board were Russian-made parts for military radar and missiles, as well as over a dozen of Russian Federal Security Services personnel.<sup>xxvii</sup>

The competition between the two states has also increased in the energy sphere recently, in contrast to the period when the two had cooperated in the construction of the Blue Stream pipeline in the late 1990's and early 2000's. This is because Turkey has an objective to become an energy hub, while Russia has consistently seen energy as the main source of its great power status, and has attempted to monopolize the gas transportation route. Therefore, the interests of the two states have clashed over the offshore gas deposits in the East Mediterranean Sea. Since the East Mediterranean natural gas deposits were discovered by Texas-based Noble Energy during 2010 and 2011, the Republic of Cyprus (the so-called Greek Cypriots) and Israel have delineated their respective exclusive economic zones, and have coordinated the exploration and export of gas together with Greece. But Turkey, which has never recognized the Republic of Cyprus as an independent state, also explored the gas deposits in the region in September 2011 and April 2012, under escort by Turkish warships and planes stationed in the Turkish Republic of Northern Cyprus (so-called Northern Cyprus). Russia, on the other hand, has expressed its intention to participate in the trilateral projects among Greece, the Republic of Cyprus, and Israel. Therefore, Turkey now finds itself confronted by the Republic of Cyprus, Israel, and Greece, as well as Russia.<sup>xxviii</sup>

They have also been in opposition over gas prices. Turkey demanded that Gazprom reduce gas prices in the fall of 2011, but the company refused to do so. Turkey then concluded an agreement with Azerbaijan on the transit and supply of Azerbaijan gas to Turkey on December 26<sup>th</sup>, 2011, which would become the Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline (TANAP) in June 2012, and it then continued its negotiations with Gazprom from the stronger position this agreement put it in. As a result, Turkey succeeded in signing an agreement with Gazprom on December 29<sup>th</sup>, 2012, under which Moscow would send its gas to Turkey at lower prices and with a mitigation of the "take or pay" clause. <sup>xxix</sup> However, Turkey was not fully satisfied with the agreement, because while it did stipulate that the South Stream gas pipeline would go through Turkey's Economic Exclusion Zone in the Black Sea, it did not include a provision allowing Turkey to import Black Sea oil through the Samsun-Ceyhan pipeline, as Turkey desired.<sup>xxx</sup>

However, in order to compensate for the deal with Moscow, which permitted the construction of the South Stream gas pipeline, Turkey embarked on urging the construction of the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline project with the EU, Azerbaijan and Turkmenistan, with the objective of transporting gas from Turkmenistan to Europe through Turkey, connecting the Trans-Caspian gas pipeline and the Trans-Anatolia gas pipeline in the framework of the Southern Gas Corridor.<sup>xxxi</sup>

This transformation of Turkish foreign policy and its resulting changes in relations between Turkey and Russia have also changed relations between Turkey and Romania. In the past, the views of Romania and Turkey on the Black Sea area were polar opposite, with Turkey being a status-quo force, and Romania a revisionist force. Thus, Turkey opposed the proposal by Romania to extend NATO's naval anti-terrorist operation Active Endeavour from the Mediterranean into the Black Sea, and attempted to obtain a consensus opposing it among the littoral states by organizing the BLACKSEAFOR (Black Sea Naval Force) in April 2001. It succeeded in preventing the extension of the NATO operation by organizing Operation Black Sea Harmony in March 2004. Turkey argued that the presence of NATO's navies in the Black Sea would change the balance of power at the area, and would cause deterioration in relations with Russia.<sup>xxxii</sup> Furthermore, when Romania organized the Black Sea Forum in June 2006 in Bucharest, Turkey was not pleased with this initiative and sent a lower-ranking official to the conference, in contrast to other states such as GUAM member states, which sent their presidents to the meeting. Still now, Turkey and Romania have different views about a possible integration of BLACKSEAFOR and Black Sea Harmony. Turkey proposes to integrate the two in order to strengthen their function, while Romania opposes this, as it is worried that strengthened regional Black Sea maritime forces might make the Black Sea more closed.<sup>xxxiii</sup> Nevertheless, the two states concluded a strategic partnership in December 2011, which led to the establishment of a firm alliance line among Warsaw, Bucharest, Ankara, and Washington in the area of the missile defense cooperation.

#### 4. NATO enlargement, the Eastern Partnership, and the Customs Union

In accordance with their relationship to NATO, the states around the wider Black Sea area can be categorized as follows: the NATO member states are Greece, Turkey, Bulgaria, Rumania, Croatia, Albania (as of September 2009); the states with MAP (Membership Action Plan) status are Bosnia-Herzegovina and Montenegro; and the states with the status of 'Intensified Dialog' with NATO, which the 2008 NATO Bucharest Summit specified as future members of NATO, are Ukraine and Georgia. Both Ukraine and Georgia have developed their relations with NATO through the NATO-Ukraine Commission and the NATO-Georgia Commission respectively. In particular, Georgia has contributed to NATO's security operations by sending over 1500 military personnel to Afghanistan<sup>xxxiv</sup>, in contrast to Ukraine, which declared itself to be a non-block state.<sup>xxxv</sup> Georgia's contribution is an important one for such a small country, especially considering that NATO was enforced to introduce 'Smart Security'<sup>xxxvi</sup>.

As for the relationship between the states of the Black Sea area and the EU, the EU member states are Greece, Bulgaria, and Rumania, although the latter two states have been monitored through the CVM (Cooperation and Verification Mechanism) since their accession to the EU on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 2007. The EU candidate states are Croatia, Montenegro, the Former Yugoslav Republic of Macedonia, and Turkey. The states with the status of potential candidates are Albania, Bosnia-Herzegovina, Serbia, and Kosovo under UN Security Resolution 1244. The EU has promised to make Turkey and the West Balkan states members of the union if all of the conditions imposed by the EU are met. In the case of the West Balkan states, this will occur through the Stabilization and Association Process (SAP), in the same way that the Central and Eastern European states were promised through the Association Agreement.

Belarus, Ukraine, Moldova, Georgia, Armenia and Azerbaijan have been targeted as members of the Eastern Partnership, but the EU has never promised that they would become members of the union. The Eastern Partnership was proposed at the initiative of Poland and Sweden in May 2008, as neither European Neighborhood Policy (ENP) launched in May 2004, nor 'ENP Plus' presented by Germany in July 2006 produced any fruitful results. The decision-making process to

create the Eastern Partnership was accelerated by the Georgian-Russian war in August 2008, and the partnership was launched in May 2009. Its objectives are to prepare the targeted members for accession to the EU through increased political association and economic cooperation between them and the EU.

Among the six Eastern Partnership states, Ukraine, Moldova, and Georgia have already started negotiations on the Accession Agreement and the Deep and Comprehensive Free Trade Area (DCFTA), while Armenia and Azerbaijan are preparing to start negotiations on the DCFTA. Negotiations over the agreement between the EU and Belarus are at a standstill, because essential political conditions such as democratization have not been fulfilled in Belarus.

The EU and Ukraine started negotiations on a new agreement in March 2007, and they agreed to start negotiations on the Association Agreement at the Paris Summit in September 2008. Following that, Ukraine became a member of the World Trade Organization (WTO) in May 2008, and it entered negotiations on DCFTA in February 2008. The EU and Ukraine initialed the Association Agreement document on 30 March 2012 and the DCFTA on 19<sup>th</sup> July 2012.<sup>xxxvii</sup> However, the EU refrained from signing it, due to the politically-motivated convictions of former government members in Ukraine during the same year. The EU Foreign Affairs Council decided in December 2012 that the EU would sign the Association Agreement at the Vilnius summit in November 2013, if conditions could be implemented in the following three areas: to follow up the shortcomings of the parliamentary elections, to address the issue of selective justice and prevent recurrences, and to make progress on reforms as defined in the joint Association Agenda, such as in the judiciary, rule of law, human rights, anti-corruption, and citizens' participation in public decision making.<sup>xxxviii</sup>

Moldova and Georgia started negotiations on the Association Agreement on 12 January 2010 and on 15 July 2010 respectively, and they launched negotiations on DCFTA in March 2012. The current coalition government, the 'Alliance for European Integration', has actively promoted negotiation on the Political Association and DCFTA with the EU, and it has produced quite substantial results within a very short period. This is reflected in the words of European Commissioner Stefan Füle: "I have a dream of a Republic of Moldova, prosperous, loyal to our values, consolidated, modernized, and re-integrated into the European family. [...] I am talking here about the most powerful foreign policy instrument of the European Union and the expression of its ultimate transformative power – the prospective for a country to accede."<sup>xxxix</sup> The US and Germany have also shown increasing interest in Moldova under the current AIE government, as shown by the visits of US Vice-President Joe Biden in Chisinau in March 2011 and of German Prime Minister Angela Merkel in Chisinau in August 2012.

Ukraine and Moldova have been approaching the EU through the Association Agreement, DCFTA, and the Energy Community; however, tensions between them and Russia have intensified, as Russia has attempted to prevent Ukraine and Moldova from concluding the Association Agreement, including DCFTA with the EU. President Putin has started to reintegrate CIS member states through the Customs Union, the Single Economic Space, and Eurasian Union since May 2012, when he became the President of Russia.<sup>xl</sup> President Putin urged Ukraine to become a member of the Customs Union together with Russia, Belarus, and Kazakhstan, in exchange for a reduction in gas prices from Moscow. President Yanukovici proposed a substitute '3 + 1' formula for the Customs Union, which would enable Ukraine to participate in the union in a limited number of areas without making any political commitments.<sup>xli</sup> However, President Putin categorically refused this suggestion, stating that Ukraine had only two options: becoming a full member of the Customs Union, or not becoming a member at all. He also told Moldovan Prime Minister Vlad Filat in Moscow in September 2012 that Moldova should withdraw from the

European Energy Community, including its Third Energy Package, if Moldova wants Russian gas prices to be reduced. As for Georgia, although there is not currently some reliable information on negotiations between Georgia and Russia, it is said that Russia might propose to Georgia a barter exchange, such as Georgia's return to the CIS in exchange for a resumption of imports from Georgia.<sup>xliii</sup> If this information is true, and if Georgia returned to the CIS, Georgia's agreements with DCFTA and the Customs Union would be incompatible.

#### 5. The South Caucasus at the crossroads

Despite the difficulties faced by the states discussed above, neither the South Caucasus states nor the West Balkan states have faced such difficulties. Armenia and Azerbaijan have not started negotiations on the DCFTA, and the Balkan states are not target members of the Eurasian Union, so their current relations with the EU have not yet brought them into confrontation with the ideas of President Putin on the Customs Union and the Eurasian Union. However, the South Caucasus and the Balkans are a focal point in the international politics of the Black Sea. The South Caucasus faces the Iran issue, conflicts such as Nagorno-Karabakh, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia, the birth of a new government and the start of cohabitation regime in Georgia, construction plans for new railway and highway infrastructure, the influence of Russia and Turkey, and the Trans-Caspian and Trans-Anatolian gas pipelines and Russian gas policy opposing them. The Balkans is the place where Russia's South Stream gas pipeline and the EU's South Gas Corridor cross.

The characteristic structure of regional politics in the South Caucasus is composed of two pillars. One is the relationship between Russia and Georgia, and the other is the oppositional relationship between the Russia-Armenia alliance and the Turkey-Azerbaijan-Georgia alliance. Tense relations between Russia and Georgia have never improved since the war in August 2008. Russia has refused to withdraw both its recognition of the independence of Abkhazia and South Ossetia, and its army stationed in these two places. The Geneva talks among Russia, Georgia, South Ossetia, Abkhazia, and US under the co-chairs of the EU, the OSCE, and the UN have produced only modest results, such as the Incident Prevention and Response Mechanism (IPRM).<sup>xliiii</sup> Georgia continues to express its intention to accede to the NATO as well as the EU, in contrast to Ukraine and Moldova, which have declared their intention to become members of the EU, but not to accede to NATO. Relations between Georgia and NATO have been intensified through the NATO-Georgian Commission and the Annual National Program. The new Georgian defense minister declared a continuation of the country's defense policy by strengthening cooperation with America and NATO, stationing 1600 soldiers in Afghanistan, and creating a professional army.<sup>xliv</sup>

The basis of the second pillar of regional politics in the South Caucasus lies in the conflict between Armenia and Azerbaijan over the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. To this basic relationship we can add Russian support for the position of Armenia, and Turkish and Georgian support for Azerbaijan. Georgia, Azerbaijan and Turkey have cooperated, in general, through the BTC oil pipeline, the BTE gas pipeline, and GUAM.

In an exception to this general pattern, since 2010 Turkey has attempted to improve relations with Armenia, and since around 2000 Azerbaijan has tried to improve relations with Russia in order to obtain its support for the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue in its favor. However, neither attempt has produced fruitful results. The failure of negotiations over the Gabara Radar Station between Russia and Azerbaijan in 2012 seems to have made the oppositional relations between Russia-Armenia and Azerbaijan-Turkey-Georgia even more fixed. Last year Moscow and Baku negotiated on the extension of the lease to Russia of the Gabara Radar Station, as it expired in 2012. Russia demanded another 25 years, while Azerbaijan is said to have proposed a yearly

lease renewable up to 40 times (at 300 million dollars annually), and to have tried to use the issue as a bargaining tool in the negotiation process on the Nagorno-Karabakh issue. Azerbaijan could not obtain a favorable settlement on Nagorno-Karabakh, while Russia failed to extend the lease on the radar station.<sup>xlv</sup>

Despite these tensions, two factors might contribute to changing the balance of power in the South Caucasus. One is possible changes in Georgian foreign and security policy under the newly-elected Georgian Prime Minister Bidzina Ivanishvili. His recent comments seem to suggest a multilateral foreign policy, as when he stated that "Armenia provides a good example for Georgia." He may be moving towards improving relations with Armenia through a proposal on the reopening of the Russia-Armenia railway through Georgia, including Abkhazia.<sup>xlvi</sup> He appears to promote a multilateral diplomacy, as he seems to be aiming to improve relations with Russia as well by progressing relations with Armenia, and, at the same time, to be aiming to continue close relations with the EU, NATO, and the US. Turkey has also proposed a truck and bus route from that country through Georgia to the North Caucasus in Russia.<sup>xlvii</sup> Competition may increase among the states in the region over the route of the newly proposed rail and highways, and this may cause a change in geo-strategic relations among the states in the region.

Another factor which might change the balance of power in the region is the Iran issue. The potential for an attack by Israel against Iran has caused a tense situation in the South Caucasus. A political scientist in Tbilisi claimed that Russia had a plan to attack Georgia if Israel attacked Iran – a claim denied by Russian political scientists.<sup>xlviii</sup> A Russian military official disclosed information that Russia had started to prepare military operations before 2009 in case Iran were to be attacked by Israel.<sup>xlix</sup> Owing to his information, Russia had achieved preparedness in its military bases in Gyumri, South Ossetia, and Abkhazia against potential attacks from Turkey, Georgia and Azerbaijan. Furthermore, he said, "Perhaps, it will be necessary to break the Georgian transport blockade and supply the transport corridors leading to Armenia by military means." If this is true, the suspension of the CFE treaty by Russia in December 2007 had real importance for promoting its security policy in the South Caucasus. This might be the reason that Turkey opposed the lifting of flank ceilings on Russian forces.

## 6. The South Stream gas pipeline and the Southern Gas Corridor in the Balkans

The Balkans and the South Caucasus are also a focal point of regional politics in the Black Sea area, because of the energy politics in the region. The EU's South Gas Corridor and the Russian South Stream gas pipeline meet each other in the Balkans and South Caucasus.

The European Union has attempted to diversify its gas import routes in order to reduce its dependence on Russia. Therefore, it initially made efforts to realize the Nabucco gas pipeline, the route of which was planned to extend from Central Asia, Azerbaijan, and Iran to Europe through Turkey, Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Austria. However, energy companies from Germany and Hungary decided to withdraw from the Nabucco project in 2012<sup>i</sup> and, instead of Nabucco, the agreement on the Trans-Anatolian gas pipeline (TANAP) was concluded between Azerbaijan and Turkey in June 2012 as one component of the South Gas Corridor. Thus, it is thought that TANAP will be connected either with Nabucco West, which extends to Bulgaria, Romania, Hungary, and Austria, or with the Trans-Adriatic Pipeline projects (TAP), which extend to Greece, Albania, and Italy.<sup>ii</sup> As such, the Southern Gas Corridor has been promoted as a connection between the Trans-Caspian pipeline, Trans-Anatolian pipeline, and Nabucco West or Trans-Adriatic pipeline.

At the same time, Russia also needed to diversify its gas transportation route in order to reduce its dependence on transit states to Europe such as Ukraine. Therefore, Russia has

developed the Nord Stream 2 gas pipeline as well as Nord Stream 1<sup>iii</sup>, and has attempted to realize South Stream since 2007. South Stream is an important project for Russia, as it is expected to contribute to increasing the dependence of Ukraine on Russian energy supplies, to increasing Russian influence in the Balkans, and to strengthening relations between Central Asia and Russia. Furthermore, the pipeline project may prevent or impede access to Central Asian gas sources for alternative projects such as the Southern Gas Corridor pipelines.<sup>iiii</sup> The route of South Stream has finally been set as extending from Russia to Slovenia through Turkey's Economic Exclusion Zone in the Black Sea, Bulgaria, Serbia, and Hungary.<sup>liv</sup> Bulgaria, Hungary, and Serbia have already consented to the project.<sup>lv</sup>

In this way, the Balkans and South Caucasus have become focal points in relation to the South Stream gas pipeline and the South Gas Corridor. In this context, Bulgaria seems to be the most important hub in the Balkans for both projects, while Azerbaijan and Turkey are key countries for the South Gas Corridor, as they have been promoting TANAP. This may be the reason that Russia made a significant concession to Bulgaria in agreeing to a ten-year contract for gas supplies with Gazprom, which stipulates a 20% decrease in gas prices and a more favorable "take and pay" clause.<sup>lvi</sup> This is in striking contrast to Russia's dealings with Ukraine and Moldova, to which it refused to reduce the price of its gas.

The recent relations of these two states recalls the situation surrounding the Treaty of San Stefano in March 1878, in which Russia supported the independence of Great Bulgaria with the expectation that Bulgaria would be an important strategic ally in the Balkans. Needless to say, today Bulgaria is a member of the EU and NATO, and the current situation in Bulgaria is completely different from that in 1878. What should be emphasized here, however, is that the importance of Bulgaria in the Balkans will almost certainly increase as an energy hub if the South Stream and the Southern Gas Corridor are constructed. In addition, in connection with Russia, it may be worth mentioning both that Russia and Serbia have concluded a strategic partnership, and that the Russian government media outlet *Vocea Rusiei* encouraged the attempt by the Romanian ruling party coalition to suspend Romanian President Traian Basescu in the summer of 2012.<sup>lvii</sup> This appears to be because Basescu refused Romanian participation in South Stream in 2008<sup>lviii</sup>, and promoted the Black Sea Forum and its Eastern Diplomacy, focusing on Moldova through the 'Washington-London-Bucharest' axis.<sup>lix</sup> As such, it seems clear that Russia under President Putin has been aiming to strengthen its traditional foreign policy towards the South such as the Balkans and the South Caucasus, as well as the Eurasian Union.

As the preceding discussion has made clear, the states in the Balkans and in the South-Caucasus region are now situated at the crossroads of influences from the East and West, as well as from the North and South. Taking into consideration the many unstable factors in the world such as the world economic-financial recession, the transformation of the balance of power among the great powers, increased competition for energy resources, terrorism, new wars, and so on, the future of the Black Sea area is uncertain. However, it is certain that the Black Sea area will continue to be a key focal point in world politics, even as the center of world politics moves to the Asia-Pacific region.

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<sup>i</sup> 六鹿茂夫「広域黒海地域の国際政治」羽場久美子、溝端佐登史編『ロシア・拡大EU』ミネルヴァ書房、265-284頁、2011年4月。(Shigeo Mutsushika, "International Politics at the Wider Black Sea Area", in K. Haba et al (eds.), *The EU and Russia*, Minerva, Japan, April 2011, pp.265-284.

<sup>ii</sup> GUAM is the organization created in 1997 by Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, Moldova.

<sup>iii</sup> President of Russia, Speech and the following Discussion at the Munich Conference on Security Policy, Munich, February 10, 2007.

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## **Mithat RENDE**

### **Director General, Multilateral Economic Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Turkey**

I would like to start by expressing my most sincere thanks and appreciation to the Global Forum of Japan for organizing the “Fourth Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue” and through them to all the sponsors and supporters of this important initiative.

From the ancient Silk Road to modern oil pipelines and transportation corridors, the Black Sea region has served as a bridge and crossroads of both modern and traditional routes of commerce and migration, throughout the history. It encompasses an area of approximately 20 million square kilometers with a population of over 330 million. The region, at the heart of Eurasia, enjoys vast natural and human resources combined with deep cultural heritage. Using its potentials by way of closer cooperation would serve the purpose of making the Black Sea region a sea of peace, stability and prosperity.

As we have marked the 20th Anniversary last year, we are pleased to see that the BSEC now stands as the most institutionalized and inclusive economic cooperation organization of the region. It has proven to be the main framework for multilateral cooperation and a significant platform for sustainable development. Moreover, the interest of the international community towards this region has grown significantly, and BSEC is viewed by the international community as a unique and credible partner. Hence, there are 17 observers and 16 Sectoral Dialogue Partners of the BSEC.

With the membership of Romania and Bulgaria into the EU, the Union has gained more representation within BSEC. Number of EU members within BSEC has tripled this way. On the other hand, cooperation and interaction between BSEC and EU are still far from being satisfactory. In order to further strengthen BSEC, it is important to engage in meaningful cooperation with the EU. We believe that BSEC can benefit from the experiences of the EU as well as the opportunities that it can offer. While BSEC offers the EU a well-established institutional framework, the EU could assist BSEC in carrying out major projects in the wider Black Sea Area. However BSEC should not be perceived as a subordinate of any other international organization. We would like BSEC to be seen as the main partner of the EU in the wider Black Sea area.

As we all witness today, the global economy remains in a difficult phase. The risks remain significant. Growth is slowing in both advanced and emerging economies and some regions are likely to be in a recession. We are all aware that the global repercussions of the crisis in Europe could be painful if things get worse. This increased uncertainty amplifies the need for strengthened policy actions and greater ability to provide regional responses to global challenges.

With this in mind, BSEC’s new strategy appears especially timely. The updated “Economic Agenda Towards an Enhanced Partnership” was endorsed at the Istanbul Summit, in June. In line with the priority areas of action redefined at the new Economic Agenda, Turkey will continue to make every effort for the effective implementation of the action plan of the Agenda. We believe

that this will help to advance our progress towards increasing intra-BSEC trade and investments, sustainable development of the BSEC region, enhancing the role of civil society, as well as institutional reform of BSEC by initiating new projects and ideas.

BSEC, a mature international organization, plays a unique role in disseminating the message of peace and stability via concrete infrastructure projects on the ground. However, BSEC should not be confined to economic cooperation only. Its potential goes much beyond that. In today's world, concepts such as democratization, pluralism, inclusiveness, intercultural dialogue are gaining importance. The need to bring solutions to the problems on the basis of international law and effective multilateralism has become more evident.

Cognizant of this fact, our approach to security is multi-dimensional and not limited to hard security concerns alone. Climate change, for instance, is a global problem also evolving into a security issue in its own right, with serious implications in many fields. Epidemic diseases are no longer tragedies that only threaten the less fortunate areas in the world. The current financial crisis speaks for itself when we look at how badly it affected economies worldwide. Illegal migration, organized crime, energy security, democratization also stick out as crucial topics that are bound to dominate the regional as well as global agenda.

Energy supply security has become one of the most important issues which dominate the international agenda. In this respect, the wider Black Sea region, where energy producer countries co-exist with energy consumer and transit countries, presents us a unique case in terms of global energy supply security. This unique position of the Black Sea brings with it important duties and responsibilities to the countries of the region.

We should keep in mind that the BSEC region is the lynchpin between Europe and Asia. The multiple transformations taking place here have a direct bearing on the membership of this organization. The evolution of the integration within the European Union, or the historical awakening of the Arab world, for instance, are all going to have significant repercussions in the Black Sea area, situated in the epicenter of Eurasia.

On its part, Turkey is making every effort to contribute to enhancing confidence and cooperation in this wide region. We are becoming increasingly active in our foreign policy, starting with our neighbors and reaching out to far-away geographies and international organizations. In all these endeavors, our driving goal is to help generate peace, stability and prosperity in regional and global terms. We also try to help conflict resolution and reconciliation efforts in our region through several mediation activities and regional cooperation initiatives. We aim to address certain pertinent issues through global initiatives such as the Alliance of Civilizations, the Mediation for Peace or Global Counter-Terrorism Forum, both of which are co-sponsored by Turkey.

We would like to engage non state actors including your organization, the Global Forum of Japan, in this endeavor. For that we do believe that Japan's entrepreneurship skills, capacity and willingness to work together will provide necessary leverage to achieve sustainable and inclusive development in the region and beyond to the interest of all our people.

Therefore, I fully support the proposal of Ambassador Victor Tvircun, Secretary General of BSEC to organize the Fifth "Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue" in Istanbul, with the participation of the business communities from the Black Sea region and Japan with a special focus on intermodal transport projects.

Thank you for your attention.

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## *Session II: The Development Strategy of the Black Sea Area*

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**HATTORI Michitaka**

**Deputy Director,**

**Institute for Russian & NIS Economic Studies**

### A Viewpoint on the Black Sea as Economic Space

In this presentation I refer only to the countries geographically facing the Black Sea, i.e. Russia, Ukraine, Romania, Bulgaria, Turkey and Georgia, with a special emphasis on Russia and Ukraine.

First of all, I have to point out difficulty in featuring the Black Sea as economic space. There may be consensus regarding its geographical sphere. There are some notable topics like construction of gas pipelines through the Black Sea. Statistical data concerning economic relations among the countries of the region may be available. We even have a full-fledged regional economic organization: Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC). It is not, however, at least to me, self-evident what shall we focus on when we discuss the Black Sea economic space.

Maybe one of the standard approaches is to analyze trade turnover. Therefore I made Table 1 and Figure 1 to survey merchandise trade relations among countries of the region. As we can see, Russia is the biggest trader in the region, followed by Ukraine and Turkey. Russo-Ukrainian trade turnover is the biggest in volume among all bilateral trade relations. Relatively small economies like Ukraine, Bulgaria and Georgia tend to depend more heavily on intra-region trade, with an exception of Romania. Russia enjoys huge trade surplus in intra-region trade supposedly owing to its gas export, while many others record deficit.

I suspect, however, that the findings above are superficial. Russia is geographically too vast to be regarded as a pure Black Sea nation. The same goes, to a lesser extent, to Ukraine and Turkey. Most trade transactions between Russia and Ukraine have nothing to do with the Black Sea, like when Ukraine imports natural gas from Siberian field or when a Moscow company buys machinery from a Kharkiv manufacturer. It may be better to limit the scope to relevant regions (regions of Southern Federal District in the case of Russia) than to take countries as a whole when we discuss the Black Sea as economic space. This, true, makes statistical analysis extremely difficult because of scarcity of materials.

We cannot overestimate significance of intra-Black-Sea economic relations to national economies as a whole, especially to bigger ones like Russia or Turkey. But it is still of great importance to particular regions facing the Black Sea. As is seen in Table 2, Black Sea countries account for almost 30 % of trade turnover by economic entities of Russia's Southern Federal District. Euroregion "Donbas" is reported to be very successful in promoting economic relations between Rostov Oblast of Russia and Donetsk & Luhansk Oblasts of Ukraine after established in 2010. Thus I would like to repeat that we had better put more emphasis on particular regions, rather than nation-states as a whole, in discussing the Black Sea as economic space.

Table 1 Merchandise Trade among countries of the Black Sea Region (2011)

(million US dollars)

		Trade with the World (A)	Trade with Black Sea countries (B)	B / A	Trade partners					
					Russia	Ukraine	Romania	Bulgaria	Turkey	Georgia
Russia's trade turnover	Export	516,481	61,480	11.9%		30,520	1,828	3,477	25,409	247
	Import	305,605	28,952	9.5%		20,122	1,727	690	6,374	39
Ukraine's tradeturnover	Export	68,410	25,933	37.9%	19,820		951	755	3,749	658
	Import	82,607	32,153	38.9%	29,132		1,126	270	1,481	144
Romania's trade turnover	Export	62,742	8,957	14.3%	1,419	1,128		2,272	3,875	263
	Import	76,369	8,880	11.6%	2,915	1,096		2,199	2,650	20
Bulgaria's trade turnover	Export	28,330	6,609	23.3%	758	404	2,703		2,423	322
	Import	32,722	11,165	34.1%	5,770	1,314	2,260		1,547	275
Turkey's trade turnover	Export	134,907	13,316	9.9%	5,993	1,730	2,879	1,623		1,092
	Import	240,842	35,355	14.7%	23,953	4,812	3,801	2,475		314
Georgia's trade turnover	Export	2,189	519	23.7%	37	141	20	94	228	
	Import	7,058	2,812	39.8%	390	706	188	256	1,272	

Note: Each country's trade turnover is based on its own national statistics and often slightly differ from the figures shown in statistics of the trade partners.

Figure 1 Network Image of Bilateral Trade Turnover among Countries of the Black Sea Region (2011)

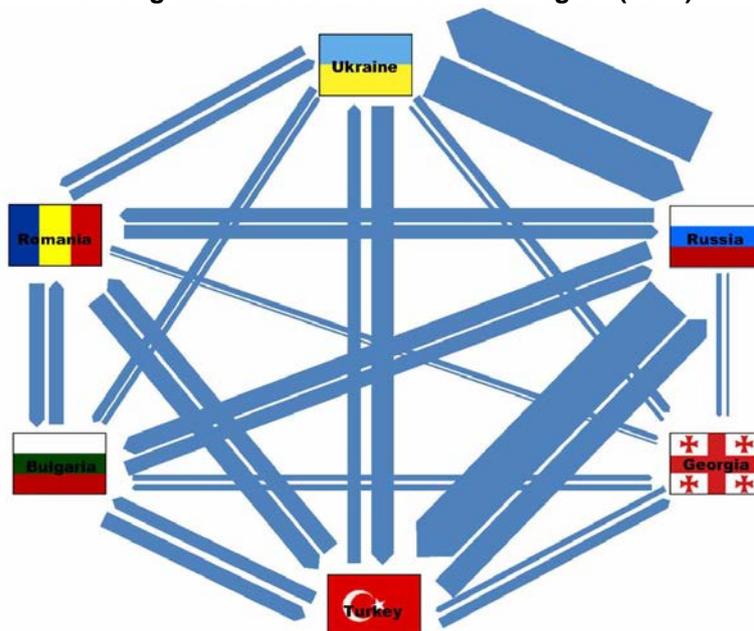


Table 2 Main Trade Partners of  
Southern Federal District of Russian Federation (2011)

(1000 US Dollars)

	Trade Partner	Turnover		Export		Import	
			%		%		%
—	<u>Total</u>	30,987,236	100.0%	19,059,937	100.0%	11,927,299	100.0%
1	Ukraine	4,690,918	15.1%	1,236,049	6.5%	3,454,869	29.0%
2	Turkey	4,212,081	13.6%	2,708,787	14.2%	1,503,294	12.6%
3	Italy	3,541,426	11.4%	3,107,251	16.3%	434,175	3.6%
4	Netherlands	1,605,532	5.2%	1,465,060	7.7%	140,473	1.2%
5	China	1,554,261	5.0%	92,485	0.5%	1,461,776	12.3%
6	France	1,462,782	4.7%	1,256,997	6.6%	205,785	1.7%
7	Germany	859,376	2.8%	146,357	0.8%	713,018	6.0%
8	Switzerland	815,928	2.6%	760,129	4.0%	55,799	0.5%
9	Egypt	814,172	2.6%	609,183	3.2%	204,989	1.7%
10	USA	804,384	2.6%	472,618	2.5%	331,766	2.8%
11	Spain	624,327	2.0%	442,788	2.3%	181,539	1.5%
12	Greece	558,359	1.8%	479,252	2.5%	79,108	0.7%
13	Iran	548,231	1.8%	431,812	2.3%	116,419	1.0%
14	Malta	451,717	1.5%	451,714	2.4%	3	0.0%
15	Israel	427,251	1.4%	227,101	1.2%	200,150	1.7%
16	Azerbaijan	390,965	1.3%	240,460	1.3%	150,504	1.3%
17	Syria	382,443	1.2%	379,722	2.0%	2,721	0.0%
18	Brazil	357,538	1.2%	84,771	0.4%	272,767	2.3%
19	Argentina	355,411	1.1%	297,399	1.6%	58,012	0.5%
20	Cyprus	331,175	1.1%	312,107	1.6%	19,067	0.2%
21	Saudi Arabia	293,620	0.9%	288,054	1.5%	5,566	0.0%
22	Morocco	261,775	0.8%	251,611	1.3%	10,164	0.1%
23	Japan	228,753	0.7%	11,660	0.1%	217,094	1.8%
24	Uzbekistan	212,386	0.7%	163,890	0.9%	48,496	0.4%
25	South Korea	205,465	0.7%	4,696	0.0%	200,769	1.7%
26	Turkmenistan	202,355	0.7%	188,636	1.0%	13,719	0.1%
27	Tunisia	202,224	0.7%	201,110	1.1%	1,114	0.0%
28	Bulgaria	184,307	0.6%	152,249	0.8%	32,058	0.3%
29	Romania	178,139	0.6%	122,604	0.6%	55,534	0.5%
30	Poland	177,361	0.6%	51,935	0.3%	125,426	1.1%
—	Countries of the Black Sea Region Total	9,265,445	29.9%	4,219,689	22.1%	5,045,755	42.3%

Note: Southern Federal District of Russian Federation consists of Republic of Adygea, Astrakhan Oblast, Volgograd Oblast, Republic of Kalmykia, Krasnodar Krai and Rostov Oblast

### *Session III : The Role of Japan for the Future of the Black Sea Area*

#### **KAWAZU Kunihiko**

**Deputy Director, Central and South Eastern Europe Division,  
European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan**

#### 1. The Importance of Black Sea Region

##### ●As a Corridor Area Connecting Europe, Russia, Central Asia and Middle East

For Japan, which locating in the far east of Asia, honestly speaking, the Black Sea is not so familiar. "Sea" reminds ordinal Japanese people of the Pacific or the Sea of Japan, and it is not the situation to imagine the Black Sea at the very first. It is rarely known that the Black Sea is very international because six countries are littoral states, or very famous for delicious fishes. Because of the 22<sup>nd</sup> winter Olympic games in Sochi of Russia, many Japanese people realize that Sochi is

locating at coast of the Black Sea and it is one of the most famous resort area in Russia, from the era of the Soviet Union.

However, it is no doubt that the Black Sea region is geographically very important at any period of the time, which locates Western end of the Silk Road which connects Japan and Europe, or in other words, very ends of Europe and it is exactly strategic point of East-West trading. At the same time, from the North-South interchange point of view, for Bulgaria, Georgia, Moldova, Romania, and Ukraine, it is the only way to get out to the open sea. Ships of these five countries go through Bosphorus and Dardanelles then get the open sea.

When we pay attention to the Black Sea's corridor function, the importance of the Black Sea area will be much clearer. European countries import their energy resources from Russia, Middle East, and Caucasus. And all the energy resources go through the Black Sea area. In the sense of commodity distribution and movement of people, it is also a very important corridor. Network from the Central Asia and Caucasus to Europe comes into effect, when we can apply the Black Sea area for a pathway. The numbers of tankers go through Bosphorus increase every year.

●The Black Sea Countries: Countries that Have Potential Ability for Development

However, the importance of the Black Sea area does not rely on its corridor function. Each country which locates at the Black Sea area has very high potential in the sense of future development.

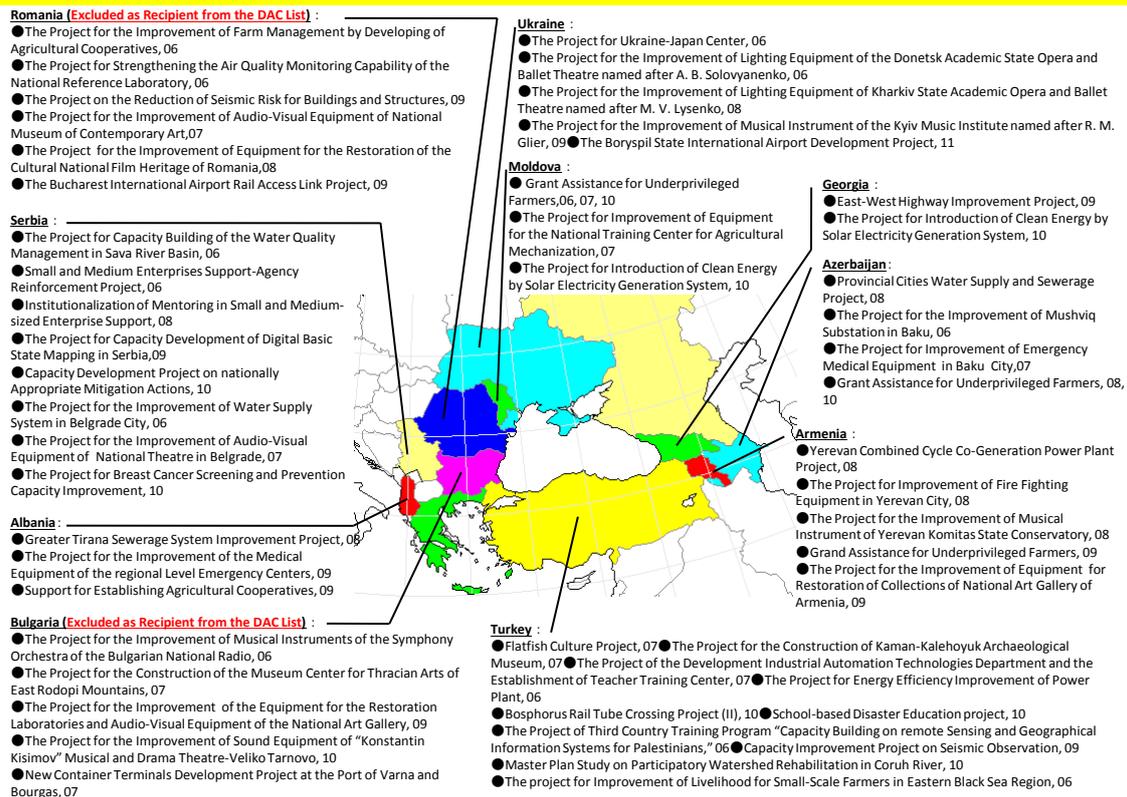
At the time when the BSEC was established, there was political transition, which was caused by the collapse of Soviet Union and the Socialist Federal Republic of Yugoslavia. The Black Sea area was unstable, because each country needed their own domestic political system re-established. Actually, because of that, many multilateral frameworks were established at the moment, for the purpose of stability and development of this region.

Last year, BSEC celebrated 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary. During these two decades, there was a big change for the region such as Bulgaria and Romania succeeded EU membership. Other countries also get their political stability, some countries experienced huge and rapid economical development.

During these two decades, Japan established close relation between each BSEC member states in the bilateral framework. For an example, please see the table titled "Japanese Economic Cooperation to the BSEC Member States." It is understandable that Japanese economic cooperation can be seen in broad area for the countries it is needed. In the bilateral framework it is possible to cooperate in the field depends on the necessities which are different from country to country. As a result of this, we proud that we could make contribution for their economical development. Of course our cooperation is not restricted in the field of economy. For the purpose of cross-fertilization of cultures, we achieve cultural event quite often.

Japan sets its diplomatic achievement as widening of its skirts, bringing broaden the scope of Japanese companies' activities into view, has constructed its relation.

## Japanese Economic Cooperation to BSEC Member States



## 2. Japanese Interests

### ● Interface between Japan and the Black Sea area

As I mentioned before, unfortunately, Japan does not maintain close relationships with the Black Sea area as a whole, if not through bilateral framework. However, cooperation with regional organization is important for us for the different aspects.

Regional organization, which is established by the member states' own initiative, sets its goal to develop by their own effort, utilizing each country's advantages. And actually, it is possible to do so. As a Japanese economical cooperation, we set basic attitude for international cooperation as such; support for their own effort for their development. Cooperation with regional organization is suitable for our basic attitude for international cooperation. Japan considers that in the bilateral relation, we can achieve support based on each country's need, and with cooperation with regional organization, we can achieve support for their own effort for their development.

### ● BSEC Characteristics: Cooperation Framework Specialized for Economy

By the way, BSEC has special aspect that we can see very rarely in other regional organizations. That is, specifying its cooperation field as economy, it succeeded to deepen cooperative relation between member states, which sometimes can be easily confrontational politically. And because of this reason, BSEC framework itself should be highly appreciated and cooperation with BSEC looks very attractive for non-member states of BSEC.

## 3. Japanese Cooperation between the Black Sea Area

### ● The Status of Sectoral Dialogue Partnership

Because of the background and aim I have mentioned above, Japan decided to get Sectoral Dialogue Partnership status of BSEC and was given in 2010. The status of Sectoral Dialogue Partnership is very flexible status because we can have dialogues not to be restricted in specific

fields. After getting this status, we attend the meetings, and observe the discussions including working group meeting which are held in each BSEC member states and high level councils such as Foreign Ministers' meetings.

As a concrete project of Japan, we are preparing for sending specialist such as university professor or scholar to BSEC. We, Japanese side and BSEC side are already confirmed that the mutually useful area to dispatch a specialist is disaster management, so we will coordinate the schedule with Ukraine, which is the chair in first half of 2013. I will mention to the details later about the background of this decision.

#### ●Cooperation with Other Regional Organizations

First of all, there are varieties of cooperation framework in the Black Sea area. Political and economical field, we can point out GUAM, Eastern Partnership Group (EU initiative), South East European Cooperation Process (SEECF), Black Sea Synergy, and Black Sea Forum (Some of them are not organization but consultative process). As a military cooperation, there are Black Sea For and Black Sea Harmony. These regional cooperation frameworks are established centered on the Black Sea. Member state changes in each framework, so it consists multi-layered relation.

Japan has cooperation with other Black Sea regional organization. Especially "GUAM-Japan" framework is developing in step by step fashion. This framework was established in 2007, according to Foreign Minister Taro Aso's foreign policy called "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity." The policy was aiming to support development of Eurasian countries including BSEC member states. We had 5 times high level meeting and workshops in Tokyo once in a year since 2007.

Last November, we conducted "GUAM-Japan" transportation seminar in Tokyo. This was the first seminar which was conducted by GUAM side initiative. Japanese side arranged whole the schedule. It was named GUAM project, yet actually, we can say that the project was BSEC's one. Main goal of this seminar was to see and learn the systems of parking areas and service areas of Japanese high ways, and the knowledge will be introduced to the Model High Way Initiative, which is conducted by BSEC and International Road and Transport Union, IRU, as a project of some part of the Black Sea Ring High Way project. In the Model High Way Initiative, modern highway will be constructed between Baku, Tbilisi, Batumi and Trabzon. Because of this GUAM seminar, Japan contributed BSEC project at second hand.

#### ●For the Future of deepening Cooperation between Japan and BSEC

In conclusion, it is worth to mention to my belief about the importance of communication in order to achieve concrete cooperation which we can expect exact harvest. As a result of conversations about what is BSEC need for development and prosperity of the region and what is Japanese specialty which can be introduced to abroad in a positive manner, we can find the most effective cooperation ways.

Last November, I visited Istanbul to meet Secretary General H.E. Dr. Tvircun, to discuss about future cooperation between Japan and BSEC, especially what we, Japanese side can do for BSEC. Secretary General was flying for official visit to abroad on that day, however, H.E. attached a high value to future cooperation with Japan, we could meet at a hotel close to the Ataturk Airport. After the meeting, on the same month, Secretary General visited the Global Forum of Japan, Tokyo, for the preparation of this Forth Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue. Taking advantage of this occasion, he had a consultation with Mr. Yamada, who made an opening remark this morning.

At the second meeting, Secretary General talked about expectation from Japan as a future cooperation. In the BSEC, some countries are prone to earthquake, however modern anti-seismic system is not implemented yet, so in this field BSEC want to get any cooperation from Japanese side. On the other hand, Japan is a famous earthquake country, and not only developed high-level

anti-seismic technology, but also developed anti-seismic city-building and disaster-prevention education system for children, so has plenty accumulation of technology and knowledge. Especially after the earthquake on 11<sup>th</sup> of March in 2011, Japanese people are again raised awareness of disaster prevention. Disaster prevention field is BSEC sides' needs and also it is a Japanese side's area of specialty, so it is beneficial for both sides. Dispatch of specialist of disaster prevention which I mentioned before was examined under this background. From now on, in the field of disaster management or disaster prevention, we will cooperate with BSEC.

This is the fourth Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue, which is organized by BSEC and The Global Forum of Japan. Not only between governmental level, but also it is worth to keep dialogues in all kinds of levels, so this Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue offers good opportunity. And now I am informed that the Black Sea Association of Maritime Institutions is considering to make a "Black Sea Knowledge Highway Network." This is a plan to make an internet network between universities or educational institutions in the Black Sea area and make an internet educational system. This will be an example of autonomous cooperation between educational institutions and we hope development of multi-layered cooperation.

**Georgi VASSILEV**

**Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria to Japan**

Before sharing my views on the development of the Japan-Black Sea cooperation process, I propose that we first look back to what has changed within the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation itself since the last forum in Tokyo and stress the importance of the 20-th Anniversary of BSEC, which we marked on 26th June 2012 in Istanbul, for the cooperation process within the Black Sea area. In fact, it was a challenging moment for the Organization. With the Summit Declaration we have enhanced our regional cooperation with a new "Economic Agenda towards Enhanced Partnership", reflecting the common priority areas of cooperation among our states.

I would also like to draw your attention to the purpose of the adoption of a new Economic Agenda. It was meant to face the new challenges, both in global and local environment, taking into account the changes, that has taken place in the last decade. To this end, we have set goals in 17 priority areas, among which we could mention transport infrastructure, combating organized crime, illegal trafficking of people, drugs and weapons and terrorism, as well as energy cooperation and environmental and climate change.

With regard to the implementation of the above-mentioned Economic Agenda, we need an Action plan, which among the other lines, would seek better interaction with the Observers and Sectoral partnership countries and enhancement of the cooperation with these states.

As a representative of the Republic of Bulgaria, I am glad to note that it was during the Bulgarian BSEC Chairmanship-In-Office when Japan was granted Sectoral Dialogue Partner status in 2010. Japan's representatives not only regularly attend meetings such as Council of Ministers of Foreign Affairs Meeting (CMFA) or the Meeting of the Committee of Senior Officials Meeting (CSO), but also take active participation in organizing various workshops ever since. For instance, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) co-organized and participated in the Joint

Workshops “How to Implement Energy Management Standards in BSEC Countries”, which took place in Ankara and at the BSEC headquarters in Istanbul on 2-4 March 2011 and 6-9 March 2012.

We appreciate Japan’s continued interest and engagement in the Black Sea area. Japan’s generous support to Bulgaria throughout the transition period through ODA loans, technical cooperation and grant aid in the fields of infrastructure, including major projects such as the modernization of the port of Bourgas, the extension of the Sofia metro, environment, culture, education, health care and social services was an important factor for the success of the reforms. Now, in the post-ODA phase of our bilateral relations we are actively seeking other forms of economical interaction, mainly attracting Japanese investments and technologies, boosting trade and tourism.

The growing strategic importance of the Black Sea area as a key geopolitical corridor, linking Europe with Central Asia and Middle East, and the changes that the region is going through in times of financial crisis, should result in new approach in promoting the cooperation between Japan and the Black Sea area. In this regard, on 14-16 November 2012, in Tokyo took place consultations of the BSEC Secretary General, Dr. Victor Tvirgun, with the Japanese side on issues related to prospects for future cooperation between BSEC and Japan. As you already know, during these consultations was reached a common agreement that both sides will focus their future cooperation efforts mainly in the fields of environment, energy and transport.

In addition, in October 2012 the Government of Japan has informed that it was planning to send Japanese experts in the above-mentioned fields, that will hold various kind of seminars in the BSEC Member States, thus demonstrating Japan’s strong will to enhance cooperation with the BSEC and actively participate in the process of exchanging expertise and best practices, as far as transport, environment and energy are concerned. Moreover, such cooperation would be in harmony with the recently-renewed, through the Istanbul Declaration from 26th June 2012, commitment of the BSEC Member States to strengthen the project-oriented dimension of the Organization by giving priority to projects that would bring tangible benefits and greater impact and at the same time stimulate internal reforms and the integration of the national economies in the region.

Last but not least, I would also like to emphasize the importance of Japanese practices and know-how in the field of disaster prevention. Being Ambassador of the Republic of Bulgaria to Japan, living and working in the Land of the Rising Sun, I have no hesitation in saying that Japanese achievements and knowledge, related to the anti-seismic city-building could be valuable experience for the countries from the BSEC region, especially since some of them are located in seismic zone, and yet don’t have on their disposal modern anti-seismic system. This is a crucial topic and much more attention needs to be given to the question of how to improve and develop disaster-prevention systems in BSEC Member States and as a leading economic power and a country with a well known expertise in seismic protection, Japan could play a vital role in improving the disaster management in the region.

In conclusion, I am personally convinced that Japan and the BSEC Member States would only benefit from even more active Japanese economic involvement in the Black Sea area, as the BSEC region continues to develop in terms of political and economic stability. In this regard it is my strong belief that the Japan-Black Sea Area Dialogue, organized by The Global Forum of Japan, represents a functional platform for sharing views, which would eventually lead to enhancing the fruitful cooperation between both sides.

## 4. An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

**【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 levels, 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 the 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 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, and TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Chairman, ITO Kenichi as President and HIRABAYASHI Hiroshi as Vice President. The membership is composed of 10 Business Leader Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 19 Diet Members including the three Governors, ASAO Keiichiro, KOIKE Yuriko, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 89 Opinion Leader Members including the two Governors, SHIMADA Haruo, and WATANABE Mayu. Friends and supporters of The Global Forum of Japan are organized into the Supporters' Club of the Global Forum of Japan.

**【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 the U.S., China, Korea, ASEAN countries, India, Australia, European countries, and Wider Black Sea 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 the last five years is given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2013	February	How to Develop Japan and Black Sea Area Cooperation	Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (BSEC)
	January	Toward a Future-Oriented Japan-China Relationship	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University World Resources Institute College of Public Administration, Zhejiang University
2012	September	Japan-U.S. Alliance at a New Stage: Toward a Provider of International Public Goodss	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies
	March	The Future of ASEAN Integration and Japan's Role	Fudan University
	March	The Rise of Emerging Countries and the Future of Global Governance	Nanyang Technological University The Carnegie Endowment for International Peace China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies
2011	February	The Asia-Pacific Region in Transition and the Japan-U.S.-China Relations	China Association of Asia-Pacific Studies
	October	The Japan-China Relations at Crossroads	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR)
2010	July	The Great East Japan Earthquake and Regional Cooperation on Disaster Management	National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies, etc
	February	The Japan-U.S. Relations in the Era of Smart Power	The Center for Strategic and International Studies (U.S.)
	February	East Asia in Transition and New Perspectives on Regional Cooperation	International Studies Department, Vietnam National University (Vietnam)
2010	September	East Asian Regional Architectures and Japan-India Relations	The Federation of Indian Chambers of Commerce and Industry (India)
	May	Promoting Japan-U.S. Cooperation in Non-Traditional Security: the Case of Counter Piracy	National Bureau of Asian Research (U.S.)
	February	Promoting Japan-China Cooperation on Environmental Issues of the 21st Century: In Pursuit of Recycling Society	School of Environment, Beijing Normal University (China)
2009	January	Prospects of Changing Black Sea Area and Role of Japan	Organization of Black Sea Economic Cooperation
	September	Japan-ASEAN Cooperation amid the Financial and Economic Crisis	ASEAN-ISIS
2009	June	Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World	China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (China)
	April	US-Japan Relations Under the New Obama Administration	National Committee on American Foreign Policy (U.S.)

## 5. An Introduction to Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (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). With the accession of Serbia in April 2004, the organization's Member States increased to twelve.

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.

Today, BSEC has become the most inclusive and comprehensive organization in the wider Black Sea area. BSEC, consisting of 12 Member States and having 17 Observers and 17 Sectoral Dialogue Partners, is a solid institution with a Permanent International Secretariat and four Related Bodies, namely, the Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC), the BSEC Business Council (BSEC BC), the Black Sea Trade and Development Bank (BSTDB) and the International Centre for Black Sea Studies (ICBSS). BSEC Secretary General

The members of BSEC, since its inception, have endorsed multilateral economic cooperation and development in the region through joint efforts, dialogue and good neighborliness, to the benefit of the Member States and their peoples with the aim of promoting peace, stability and prosperity in the BSEC region. The Member States are determined to make use of the great potential of the Organization as a platform of dialogue to play a more proactive, effective and constructive role in promoting the common goal of a peaceful, stable and prosperous BSEC Region to the interest of all stakeholders in the spirit of partnership and entrepreneurship.

**Secretary General of BSEC :** Ambassador Dr. Victor TVIRCUN

**Observers :** Republic of Austria, Republic of Belarus, Republic of Croatia, Czech Republic, Arab Republic of Egypt, French Republic, Federal Republic of Germany, State of Israel, Republic of Italy, Republic of Poland, Slovak Republic, Republic of Tunisia, United States of America, International Black Sea Club, Energy Charter Secretariat, Black Sea Commission, Commission of the European Union

**Sectoral Dialogue Partners :** Hungary, Islamic Republic of Iran, Hashemite Kingdom of Jordan, Japan, Republic of Korea, Montenegro, Republic of Slovenia, United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland, Black Sea International Shipowners Association (BINSAs), 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), Black Sea Universities Network (BSUN), Conference of Peripheral Maritime Regions of Europe (CPMR), Danube Commission, International Network for SMEs (INSME)

[Contact Information]

Permanent International Secretariat

Sakıp Sabancı Caddesi, Müşir Fuad Paşa Yalısı, Eski Tersane 34467- Emirgan

Istanbul / Turkey Tel :+90 212 229 63 30-35 Fax:+90 212 229 63 36

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**The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)**

17-12-1301, Akasaka 2-chome Minato-ku, Tokyo, 107-0052, Japan

[Tel] +81-3-3584-2193 [Fax] +81-3-3505-4406

[E-mail] [gfj@gfj.jp](mailto:gfj@gfj.jp) [URL] <http://www.gfj.jp/>