
The Second Japan-GUAM Dialogue

The Japan-GUAM Relationship in the Changing World

Conference Papers

July 17, 2015

Tokyo, Japan

Co-Sponsored by

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development

Supported by

Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Worldwide Support for Development (WSD)

Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)

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1. Program

第2回目・GUAM対話 The Second Japan-GUAM Dialogue

激動する世界における日・GUAM関係 The Japan-GUAM Relationship in the Changing World

2015年7月17日/17 July, 2015

国際文化会館「講堂」、東京、日本/"Lecture Hall", International House of Japan, Tokyo, Japan

共催/Co-sponsored by

グローバル・フォーラム/The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ)

GUAM: 民主主義と経済発展のための機構/GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development

後援/Under the Auspices of

外務省/Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

世界開発協力機構/Worldwide Support for Development (WSD)

日本貿易振興機構/ Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)

2015年7月17日(金)/Friday, 17th July, 2015

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

開会挨拶 / Opening Remarks

13:00-13:20

冒頭挨拶A(5分間) Opening Remarks A (5 min.)	城内 実 外務副大臣 KIUCHI Minoru, State Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan
冒頭挨拶B(5分間) Opening Remarks B (5 min.)	伊藤 憲一 グローバル・フォーラム代表世話人 ITO Kenichi, Chairman, GFJ
冒頭挨拶C(5分間) Opening Remarks C (5 min.)	バレーリ・チェチェラシビリ GUAM事務総長 Valeri CHECHELASHVILI, Secretary General, GUAM
冒頭挨拶D(5分間) Opening Remarks D (5 min.)	半田 晴久 世界開発協力機構総裁 HANDA Haruhisa, Chairman, WSD

セッション I / Session I

13:20-14:45 「平和と繁栄に向けた普遍的価値の共有」 "Toward Making Shared Values for Peace and Prosperity"

議長 Chairperson	廣野 良吉 グローバル・フォーラム執行世話人代行/成蹊大学名誉教授 HIRONO Ryokichi, Acting President, GFJ / Professor Emeritus, Seikei University
報告A(8分間) Lead Discussant A (8 min.)	六鹿 茂夫 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人/静岡県立大学教授 MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, University of Shizuoka
報告B(8分間) Lead Discussant B (8 min.)	ダヴィド・ジャラガニア ジョージア外務次官 David JALAGANIA, Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia
報告C(8分間) Lead Discussant C (8 min.)	安野 正士 上智大学准教授 ANNO Tadashi, Associate Professor, Sophia University
報告D(8分間) Lead Discussant D (8 min.)	ユアン・ミルチャ・パシュク 欧州議会副議長 Ioan Mircea PASCU, Vice-President, European Parliament
報告E(8分間) Lead Discussant E (8 min.)	佐藤 貴生 産経新聞外信部次長兼論説委員 SATO Takao, Deputy Foreign News Editor & Editorial Writer, The Sankei Shimbun
自由討議(40分) Free Discussions (40 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants

14:45-14:55 Break / 休憩

セッション II / Session II

14:55-16:20 「日本とGUAMの協力の現状と課題」 "The Chance and Challenge for Japan-GUAM Cooperation"

議長 Chairperson	バレーリ・チェチェラシビリ GUAM事務総長 Valeri CHECHELASHVILI, Secretary General, GUAM
報告A(8分間) Lead Discussant A (8 min.)	アンドレイ・ガルバー モルドバ外務・欧州統合次官 Andrei GALBUR, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova
報告B(8分間) Lead Discussant B (8 min.)	梅津 哲也 日本貿易振興機構企画部海外地域戦略主幹(ロシア・CIS) UMETSU Tetsuya, Senior Director, Global Strategy (Russia and CIS), Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)
報告C(8分間) Lead Discussant C (8 min.)	ガヤ・マムアドフ アゼルバイジャン外務省国際安全保障局長 Gaya MAMMADOV, Head, Department of International Security, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan
報告D(8分間) Lead Discussant D (8 min.)	柿沢 未途 グローバル・フォーラム国会議員世話人/衆議院議員(維新の党) KAKIZAWA Mito, Political Governor, GFJ / Member of the House of Representatives (Japan Innovation Party)
報告E(8分間) Lead Discussant E (8 min.)	ナタリア・ガリバレンコ ウクライナ第一副外相 Natalia GALIBARENKO, First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine
自由討議(40分) Free Discussions (40 min.)	出席者全員 All Participants

総括セッション / Wrap-up Session

16:20-16:30

総括(10分間) Wrap-up (10 min.)	六鹿 茂夫 グローバル・フォーラム有識者世話人/静岡県立大学教授 MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo, Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, University of Shizuoka
	バレーリ・チェチェラシビリ GUAM事務総長 Valeri CHECHELASHVILI, Secretary General, GUAM

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

2. Biographies of the Panelists

【GUAM Panelists】

Valeri CHECHELASHVILI

Secretary General, GUAM

Received Ph.D. in International Economy from Graduate School at the Kiev State University. Served as various positions, including Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia (1998-2000), Secretary General of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (2000-2004), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia to the Russian Federation (2004-2005), Minister of Finance of Georgia (2005), Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of Georgia to the Swiss confederation, Permanent Representative of Georgia to the UN Office and Other International Organizations in Geneva (2005) and First Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia (2005).

David JALAGANIA

Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia

Received Ph.D. from Georgian Technical University in 1991. Assistant Professor of Georgian Technical University (1991-1994). Served as various positions, including Deputy Minister, Ministry of Trade and Foreign Economic Relations of Georgia (1998-2000), Director of Department of Foreign Aid Coordination (2000-2002), Minister, Georgian Embassy in the Federal Republic of Germany (2004-2006), Director of Department of EU Integration (2006-2008) and Deputy Minister, Ministry of Culture, Monuments Protection and Sport of Georgia (2008).

Ioan Mircea PASCU

Vice-President, European Parliament

Received Ph.D. from Institute of Political Sciences Bucharest in 1980. Served as Member of the Committee on Foreign Policy of the Council of the National Salvation Front in Bucharest (1989-1990), Professor of National School of Political Studies and Public Administration in Bucharest (1990-present), Visiting Senior Research Fellow of Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) (1992-1993), State Secretary for Defense Policy and International Relations of Ministry of National Defense of Romania (1993-1996), and Minister of National Defense of Romania (2000-2004). Concurrently serves as Vice-Chair of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, Coordinator of the Group of the Progressive Alliance of Socialists and Democrats, and Member of the Delegation for Relations with Japan, of the European Parliament.

Andrei GALBUR

*Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration
of the Republic of Moldova*

Joined the diplomatic service of the Republic of Moldova in 1995. Served as Deputy Resident Representative of the Republic of Moldova to the International Organizations in Vienna (2000-2004), Head of General Directorate for Multilateral Cooperation (2005-2007, 2010-2013), Minister-counselor (2007-2009) and Charge d'affaires a.i., Embassy of Moldova, Washington D.C. (2009-2010), Ambassador of Moldova to the Russian Federation (2013-2015) and Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of the Republic of Moldova (2015).

Gaya MAMMADOV

*Head, Department of International Security,
Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Azerbaijan*

Joined the diplomatic service of Azerbaijan in 1998. In his overseas postings, he served as staff officer at the Defence Policy and Planning Division of the NATO International Staff in Brussels, as political officer at the Embassy of Azerbaijan in Berlin, and as deputy chief of mission of the diplomatic mission of Azerbaijan to NATO. From December 2011, he served as Deputy Head of Department for Security Policy, before he was promoted to the position of Head of Department for International Security in January 2013. He holds BA and MA degrees from the Baku State University, is alumnus of the NATO Defence College and received training from the German Diplomatic School in Bonn and Harvard Kennedy School in Cambridge, MA, USA.

Nataliia GALIBARENKO (GUAM Chairmanship of 2015)

*First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs
of Ukraine*

Graduated from the Institute of International Relations, Taras Shevchenko National University of Kyiv. Attaché, Third Secretary of the Cabinet of the Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine, Third and Second Secretary of the Mission of Ukraine to the European Union (from 2000). Chief Consultant of the Main Office for Foreign Policy, European and Euro-Atlantic Integration Processes of the Presidential Administration of Ukraine (2006-2007). Head of Section for Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2007-2009). Head of Division, Deputy Director of the Directorate General – Head of Division for Co-operation in Political, Security and Defence Fields of the EU Directorate General, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (2009-2012). Deputy Head of the Permanent Mission of Ukraine to the International Organizations in Vienna (Austria) (October 2012-March 2014) and First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of Ukraine (March 2014). Participated in numerous bilateral and multilateral negotiation processes of Ukraine's activities, including the EU, Council of Europe, OSCE and other international organizations.

【Japanese Panelists】

KIUCHI Minoru

State Minister for Foreign Affairs

Graduated from the University of Tokyo and joined the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1989. Served as Member of the Committee on Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, the Committee on Environment, the Special Committee on Postal Privatization, the Committee on Judicial Affairs, and the Committee on Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, of the House of Representatives, Director of the Committee on Foreign Affairs and the Special Committee on National Security of the House of Representatives, and Parliamentary Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs in the 2nd Abe Cabinet. Holds the current position since September 2014.

ITO Kenichi

Chairman, GFI / President, JFIR

Graduated from Hitotsubashi University and joined Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1960. Studied at GSAS of Harvard University. Served in Japanese Embassies in Moscow, Manila and Washington and also as Director of First Southeast Asian Division until 1977. Since then he served as Tokyo Representative of CSIS (1980-1987) and Professor of international politics at Aoyama Gakuin University (1984-2006). He has been President of Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) since it was founded in 1987 and now concurrently serves as Chairman of Council on East Asian Community (CEAC). He is Professor Emeritus and holds Honorary Doctorate in International Relations.

HANDA Haruhisa

Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development (WSD)

Graduated from Doshisha University, and received M.A. from Edith Cowan University, Australia, and Ph.D.s from Tsinghua University and Zhejiang University. Concurrently serves as Advisor to the Royal Government of Cambodia with the rank of Senior Minister, Honorary Consul of the Kingdom of Cambodia in Fukuoka, Japan, Chancellor and Professor of International Politics in the College of Social Sciences at the University of Cambodia, Senior International Commentator for Southeast Asia Television, Founder and Chair of the Asia Economic Forum, Partner of the Clinton Foundation, Director of the Pacific Forum CSIS, and Director of the Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR).

HIRONO Ryokichi

Acting President, GFJ / Professor Emeritus, Seikei University

Graduated from the University of Chicago and completed research program in 1958. Served as Assistant Administrator of UNDP in charge of the Bureau for Programme Policy and Evaluation, Chair of the UNECOSOC Committee for Development Policy and Visiting Professor of Graduate Institute for Policy Studies (GRIPS). Concurrently serves as Trustee and Superior Research Fellow of JFIR.

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo

Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, University of Shizuoka

Graduated from Sophia University (Tokyo) 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 (Robert Schuman Fellow) at the European Institute of the London School of Economics and Political Science (2000.7~2001.3), and Director of the Wider Europe Research Center (2008~present) at University of Shizuoka. Studies international politics, focusing on the Wider Europe.

ANNO Tadashi

Associate Professor, Sophia University

Received B.A. from the University of Tokyo in 1989, M.A. in 1990 and Ph.D. in 1999 from the University of California, Berkeley. Taught at Sophia University since 2000 and assumed the current position since 2007. Served as a visiting scholar at the Institute of Slavic, East European, and Eurasian Studies at UC Berkeley (2013-2014). Studies international relations and comparative politics, focusing on the problems of nationalism and national identity, especially in Russia and Japan.

SATO Takao

Deputy Foreign News Editor & Editorial Writer, the Sankei Shimbun

Received B.A. in Economics from the School of Political Science and Economics, Waseda University and entered the Sankei Shimbun in 1990. Studied at the Center of Russian Language and Culture, Saint-Petersburg National University (1998-1999). Served as Correspondent of the Moscow Bureau (2002-2004) and Chief of the Moscow Bureau (2008-2012) of the Sankei Shimbun.

UMETSU Tetsuya

Senior Director, Global Strategy (Russia and CIS),

Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO)

Graduated from the Faculty of Law, Kanazawa University, and joined the Japan External Trade Organization (JETRO) in 1991. Served as Deputy Director-General of the Moscow representative office (2004-2007), Director-General of the newly established St. Petersburg office (2007-2014), and Senior Coordinator for Europe, Russia and CIS of the Planning Department (2014-2015). Concurrently serves as Director of the Overseas Research Department (Russia and Eurasia) since 2012.

KAKIZAWA Mito

Political Governor, GFJ /

Member of the House of Representatives (Japan Innovation Party)

Graduated from the Faculty of Law, the University of Tokyo. Served as Correspondent of the Japan Broadcasting Corporation (NHK) and Member of the Metropolitan Assembly of Tokyo. Elected to a member of the House of Representatives for 3 times since 2009. Concurrently serves as the Secretary-General of Japan Innovation Party (JIP) and Director of the Standing Committee on Fundamental National Policies of the House of Representatives.

(In order of appearance)

3. Presentation Papers

Session I: Toward Making Shared values for Peace and Prosperity

MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo

Academic Governor, GFJ / Professor, University of Shizuoka

1. GUAM+Japan
 - Shared values – democracy, market economy, rule of law
 - International Law – sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of frontiers
 - Cooperation based on projects

2. Values — Security
 - Contribution of values (democracy, market economy, rule of law etc.)
 - stability in Central and Eastern Europe by the EU/NATO enlargements
 - The values caused the color revolutions in Georgia and Ukraine (2003~2004)
 - encountered the ‘sovereign democracy’ and Eurasian Economic Union of Russia
 - the Russia-Georgian War / recognition of South Ossetia and Abkhazia by Russia as an “independent state” (*now they are being integrated into Russia)
 - annexation of Crimea by Russia
 - an attempt to make the eastern part of Ukraine “frozen conflicts” or “unrecognized state”

3. The West vs Russia
 - ① Russia’s assertive or even aggressive policy
 - ② Reaction of the West – sanctions, declaration of the NATO Wales summit
 - ③ Effects of sanctions on Russia
 - ④ Effects of Russia’s aggressive policy – proposal to revise the Post-Cold War European Security System, refraining from NATO enlargement to the east

4. Four scenarios
 - ① A New Cold War
 - ② Concession of the West to Russia
 - ③ Concession of Russia to the West
 - ④ A new version of Yalta

5. Cooperation within GUAM; GUAM’s cooperation with international actors

6. China – the New Silk Road; ”16+1”; the trans-Balkan high-speed railway — Piraeus(Greek port)~Belgrade~Budapest

Conclusion

David JALAGANIA

Deputy Foreign Minister of Georgia

This panel discussion is around the issue which has not lost its urgency even in the 21st century. Unfortunately even today we are arguing about what shared values are and we still can't learn how to live in peace.

Many international relations' theorists are still being arguing the topic, looking for the best model where values are shared and respected and where they promote peace, but from the standpoint of politicians, we see that reality is far different from theory.

What is happening in the region of GUAM could serve as a good example to explain the problem. The GUAM Countries are the victims of occupation and separatism; In all cases the fundamental principles of international law are hindered and territorial integrity and inviolability of internationally recognized borders is not guaranteed.

With the end of the Cold War, it was tempting to lower the attention paid to the "security" issue in favour of economic interests. Today, however, it is abundantly clear that the security agenda remains paramount.

Military aggression and occupation of Georgia's two regions – Abkhazia and Tskhinvali region/South Ossetia in 2008 was to derail Georgia's Euro-Atlantic integration. Six-seven years later it is repeating itself against Ukraine in response to its EU integration aspirations. Russia's aggression against Georgia, Ukraine is already a trend, a very dangerous trend, which triggers not only European security but has much global implication. This is a war of values.

If we are building a value-based cooperation, the whole international community should stand for the protections of these values.

Internal stability – based on functioning democratic institutions and a sustainable and dynamic economy – combined with healthy international relations are fundamental to the security of a nation. It is equally true that security is critical to development. There cannot be sustainable development without peace and security, and without development and poverty eradication there will be no sustainable peace.

Embracing European and Euro-Atlantic ambitions of Eastern European partners, as well as further strengthening of cooperation would be the genuine demonstration of the European and Euro-Atlantic community's soft power and serve as a strong and effective step, aimed at ensuring peace and security in the Euro-Atlantic area. It is very important to stand strong in defence of what Europe is about - "Europe whole, free and at peace".

The people of Georgia have chosen European and Euro-Atlantic integration because we understand that there is no alternative path to democracy, prosperity and long-term security for our country and region. Over the last decade we have undertaken a comprehensive reform programme, which has dramatically transformed our country, despite growing security challenges.

In the global context, Japan is the main frontrunner of democracy in this part of the World. Japan is also a vivid example of success, showing that economic development promotes peace and security and sustainable and lasting peace is possible only in the conditions of well functioning democracy and value-based community.

ANNO Tadashi

Associate Professor, Sophia University

Challenges for Japan's GUAM Policy: Liberal Principles vs. Realist Calculus?

Japan's policy toward GUAM in recent years has developed within the framework of the idea of "Arc of Freedom and Prosperity" (AOFPP). This concept has both "liberal" and "realist" foundations. The liberal side of the policy has to do first with Japan's fundamental interest in maintaining an open, rule-based international order. The liberal side of AOFPP also stems from Japan's commitment as a liberal, democratic state to cooperate with countries that share the same values, and to promote such values internationally. The "realist" side of the AOFPP, on the other hand, is based on a geopolitical idea – namely, strengthening cooperation with nations along the maritime edges of the Eurasian Continent as a counterbalance the major land powers of Eurasia. Japan's GUAM policy thus represents an amalgam of "liberal" and "realist" thinking.

The crisis situation in Ukraine and the changing security situation in the Asia-Pacific region have posed a major and complex challenge to Japan's GUAM policy, and to Japan-GUAM cooperation. On the one hand, China's coercive diplomacy in the East and South China Seas, Russia's annexation of Crimea, and her armed intervention in Eastern Ukraine, all served to highlight the need to maintain a rule-based international order, and to oppose forcible change to the status quo, whether in Europe or in the Asia-Pacific. Yet, the security and economic challenges caused by the aggressive /assertive behavior of Russia / China could tempt both Japan and GUAM countries to seek short-sighted, self-interested solutions which in the long run may damage Japan-GUAM cooperation, and the national interests of the countries involved.

Japan, while opposed in principle to forcible change in the territorial status quo, needs to avoid pushing Russia completely into the "Chinese camp." But too conciliatory a policy toward Russia could hurt the interests of Japan's partners in Europe (including GUAM countries), and may end up undermining the basic principle of a rule-based international order. Similarly, faced with economic difficulty, Ukraine may be tempted to revive sensitive arms technology to China. But this could contribute to instability not only in the Asia-Pacific region but also more globally.

The aim of Japan-GUAM cooperation is not a Cold-War style containment of Russia or China. There is certainly room for fruitful cooperation between Japan and Russia, between China and GUAM states. Yet, neither Japan nor GUAM states would benefit in the long run from shortsighted policies that undercut each other's vital security interests. It is therefore critically important for Japan and GUAM states to engage in frank and constructive dialogue on how to avoid harming each other's vital security interests even as they defend and pursue their own.

Ioan Mircea PASCU

Vice-President, European Parliament

1. GUAM is an international organization founded by Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova, to promote collectively their individual interests. While Georgia, Ukraine and Moldova have signed Association Agreements with the EU, Azerbaijan is having a substantive relation with the EU, too. Moreover, all four have to face important security challenges generated by the conflicts they are party too, conflicts which Russia manipulates to remain in control in their respective areas.
2. Mr. Tetsuya Umetsu is making a cold calculation of what would be the interest of Japan in cooperating with these countries, especially in economic terms. It is a good indicator for all four countries on making their respective decisions so that they can answer positively to the expectations of the Japanese companies, which could contribute so much to their development.
3. Mr. Takao Sato – who is indicating correctly the main cause for the slowness in EU decision-making – is correct when he says that Russia wants to keep close the former Soviet countries more than the EU and US want to get them into the West. (Actually, both the EU and the US are in favour of a free choice for those countries, not a forceful integration either into the East or into the West). Also, Mr. Sato is correct when he indicates the need for the GUAM countries to act more collectively in dealing with their challenges, underlining the value of friendship with the West.
4. Mr. Tadashi Anno is pointing towards a very important bond resulting from the mutual interest of GUAM and Japan in maintaining international legality in the face of those powers, which are challenging it. Two concrete points:
 - a. [Japan needs to avoid pushing Russia completely into the “Chinese camp”] – It is Russia’s main interest, especially now, when its relations with the West are so tense and confrontational, to march towards China, even if that is also to demonstrate the West that it has another option except the West!?
 - b. [The aim of Japan-GUAM cooperation is not a Cold-War style containment of Russia or China] – even if they wished, I am afraid it might be beyond their power to achieve such an objective. If the statement is meant to reassure both Russia and China, then it is acceptable.
5. Minister Galibarenko makes a strong case that the relations between Japan and GUAM should have a political, not only technical/economic dimension, too, reflecting the realities confronting the GUAM countries. The mutual interest in preserving international legality is sufficient argument in that respect.
6. Concretely, I think that there is ground for establishing a mutually advantageous relationship between Japan and GUAM countries. One concrete example is that GUAM, too, which needs Japanese assistance, has something to offer, too, namely avoiding transfers of sensitive military technology towards China.

SATO Takao
Deputy Foreign News Editor & Editorial Writer,
the Sankei Shimbun

Mr. Putin`s Russia has more serious determination to keep the ex-Soviet countries in the sphere of Russian influence than Europe and the United States are trying to take them into Western influence.

In addition, Mr. Putin now fully controls Russian internal politics and media in a totalitarian way. It is easy for Mr. Putin and for his government to execute their foreign policies as they decide. The aggression against Crimea was its typical example.

European Union is a group of countries which have different national interests and strategies. That`s the reason why their decision making process often takes time than the U.S. does, and sometimes Europeans find difficulty in forming their unified conclusion.

If Europe does not try seriously to take back the ex-Soviet countries under direct or indirect Russian influence, it will become more difficult for GUAM countries -- Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan and Moldova -- to escape from the sphere of Russian influence.

The international community criticizes Russian aggression into Ukraine and is looking carefully into the crisis. Other GUAM counties should not miss the chance to raise their voice to point out to the international community that they also have territorial disputes or conflicts often related to Russia.

Whether GUAM countries were eager to approach Europe, it would be important to invite people from Europe and the U.S., especially media and humanitarian NGOs. This kind of activities will make these people to understand GUAM`s policy, which is pro-western. These exchanges will also give a good chance GUAM themselves to learn the value of freedom of speech and democracy based on the fair election. I believe that it is the right way for GUAM counties to observe these values in order to become real friends of Europe, US and Japan. The situation surrounding GUAM countries is uneasy and complicated. That`s why they must find real friends among the democratic counties in the West.

Session II: The Chance and Challenge for Japan-GUAM Cooperation

Andrei GALBUR
**Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and European Integration of
the Republic of Moldova**

Since the establishment of the GUAM organization, the main objective of GUAM and its member states was the determination to contribute to regional stability and security.

GUAM has managed to develop a spirit of cooperation, providing a forum for constant dialogue and constructive exchange of ideas and proposals.

The vision of the GUAM organization is that it should continue to promote the political cooperation to ensure peace and sustainable development in the region, as well as the prospects for the development of the Organization.

There is an interest to further cooperate with Japan within the GUAM framework and signing the new “GUAM-Japan Cooperation Program” will deepen the dialogue, will enhance the interaction, and in the long run will generate new cooperation projects.

GUAM countries acknowledge the fact that further cooperation in the region must be linked to a renewed determination to promote enhanced sense of stability of the GUAM area.

Reiterating Moldova’s support for the GUAM-Japan Cooperation Program, it is to mention that its implementation can bring the GUAM-Japan relations to a new, higher level of interaction, which in turn will assist the GUAM countries to continue the process of reforms, ensuring thus the peace and stability in the region.

UMETSU Tetsuya
Senior Director, Global Strategy (Russia and CIS),
Japan External Trade Organization

1. GUAM - Unknown countries for Japanese companies
 - Number of Japanese companies in GUAM countries (quite less than Russia, Poland and Romania)
 - Trade volume with GUAM countries (very few in comparison with Russia, Poland and Turkey; less than Kazakhstan)
 - Lack/shortage of information (Why?)
 - The points mentioned above are the reason of insufficient recognition among Japanese companies to GUAM countries (Which is first, chicken or egg?)

2. GUAM countries as a potential market - attractive or not attractive?
 - Market size (GDP, Population)
 - Logistics (Transportation route from/to Japan)
 - Business environment (Doing Business ranking by World Bank)
 - Business itself
 - (Activity of foreign companies other than Japanese one)
 - GUAM countries as a single market for Japanese Business (possible or not?)

3. Possible way for the enhancement of business relationship between Japanese companies and GUAM countries
 - Providing information from GUAM side
 - Mind changing by Japanese companies
 - Conclusion: The both way is necessary for the further economic cooperation of Japanese companies with GUAM countries

KAKIZAWA Mito
Political Governor, GFJ /
Member of the House of Representatives (Japan Innovation Party)

‘What Japan should do for GUAM’

1. Basic principles

(1) Fundamental values to share

- Promoting democratic value, respecting human rights
- Respecting the principle of the territorial integrity

(2) Principles to follow

- Respect established international law such as the Charter of the UN.
⇒ Act in cooperation with GUAM nations, the US. and EU.
- Promote market oriented reforms (respecting consumers and citizens)
⇒ mutual cooperation on free trade, regulatory reforms and privatization
- Help to establish energy security, environmental protections
⇒ Technology transfer: energy saving, renewable energy etc.

2. Ukraine crisis

(1) It is important to distinguish the pro-Russian natives from the Russian power.

(2) Mr. Stephen Sestanovich (CFR, April, 2015, at U.S. Senate hearing)

- Mr. Putin’s aims and calculations: He is rational enough to be deterred.
- Effectiveness of sanctions: It works and can affect Russian policy.
- Helping Ukrainian military: whether and how?
⇒ A sudden infusion of Western arms might even lead Russia to escalate.... The primary goal should be to deter a new wave of violence of separatists.
- Where this confrontation is heading: Will Mr. Putin turn against other neighbors?
⇒ unlikely but never let Mr. Putin the victor.

3. What Japan should do for GUAM? — Some options

(1) EPA, FTA, and ODA

(2) Non-military support such as humanitarian assistance after conflicts

(3) Sharing experiences of nuclear power accidents (Ukraine, since 2012)

Nataliia GALIBARENKO

First Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Ukraine

“The chance and challenge for Japan – Guam Cooperation”

Among its priorities for the tenure of Chairmanship, Ukraine attaches an utmost importance to further development of the GUAM-Japan Dialogue. The Cooperation Program within “GUAM plus Japan” was put in the core of the Ukrainian Chairmanship program this year.

GUAM-Japan cooperation is based on their common vision and well-rooted traditions. Statutory Documents and Summit Declarations of GUAM are in tune with Japan’s basic approaches to regional cooperation in Southeastern Europe, creating political stability and economic prosperity, allowing universal values to take hold and establishing a peaceful and promising civil society that enables personal fulfillment. Shared goal is to ensure the establishment of civilized space of partnership in the region, thus contributing to the strengthening of regional trust and confidence, leading to integration and stability.

All of GUAM’s activities are streamlined in order to establish a space of stability and integration in the Black Sea – Caspian Sea region via the implementation of cooperation projects and programs, including both the four lateral ones and those being carried out with the support of external partners. In this respect we look with a hope to an extended cooperation with Japan as one of the largest world economies which avails of vast experience and high tech capacity to promote GUAM regional projects.

We endeavor to explore possible ways to enhance and expand such cooperation in new areas, especially bearing in mind GUAM institutional facilities to operate in the spheres of tourism, transit transportation, city infrastructure development, water management, trade and investments. These projects should to the largest possible extent comply with the interests of each and every member state and favor the attainment of concrete results in a short-term outlook.

The issues of countering the aggression, safeguarding the sovereignty and restoring territorial integrity remain in the focus of the Ukrainian chairmanship in GUAM. The illegal annexation of Crimea and Sebastopol, the purposeful and persistent destabilization in the East of Ukraine jeopardize peace and stability in the European dimension and undermine the world political order based on adherence to the norms and principles of international law enshrined in the documents of UNO and OSCE.

All of our member states suffer from unresolved conflicts, undermining peace, security and cooperation with their impact both at the regional level as well as in transatlantic dimension. They could find peaceful resolution exclusively on the basis of the generally accepted norms and principles of international law, particularly those related to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states concerned within their internationally recognized borders.

Thus it is important that GUAM – Japan cooperation to contain an essential political component, aimed at conflict settlement, countering the aggression as well as solution of the issues of territorial integrity and sovereignty of GUAM member states.

4. An Introduction to The Global Forum of Japan

【Objectives】

In today's world, people's attention is focused not only around the ways and means to cope with the globalization, but also the rise of new states including People's Republic of China and the geopolitical evolution both inside and outside the former Soviet Union. Under these circumstances, in addition to traditional dialogue partners in Asia-Pacific region, it has become increasingly important for Japan to establish new channels of dialogue both in the first and the second tracks with countries which she has yet to hold regular meetings with, such as member countries of the Organization of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (Russia, Turkey, Romania, etc.). On the basis of such understanding, The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) aims to promote the exchange of views on commonly shared interests and issues in the field ranging from politics and security to economy, trade, finance, society and culture, and to help business leaders, Diet members and opinion leaders both in Japan and in their counterpart countries to discuss about the formulation of new orders in global and regional arenas.

【History】

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

【Organization】

The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) is a private, non-profit, non-partisan, and independent membership organization in Japan to engage in and promote international exchanges on policy-oriented matters of bilateral, regional and global implications. While the secretariat is housed in The Japan Forum on International Relations, GFJ itself is independent of any other organizations, including The Japan Forum on International Relations. Originally established as the Japanese component of The Quadrangular Forum at the initiative of HATTORI Ichiro, OKITA Saburo, TAKEYAMA Yasuo, TOYODA Shoichiro in 1982, GFJ is currently headed by OKAWARA Yoshio as Advisor, ITO Kenichi as Chairman & President. The membership is composed of 10 Business Members including the two Governors, MOGI Yuzaburo and TOYODA Shoichiro; 18 Political Members including the four Governors, ASAO Keiichiro, KAKIZAWA Mito, KOIKE Yuriko, and TANIGAKI Sadakazu; and 86 Academic Members including the three Governors, ITO Go, SHIMADA Haruo and MUTSUSHIKA Shigeo.

【Activities】

Since the start of The Global Forum of Japan (GFJ) in 1982, GFJ has shifted its focus from the exchanges with the Quadrangular countries for the purpose of contributing to the Western Summit, to those with neighboring countries in the Asia-Pacific region including US, China, Korea, ASEAN countries, India and Australia European countries, Wider 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 past years given below.

Year	Month	Topic	Co-sponsor
2015	July	The Second Japan-GUAM Dialogue "The Japan-GUAM Relationship in the Changing World"	GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
	March	Central Asia + Japan Symposium	Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, the University of Tokyo
	February	The Japan-U.S. Dialogue "Alliance in a New Defense Guideline Era" Japan-East Asia Dialogue "What Should We Do toward Reliable International Relations in Asia?"	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University School of Public Affairs, Zhejiang University the Albert Del Rosario Institute for Strategic and International Studies
2014	December	The Japan- Asia Pacific Dialogue "The Asia-Pacific in Global Power Transition: How Many Great Powers?"	Meiji University University of Western Sydney
	May	The Japan-China Dialogue "Prospect of Japan-China Relationship in the Changing World"	The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR) Institute of Japanese Studies, Chinese Academy of Social Sciences (CASS)
	March	The Japan-U.S. Alliance in Changing International and Domestic Environments	Institute for National Strategic Studies, National Defense University
	January	Toward Building Confidence Between Japan and China in 'New Domains'	The Japan Forum on International Relations (JFIR)
2013	October	Toward the Making of Shared Values in Foreign Policy	Washington College International Studies Program Foundation of Research on Transformation of Malaysia
	March	Future Prospect of the Japan-GUAM Partnership for Democracy and Economic Development	GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development
	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

5. An Introduction to GUAM-Organization for Democracy and Economic Development

Cooperation between Georgia, Ukraine, Azerbaijan, and Moldova started with the GUAM consultative forum, established on October 10, 1997. The GUAM Member States are guided by the principles of respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity of the states, inviolability of their internationally recognized borders, and non-interference in their internal affairs as well as other universally recognized principles and norms of the international law. Important principle of GUAM is the decision taking by consensus that makes it possible to take fully into account the interests of every Member State.

The main purposes of GUAM are:

- promoting democratic values, ensuring the rule of law, and respect for human rights;
- ensuring sustainable development;
- strengthening international and regional security and stability;
- deepening European integration for the establishment of common security space, and expansion of cooperation in economic and humanitarian spheres;
- development of social and economic, transport, energy, scientific and technical, and humanitarian potential of the Parties;
- intensification of political interaction and practical cooperation in the field of mutual interest.

GUAM is an Organization based on the developed network of mechanisms and instruments of interaction including GUAM Strategy for Sector Cooperation Development. Working Bodies GUAM are accordingly streamlining their activities with a view of GUAM projects and programs implementation. Country-Coordinators, in close cooperation with Chairmanship are developing activities to translate potential of the Organization into tangible results, ultimately contributing to regional stability, integration and improving of living standards.

Under the current Ukrainian Chairmanship GUAM is focusing activities on the process of generation, elaboration and implementation of concrete projects and programs of GUAM cooperation. GUAM member states have very close, if not coinciding set of foreign policy priorities and consider GUAM as format, reinforcing position of individual member state in the network of international relations.

Presidency and country-coordinators of the Sectoral Working Groups are facilitating their efforts to develop necessary legal platform, including that one in spheres of free movement of capital, goods, services, and labor. Sector cooperation bodies are invited to initiate practically oriented projects of economic cooperation, including those in the "GUAM+" format, with a broad engagement of business circles and in this light to capitalize on positive GUAM experience.

Along with dramatic developments in Southeastern Europe GUAM is consolidating its position. GUAM states suffer from unresolved conflicts, some of which have lasted for decades. We are in the epicentre of problems, which is why our opinion should matter. These conflicts undermine peace, security and cooperation at both the regional and European levels. Triggered from outside and accompanied by foreign military interference, these conflicts could find peaceful resolution exclusively on the basis of the generally accepted norms and principles of international law, particularly those related to the sovereignty and territorial integrity of states concerned within their internationally recognized borders. Strong and consistent support of the international community is critical to this end. Respectively, we are strengthening our solidarity and are sparing no efforts to consolidate the support of the international community, key international players, including Japan – traditional partner of GUAM.

The main goal of GUAM is to establish space of stability and integration in the Black Sea – Caspian Sea region; space of partnership, based on the European standards, criteria and practice. While implementing this main goal, we are using two main avenues of cooperation: 1) elaboration, signature and implementation of GUAM format multilateral legal instruments, and 2) generation, elaboration and implementation of GUAM projects and programs.

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