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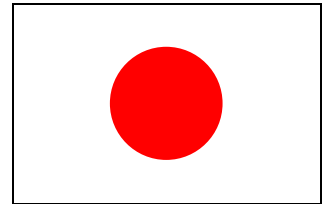
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Office of the Secretary General
Section for External Co-operation



2009 OSCE-Japan Conference

“Sharing knowledge and experiences between the
OSCE participating States and
Asian Partners for Co operation —
Co-operation to address common challenges”
Tokyo, Japan, 10 – 11 June 2009



Consolidated Summary

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1 General information

1.1 Venue

The Conference was held on 10 and 11 June 2009, at the Hall and room 761 of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan.

1.2 Participation^{*)}

1.2.1 Thirty-six OSCE participating States, including Czech Republic/EU, and the European Commission took part in the Conference.

1.2.2 All the Asian Partners for Co-operation (Afghanistan, Japan, Korea, Mongolia and Thailand) and four Mediterranean Partners for Co-operation (Algeria, Egypt, Morocco and Tunisia) were represented.

1.2.3 The OSCE Secretariat was represented. The Representative on Freedom of the Media and the Personal Representative of the OSCE Chairperson in Office for Asian Partners for Co-operation also participated in the Conference.

1.2.4 The following international organizations were represented: the Secretariat of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia, the UN High Commissioner for Refugees, and the North Atlantic Treaty Organization.

1.3 Timetable and organizational modalities

1.3.1 The Conference began at 9.15 a.m. (opening ceremony) on 10 June 2009 and ended at 1 p.m. on 11 June 2009.

1.3.2 The Conference was conducted in three sessions.

1.3.3 The opening session was chaired by Mr. Nobukatsu Kanehara, Deputy Director-General of European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, and the closing session by H.E. Ambassador Louis-Alkiviadis Abatis, Deputy Head of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship 2009 Task Force.

1.3.4 Each session had a moderator and a rapporteur.

1.3.5 The working language was English.

1.3.6 Arrangements were made for press coverage.

1.3.7 Other rules of procedure and working methods of the OSCE were applied, *mutatis mutandis*, to the Conference.

1.3.8 The seating arrangement is shown in annex.

^{*)} See Annex, list of participants.

1.4 Agenda

Wednesday, 10 June 2009

8.30 a.m.–9.15 a.m. Registration of participants

9.15 a.m.–10.00 a.m. **Opening session**

Chairperson: Mr. Nobukatsu Kanehara, Deputy Director-General of European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Welcome message from: H.E. Mr. Hirofumi Nakasone, Minister of Foreign Affairs of Japan

Opening remarks by:

- Mr. Theodore Kotsonis, Personal Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office for the Asian Partners for Co-operation
- H.E. Ambassador Antti Turunen, Chairman of the Contact Group with the Asian Partners for Co-operation, Permanent Representative of Finland to the OSCE
- H.E. Mr. Marc Perrin de Brichambaut, Secretary General of the OSCE

10.00 a.m.–10.30 a.m. Coffee break

10.30 a.m.–1.00 p.m. **Session 1: Enhancing confidence building by military transparency**

Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Akio Tanaka, Head of the Embassy of Japan in Austria

Rapporteur: Mr. Adelino Silva, First Secretary, Permanent Representation of Portugal to the OSCE

Speakers:

- H.E. Mrs. Nongnuth Phetcharatana, Director-General, Department of American and South Pacific Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Thailand
- Mr. Gregor Koebel, Head of Division of the Conventional Arms Control of the German Federal Foreign Office
- Mr. Satoshi Morimoto, Director of the Institute of World Studies and Professor in the Institute for International Cooperation Studies, Takushoku University
- H.E. Ambassador Jargalsaikhan Enkhsaikhan, Permanent Representative of Mongolia to the OSCE

Possible subtopics:

- Importance of military transparency in confidence-building
- OSCE commitments, norms and principles in the politico-military dimension, including the Vienna Document 1999 (FSC.DOC/1/99)
- Efforts for enhanced military transparency: situation in East Asia
- Useful lessons learnt from the CSCE/OSCE process to enhance military transparency

Discussion

Conclusions and remarks by the moderator

1.00 p.m.–3.00 p.m.

Lunch hosted by the Secretary General of the OSCE

3.00 p.m.–5.30 p.m.

Session 2: Energy security dialogue

Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Dr. Stanislav Raščan, Head of the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Slovenia to the OSCE

Rapporteur: Mr. Henri Léval, Counsellor, Permanent Representation of France to the OSCE

Speakers:

- Dr. Ken Koyama, Director of the Strategy and Industry Unit in the Institute of Energy Economics, Japan (IEEJ)
- H.E. Ambassador Lars-Erik Lundin, Head of the Delegation of the European Commission to the International Organisations in Vienna
- Mr. Nikolay V. Mironov, Counsellor of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the Russian Federation
- Mr. Kent Calder, Director of the Reischauer Center for East Asian Studies at Johns Hopkins University
- Mr. Ahn Seong-doo, Chief of Situation Control Centre, Ministry of Foreign Affairs and trade of the Republic of Korea

Possible subtopics:

- Comparison of energy policies: Asian and OSCE regions
- Efforts and challenges to ensure stable energy provision and increased energy security in each region

- Linkage in the energy field between the OSCE region and Asia and co-operation between the regions
- Protection of critical energy infrastructure and safety of energy routes

Discussion

Conclusions and remarks by the moderator

6.30 p.m.–8.30 p.m.

Reception hosted by the State Secretary for Foreign Affairs of Japan Mr. Shintaro Ito

Thursday, 11 June 2009

9.30 a.m.–11.30 a.m.

Session 3: Civil society development, including the media

Moderator: H.E. Ambassador Eric Lebédel, Head of the Permanent Representation of France to the OSCE

Rapporteur: Mr Konstantinos Karamousalis, Third Secretary, Greek OSCE Chairmanship 2009 Task Force

Speakers:

- Mr. Miklos Haraszti, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media
- H.E. Ambassador Eoin O’Leary, Head of the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE
- Mr. Tsuneo Sugishita, Senior Advisor of Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA)
- Mr. Najibullah Alikhail, Deputy Director, Second Political Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Afghanistan

Possible subtopics:

- Promoting soft security as a measure for enhancing comprehensive security
- The role of the media in and after the processes of democratic transition and in building civil society
- Professional standards for journalists, including self-regulation

Discussion

Conclusions and remarks by the moderator

11.30 a.m.–12.00 noon

Coffee break

12 noon– 1.30 p.m.

Concluding session

Chairperson: H.E. Ambassador Louis-Alkiviadis Abatis,
Deputy Head of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship 2009 Task
Force

Reports by session rapporteurs

Discussion and assessment of the OSCE Asian dialogue

Concluding statement by Mr. Nobukatsu Kanehara, Deputy
Director-General of European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs of Japan

Concluding statement by Ambassador Antti Turunen,
Chairman of the Contact Group with the Asian Partners for Co-
operation

1.30 p.m.

End of Conference

1.30 p.m.–2.30 p.m.

Luncheon

3.00 p.m.–5.00 p.m.

Cultural Programme: Tea Ceremony

2 Summary of the opening ceremony

Report by Fabrizio Scarpa, Senior External Co-operation Officer, OSCE Secretariat

In his welcoming address, H.E. Mr. Hirofumi Nakasone, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, welcomed the delegates attending the Conference and expressed thanks to the OSCE Chairmanship, the Finnish Chairmanship of the Asian Contact Group, and the Secretary General.

He noted that the OSCE was a pioneer in its commitment to a comprehensive concept of security encompassing the politico-military, economic and environmental, and human dimensions. Countries in Asia could learn lessons from European post-war history, notably the lesson that a comprehensive approach leads to stability and improvement in the security environment.

In today's international security circumstances, terrorism and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction (WMD) had become common global security threats. At the same time, major security issues also included ensuring the safety of complex networks of international energy transport and supporting the consolidation of democracy and human rights.

For the OSCE today, security was no longer limited to security "from Vancouver to Vladivostok" but was inseparable from security in the rest of the world. More than ever, the international community was required to work together to address global security challenges. Japan had been co-operating with the OSCE on a broad range of issues, notably by organizing the OSCE Japan conference for the third time, and actively took part in election-monitoring missions and other OSCE democratization efforts.

Regarding Afghanistan, the Minister mentioned that Japan had provided 300 million USD in assistance to the country this March, including a contribution of 2.72 million EUR for OSCE's projects for Afghanistan promoting the strengthening of customs and border control capacity between Afghanistan and Tajikistan, Kyrgyzstan and Turkmenistan.

Turning to the security environment in Asia, Minister Nakasone noted that its problems were increasing in severity. The launch of missiles and the nuclear test by the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) constituted a grave challenge to the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) regime and seriously undermined the peace and security of Northeast Asia and the international community as a whole. Japan continued to urge the DPRK to take concrete action toward a comprehensive resolution of outstanding issues of concern, including the abduction issue. The lack of transparency in the increase in China's defence spending and the modernization of its nuclear arms constituted a further issue to which the international community needed to pay attention.

In his opening remarks, Mr. Theodore Kotsonis, Personal Representative of the Chairperson-in-Office for the Asian Partners for Co-operation, stated that enhanced co-operation with the OSCE Asian Partners was one of the priorities of the Greek Chairmanship. The Greek approach was echoed in the conference's title. Its recognition of the mutual interdependence of security in Europe and Asia indicated that it would be beneficial for the two continents to learn from each other's experiences.

Mr. Kotsonis condemned the recent nuclear test by the DPRK, quoting Chairperson-in-Office (CiO) Bakoyannis, who had described it as a disturbing threat to regional and global stability and had called on the DPRK to return to the Six-Party Talks and avoid actions that would further heighten tensions.

As Personal Representative for the Asian Partners for Co-operation, his main task was to advise and assist the CiO; to study and review the existing documents and mechanisms for dialogue; and to consult the Asian Partners for Co-operation on the further strengthening of the dialogue with the OSCE, with a view to making recommendations to the Permanent Council before the end of the year.

Engagement with Afghanistan remained high on the agenda of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship. The deployment of an OSCE election support team to Afghanistan for the upcoming elections embodied the practical spirit of the OSCE's partnership. This endeavour had been preceded by a small election assistance project to Afghanistan conducted by the ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights) and the Secretariat's Section for External Co-operation through the Partnership Fund. Implementation of the Ministerial Council decision MC.DEC/4/07 on OSCE engagement with Afghanistan had also started.

Mr. Kotsonis added that the Conference's agenda touched on issues that lay at the heart of the OSCE and of the Greek approach. The concept of comprehensive security forged in Helsinki implied that security of States was interlinked with politico-military transparency, with healthy economic and environmental governance, and with the well-being of individuals and societies.

The OSCE sought to promote greater military openness, transparency, and co-operation as the basis of the politico-military dimension. The Organization had unique experience in arms control, disarmament and CSBMs. Participating States shared extensive amounts of information on politico-military issues. Sharing the OSCE's experience with the Asian Partners was a welcome initiative.

The security of energy supplies was a recurring concern that was amplified by the global economic crisis. The increasing energy interdependence between producing, consuming and transit countries could only be addressed through co-operative dialogue.

Finally, respect for human rights and fundamental freedoms and the development of societies based on pluralistic democracy and the rule of law were part of the OSCE's foundations. These objectives required constant care, commitment and co-operation.

In his welcoming address, Ambassador Antti Turunen, Chairman of the Contact Group with the Asian Partners for Co-operation, thanked the Government of Japan for hosting the conference and for its long-standing active involvement in and contribution to the OSCE. The purpose of the OSCE-Japan conference was the sharing of knowledge and experiences between the participating States and the Asian Partners. The three sessions of the Conference concentrated on issues that were topical both in the OSCE area and in Asia.

The interlinkage between European security and the broader context of world security had been underscored in a number of OSCE documents, such as the Istanbul Charter for European Security and the Maastricht Strategy to Address Threats to Security and Stability in the Twenty-First Century. Indeed, such interdependence should continue to encourage a

search for new paths and themes for additional fields of co-operation and interaction. The participation of the Asian Partners for Co-operation had already brought new perspectives to the OSCE and allowed all concerned to learn from each other's experiences.

The participating States were actively interested in stability and security in the Asian region. Successive OSCE Chairmanships had taken positions on developments in Northeast Asia. Northeast Asia was one of the regions of the world characterized by acute tension and the potential to threaten the stability of the broader Asia Pacific region and of the world as a whole. The most noticeable challenge to security and the matter of the greatest immediate concern was the DPRK's recent nuclear and missile tests. The Six-Party Talks had the potential to lead to a regional security structure and deserved the support of the international community and the OSCE alike.

To contribute to the security dialogue in Northeast Asia, the 2008 Finnish Chairmanship had sponsored a seminar organized by the Austrian Centre for International Studies (ACIS) on multilateral security co-operation in Northeast Asia and the relevance of the OSCE experience in Washington, D.C., on 14 October 2008. A follow-up meeting on this same topic had been organized in Vienna by ACIS in co-operation with Finland as the OSCE Chairmanship of the Asian Contact Group on 23-24 April 2009. These seminars confirmed the relevance of the OSCE experience, in particular the process leading up to the Helsinki Final Act.

Although a direct comparison between Europe during the Cold War and Northeast Asia today was not possible, the CSCE/OSCE experience could still be useful in consolidating the security situation and looking for ways to tackle security problems. Ambassador Turunen added that multilateral security co-operation in Northeast Asia faced many obstacles, and that no consensus was in sight in the form of any broad multilateral security co-operation framework for Northeast Asia. However, examining the possible merits of additional dialogue and co-operation models to complement the Six-Party Talks was important. The OSCE remained ready to share its experience and support dialogue between the parties concerned.

In conclusion, Ambassador Turunen thanked Japan for its warm hospitality and efficient organization of the conference, and the OSCE Secretariat for its excellent assistance. He furthermore thanked the Greek OSCE Chairmanship for their support and for their valuable initiative in appointing Mr. Theodore Kotsonis as Personal Representative of the CiO for the Asian Partners for Co-operation.

In his opening statement, the Secretary General thanked the host country for the excellent organization of conference. He stressed that Japan had provided the Organization with important financial, intellectual, and human resources. Japan's generous contribution of 2.7 million EUR for the OSCE's assistance to Afghanistan, its regular participation in ODIHR election observation missions, and the spearheading of a dialogue on human security in the OSCE were all clear examples of Japan's commitment to the OSCE.

The Conference came at a crucial time for the OSCE. Developments in and around the OSCE area were raising challenges to the vision of co-operative security that had been developed first in Helsinki in 1975 and elaborated by the signatories of the Paris Charter in 1990. Uncertainty had arisen on the Treaty on Conventional Armed Forces in Europe, which had provided a cornerstone for European security. The crisis in Georgia had sent a painful

reminder that armed conflict between OSCE participating States remained a reality. In this context, the proposal made by President Medvedev in Berlin in June 2008 had aimed to stimulate debate on the future of European security. The first high-level multilateral debate had occurred during the Helsinki OSCE Ministerial Council, and would continue at the informal meeting of the OSCE Ministers to be held on the island of Corfu in Greece.

The OSCE was at the heart of these discussions on European security. The OSCE commitments formed an ambitious *acquis* that was a useful framework for renewed pan-European dialogue. The OSCE project was founded on a visionary idea, namely, that security is comprehensive, co-operative and indivisible. This remained the Organization's signature strength. The consensus rule in the OSCE meant equality among States; and by way of compensation for difficulties in brokering that consensus, it also brought equal ownership of the Organization and equal responsibility. This was what co-operative security was all about.

The Secretary General then turned to the Conference's agenda, noting that it was particularly welcome because it reflected the OSCE's three-dimensional approach to security. Recent events in connection with the DPRK bore witness to the potential consequences of a lack of military transparency and confidence among neighbouring States, a lesson that the OSCE participating States had already grasped in 1975. Furthermore, the question of energy security had been gaining prominence at the OSCE. With its participating States and Partner States, the Organization brought together countries that are main consumers, or main producers or that have a major energy transit role. A fair, sustainable and balanced energy market was a cornerstone for economic development and stability. He added that a solid legal framework was vital for securing the energy supply chain. Freedom of the media was also central to the OSCE's comprehensive approach to security. Responsible and free journalism was not only a politically desirable goal but also a fundamental part of security, as was the full participation and empowerment of women and youth in society. The OSCE was unique in devoting considerable resources to promoting these pivotal ingredients of democratic, stable and open societies.

In conclusion, the Secretary General added that the Conference was also of particular importance because it took place at an important turning point for the Organization when the OSCE's centre of gravity was shifting toward Asia. The 2010 Kazakhstan Chairmanship could not be coming at a better time and would bring a reinforced Asian perspective to the security dialogue and joint efforts.

3 Reports by session rapporteurs

3.1 Session 1: Enhancing confidence-building through military transparency

Report by Adelino Silva, First Secretary, Permanent Representation of Portugal to the OSCE

The first speaker, Ambassador Nongnuth Phetcharatana, gave a detailed overview of efforts undertaken to promote peace and security through military transparency in the ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations) framework, with a special focus on the ASEAN Regional Forum as it looks to evolve beyond CBMs toward preventive diplomacy. Ambassador Phetcharatana also highlighted the willingness of the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) to engage with other international community actors, and the constructive co-operation being developed with other international organizations, with potential benefits such as standardized reporting of military information, the development of new models of preventive diplomacy, enhancing the capacity of the ARF Secretariat, and the development of stronger networks to deal with global threats. Regarding co-operation with the OSCE, she considered that increased exchanges could be pursued in a number of areas: participation in each other's events; closer networking between the ARF and the OSCE secretariats; co-operation in facing non-traditional threats; and co-operation in fighting transnational crime. Regarding this last topic, Ambassador Phetcharatana proposed hosting a combined workshop and field trip to visit Thailand's alternative development programmes aimed at eradicating of drug crops in the north of the country.

The second speaker, Mr. Gregor Koebel, spoke on military transparency as a means to enhance confidence-building in light of the OSCE and UN experiences. Regarding the OSCE's information exchange on defence planning and military budgets (Chapter II of the Vienna Document), he underlined several specific positive characteristics, notably the high degree of confidentiality and participation, and the added value resulting from its extensive transparency. Regarding the UN Standardized Instrument for reporting Military Expenditures, Mr. Kobel stressed the beneficial impact of the high rate of reporting by OSCE participating States, but also the weaknesses of the present reporting system and the stagnation of overall participation, which were at the origin of the decision to establish the Group of Governmental Experts (GGE). He encouraged the Asian Partners to participate in the GGE, highlighting its goals of reviewing the reporting system's procedures and of making recommendations for further improvements. In this regard he also recalled the main conclusions of a seminar held a short time before in Berlin (4 and 5 May 2009), namely, that budgetary figures should be complemented by written explanations and additional information. Provision should be made for consistent time-series; the complexity of the UN matrix should be lowered; and regional incentives for reporting should be created.

Professor Satoshi Morimoto considered efforts to enhance military transparency in the Asia-Pacific region, emphasizing the area's specific geo-political characteristics, particularly in the light of its high degree of political, social and cultural diversity. He highlighted the main advances in multilateral security co-operation in the region since the end of the Cold War, with a special focus on the evolution of the ARF. Professor Morimoto also shared his insights on the main problems facing those pursuing military transparency in the ARF context: its non-institutionalized framework; its broad agenda and resulting diffused focus; and the

reluctance showed by many armed forces in the region to reveal information related to their capabilities. While recognizing that Asian States are, to a large degree, observing the experiences of European nations, Professor Morimoto emphasized that the specific problems mentioned earlier required that more time be spent in Asia in establishing confidence-building measures before moving on to preventive diplomacy.

The last of the speakers in the first session, Ambassador Jargalsaikhan Enkhsaikhan, stated his views on the possibility of establishing an Asia-Pacific regional security and military transparency structure, underlining inclusiveness and the state of relations between major powers as crucial factors. Ambassador Enkhsaikhan reminded the audience that two of the major flashpoints in Asia – the Korean Peninsula and the Taiwan Straits – were located in the Northeast Asia sub-region, stressing the significance of the DPRK nuclear weapons issue for regional security and of the potential of the Six-Party Talks to develop into a common understanding of security interests, which could in turn form the basis for a future framework. In the last part of his address, Ambassador Enkhsaikhan informed the participants about the conference on the Present and Future Security Environment in North East and Central Asia, held in April 2009 in Ulaabaatar, highlighting the debates held on European perceptions of security issues in the region, the European experience in multilateral co-operation, and the concept and policies of neutrality adopted by some European countries.

During the ensuing discussion, the concepts of confidence-building measures and preventive diplomacy were analysed, as was the potential value for the Asian Partners of the lessons learned by the OSCE in this regard. The OSCE's experience of the deployment of field missions was also discussed. The different perspectives that can be adopted regarding those two concepts were reviewed in some detail, with participants highlighting difficulties faced by the OSCE in preventive diplomacy and also some areas of success. The transition to preventive diplomacy was also portrayed as a long-term objective requiring small early steps, the importance of which should not be underestimated. The particular experiences of NATO in establishing frameworks for dialogue and practical co-operation and of the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) in promoting regional multilateral security were also debated.

The threat posed by the DPRK's nuclear and missile activities was highlighted by several participants, who stressed the need for continued engagement by the international community in denouncing the DPRK's actions and in urging it to return to the Six-Party Talks. Participants posed the question what could be done to bring about a change of attitude on the part of the DPRK, also bearing in mind the possibility that no incentive may prove to be sufficient. Parallels with other cases, notably Iran's, were established, and a mix of pressure, sanctions and encouragement from key players was advocated. Other participants stressed the need to solve the core issue of getting the DPRK back at the Six-Party Talks as a necessary precondition to addressing questions regarding the framework itself.

The question of determining how relevant the OSCE's experience can be in the Asian context was the subject of many interventions. The high degree of diversity that characterizes Asian States was again highlighted, as was the fact that the OSCE started out with very little institutionalization, which may have been a critical factor in its success. In this connection, consideration was also given to, the possibility of adopting the OSCE's cross-dimensional approach.

The proposal presented by Ambassador Phechtaratana of organizing an event focusing on Thailand's Alternative Development scheme was well received, although the need not to overlap with work done by other actors – such as UNODC in the field of illicit drugs – was also stressed.

3.2 Session 2: Energy security dialogue

Report by Mr. Henri Léval, Counsellor, Permanent Representation of France to the OSCE

At Session 2, all the speakers identified reasons for giving ever higher priority to the urgent issue of energy security:

I. Why are there tensions in the energy field?

- There is first and foremost the fact that **demand for energy is steadily and rapidly growing**. One speaker delivered a timely reminder of the International Energy Agency's forecast that energy demand will grow by 45 per cent between 2006 and 2030.
- As for the supply side, production is already at top levels. For instance, spare capacity in world oil as a percentage of demand is diminishing (now set to reach 2 per cent from approximately 10–12 per cent in the 1980s), showing that producer countries such as Saudi Arabia are already producing at **full capacity**.
- Now that the most easily reachable and exploitable fields of energy apparently have been or are being exploited, global production of energy will increase only if more sophisticated and **expensive technologies** are developed to bring underground resources to the surface.
- In essence, this has led (as compared with the 1960s and 70s) to a **tense** situation in which any failure in the upper part of the chain has **dramatic consequences**. The dispute between Ukraine and Russia in December 2008 showed that consumer countries are in need not only of supply contracts with the producing countries but also of efficient intermediate lines in the transit countries. The third element that is needed is good relations between the producer countries and the transit countries. This led Dr. Ken Koyama to state that the dispute between Ukraine and Russia had a double nature: firstly, a bilateral Ukraine-Russia issue; and secondly, the European Union was forced, whether it liked it or not, to intervene to protect its interests as a group of member States most of which are destination countries. In short, the present situation is characterized by tensions, some of which are almost mechanical, between producers and destination countries.
- In the current situation of tension, the main actors take action to protect their various immediate interests, as indeed they did in a more covert manner in the past. Professor Mironov illustrated an interesting set of different priorities between importing and exporting countries as follows. According to his scheme, there is a certain correspondence between sovereignty and maintenance of sovereignty within exporting countries and the importing countries' goal of maintaining reserves. At the same time, though, there is on both sides a symmetrical need for diversification – the producer countries need diversification in their export markets, the consumer countries in their energy sources. Such diversification is needed for increased stability and predictability.

- At times of tension, as in the current circumstances, the normal behaviour is to react **to protect one's basic interests**. Russia, it was said, appears to be wishing to assert itself as the country possessing the necessary infrastructure to ex-filter the central Asian oil and gas; whereas Central Asian countries need and want **to maximize their national interests** and are starting to extend their exports to the East, to China and other Asian countries, in order to be less dependent on European countries.
- However, some speakers recalled that in a period of tension in which immediate interests diverged, energy was clearly linked to non-traditional **but still pressing national security concerns**, and advocated more reliability, more predictability and more long-term approaches in order for tensions to be avoided. Furthermore, some participants pointed out that the OSCE, as a preventive and security organization, had the **capacity to act as a platform for dialogue**.

II. Are any factors capable of relieving these tensions?

There was general agreement that certain factors had the potential to relieve tensions.

- **Renewable energies and non-carbon energies (RES)**, including nuclear energy, have the potential to relieve tensions. There was a general consensus that such alternative sources of energy were required, although there was less clarity concerning when and at what prices they would become widely available. Professor Kent Calder made the rather square judgement that in spite of policies more open to RES (especially in Europe), fossil energies **would continue to provide for 80 per cent** of current needs in the near future. Delays in wider exploitation of alternative energy had clearly been due to a lack of necessary investments in the past and an excessive reliance on carbon energies.
- Although the existence of institutions with responsibility for energy (WTO, ECT) was recognized as **a reassuring factor**, their capacity to rapidly evolve was questioned, as illustrated, for example, by the lack of a transit protocol for the finalization of the Energy Charter. Doubt was also cast on their capacity to handle sudden crisis situations. This factor had led Russian President Medvedev and his administration, on 21 April in Helsinki, to propose a new system of energy instruments calculated to be **universal, open, comprehensive, equal and efficient**. According to Professor Mironov, **a new system of this kind would be compatible with the Energy Charter Treaty**.
- Modernizing the existing network of pipelines to meet the current heavy demand could in itself relieve tensions. New pipelines and new inter-connections are already under construction or at the project stage. As for gas, **moving over to LNG** (liquefied natural gas) would lead to greater flexibility. However, it would require massive investments. The total infrastructure investment needed has been estimated to be up to 26 trillion USD by 2030, and this at a time when the energy **sector is suffering precisely from lack of investment**, because in the past energy profits have apparently not always been re-invested in infrastructure.

- In the longer-term context, it is reassuring that major fossil energy producers set high value on increasing their energy efficiency capacity. The case of Russia is exemplary: its efficiency is rated at approximately 330 million TOE (tons of oil equivalent) compared to 990 million TOE of energy consumed in 2007.

Now, **do Asian markets fundamentally differ from European markets** from the view point of energy security? The session saw the following points being made.

- The energy market is a global market.
- However, Asian markets witness higher tensions because of their **proximity to China**, which is a huge energy consumer and diverts resources from increasingly distant regions. India's enormous energy needs are also a concern.
- There is an equal perception amongst leaders and governments both in Asia and in Europe that **"green"** is the right direction to take, as illustrated, for example, by the declaration adopted during the recent Korea-ASEAN CEO Summit on the island of Jeju.
- Lack of integration (cf. Session 1) in Asia has led co-operation to be regarded in Asia rather as a tool for the defence of the *acquis* (sea lanes defence) than as an opportunity to **look to the future in the light of energy security**. However, many pointed out that the Chinese Navy's joining anti-piracy operations was a positive step.

So what about the OSCE?

- The OSCE is not an energy organization.
- However, it could be mandated (as it was in 2003, 2004 and 2006) to brainstorm on ways and means to diffuse and ease tensions in this sector. And, as had been recalled by the CiO and Ambassador Abatis in their references to efforts for a resumption of gas supply to south Ossetia, the OSCE can have an immediate role on the ground.
- Last but not least, because in some sensitive areas such as central Asia energy and the environment (water, hydroelectricity, agriculture) are clearly closely inter-linked, the OSCE is through its field operations in a unique position to anticipate tensions and propose solutions.

3.3 Session 3: Civil society development, including the media

Report by Konstantinos Karamousalis, Third Secretary, Greek OSCE Chairmanship 2009 Task Force

The moderator presented the theme of Session 3 as an issue involving the promotion of soft security in order to enhance comprehensive security.

The first keynote speaker, Mr. Miklos Haraszti, OSCE Representative on Freedom of the Media (RFOM), stressed the importance of the media for peace and stability, thus also drawing attention to the key role played by his office. He underlined that civil society (as opposed to State) ownership of the media was an absolute prerequisite for a democratic society. Freedom of the media was part and parcel of the OSCE's comprehensive concept of security and stability, as were the accompanying commitments to freedom of expression, freedom of information in all its forms, and the protection of journalism principles. Mr. Haraszti concluded by pointing out that the core principle of the comprehensive security concept was fairness to all, which was why the office of the RFOM promoted self-regulation by the media, in order to boost professional quality and strengthen public support.

The second keynote speaker, Ambassador Eoin O' Leary, Head of the Permanent Mission of Ireland to the OSCE, provided an historical review of the evolution of human rights within the framework and area of the OSCE, from the CSCE process, which did not begin with a fixed objective in mind, through to the overall OSCE model of security with its multidimensional approach and sound institutions, such as the ODIHR (Office for Democratic Institutions and Human Rights), the HCNM (High Commissioner on National Minorities), and the RFOM. Having described the diverging views existing in the OSCE, he turned his attention to the distinctive models of international co-operation regarding human rights:

- The European Union, with the most solid of all structures, which can and does fine member States for not complying with European Union commitments;
- The Council of Europe, with its wider membership and Court of Human Rights, which can hear cases from individuals within member States and pass judgments on the States in question. Over the years, it has had a dramatic effect on national law within the Council's member States.
- The OSCE, a purely intergovernmental organization that has no power to impose sanctions on participating States.

In addition, Ambassador O' Leary described the structure of the Human Dimension Committee, which he chaired last year and has been chaired this year by the Lithuanian Ambassador. He concluded by pointing out that the human dimension of the OSCE was clearly a product of specific history of the OSCE area and that the model was not directly transferable to other regions. Nevertheless, it had aspects that could be useful to other bodies and parties.

Professor Tsuneo Sugishita began his speech with a review of his involvement, both academic and professional, in the field of development co-operation. This long period of engagement with development issues had led him to the conclusion that the most important factor contributing to sustained development in a developing country was the construction of a democratic society in which the citizens had sovereignty and the wealth was distributed equitably among the people. And he also mentioned that we should be aware that every

region and nation had its own democratic principles that were grounded in its own historical values. Professor Tsuneo Sugishita himself had co-ordinated all his efforts towards the promotion of the principle that the media has a critical role to play in forming democratic societies.

Mr. Najibullah Alikhil described the hardship that the people of Afghanistan had endured during the struggles of the previous three decades. The war and imposed conflicts had destroyed the foundations of civil society. Notably, during the Taliban period, the media were under strict laws, including bans on television and music. There was only one radio broadcaster in the country. The fact that Afghanistan was a territory without State, social and economic institutions was an eloquent illustration of the direct relation between the media and the political regime in any given country. Fortunately, the creation of hundreds of civil society organizations and the launching of dozens of radio and TV stations and hundreds of publications in the past eight years had pushed the Afghan cultural scene from the 9th to the 21st century. Mr. Najibullah Alikhil concluded by welcoming, and expressing his own appreciation for, the OSCE decision to send an election support team to Afghanistan.

Finally, opening the floor for interventions and free discussion gave room for Japan's question – described as “provocative” by Mr. Miklos Haraszti – as to whether the core values of Western civilization can be incorporated in the countries of the East. The question triggered off an interesting discussion highlighting the barriers that are finally to be transformed into bridges in order to boost and reveal the true nature of our co-operation.

4 Summary of the closing session

Report by Fabrizio Scarpa, Senior External Co-operation Officer, OSCE Secretariat

The concluding session was chaired by Ambassador Louis-Alkiviadis Abatis, Deputy Head of the Greek OSCE Chairmanship Task Force. He thanked the Government of Japan for its exquisite hospitality and impressive organization of the conference. It had taken place on the eve of the informal ministerial meeting in Corfu, to which much of what had been discussed would be relevant, as it would indeed remain relevant to the continued discussion on comprehensive security in the OSCE. While issues such as military transparency and freedom of the media had been hallmarks of the OSCE for a long time, energy security was a relatively new topic to the Organization. There was clear benefit in hearing the experience of the Asian Partners, as energy security was a global issue, and solutions needed to be global in scope.

In a painful reminder that not all regimes have the same regard for freedom of the media, he also made reference to the news that two American journalists had been sentenced to twelve years hard labour for entering the DPRK. The OSCE participating States and the Asian Partners needed to continue working relentlessly to promote this fundamental ingredient of transparent, peaceful and modern societies.

As a reminder of the risks inherent in lack of trust and transparency between neighbouring countries on politico-military matters, Ambassador Abatis furthermore referred to the recent missile launch and nuclear experiment by the DPRK. Through its irresponsible actions, it risked bringing about an escalation of tension and the opening up of an arms race that both Asia and the world could well do without. The OSCE remained a very attentive and very careful observer of security developments in Northeast Asia, and stood ready to make its own contribution to the Six-Party Talks process, as it had done at the seminar mounted by the Austrian Centre for International Studies (ACIS) in collaboration with the OSCE in Vienna in April 2009.

Mr. Nobukatsu Kanehara, Deputy Director-General of European Affairs Bureau, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Japan, delivered a concluding statement on behalf of the host country, noting the importance and usefulness of the Conference. It was always important and necessary to exchange ideas between Europe and Asia. He then drew attention to the growing importance of Asia in world politics. Asia was the third pillar in the world economy, the increasing level of growth and industrialization by China and India having been one of the major causes for the more important place Asia now held in the world economy and in world politics.

Mr. Kanehara thanked all participants and the OSCE for the solidarity and support expressed in connection with recent developments in the situation in Northeast Asia and in particular with the DPRK's missile launch and nuclear test. The issue did indeed have global relevance and the continued involvement of the international community and of the OSCE were much valued.

In conclusion, Mr. Kanehara thanked the OSCE, especially the Finnish Chairmanship of the Asian Contact Group, the Greek OSCE Chairmanship, the Secretary General and the Secretariat for their continued support for the dialogue with the Asian Partners and in the organization of the conference.

In his concluding statement, Ambassador Antti Turunen, Chairman of the Asian Contact Group, noted that the OSCE had recently strengthened its role as a forum for the discussion of the most urgent political developments, ranging from conflict resolution through democratic transformation to arms control. This same intensity and awareness of current challenges had also been in evidence in the discussions that had taken place during the OSCE-Japan Conference.

Discussions on enhancing confidence-building had taken place against the backdrop of the DPRK's recent nuclear and missile tests. The inter-linkage between European and world security had been underscored. During the debate, it had become clear that Asia and Europe differed in their development of confidence-building measures.

Many speakers had emphasized that the CSCE/OSCE experience could be useful in the search for ways to tackle security problems in Northeast Asia and other regions. The recent conferences organized by the Government of Mongolia and by the Austrian Centre for International Studies were seen as good examples. However, the OSCE recipe was not perfect and regional characteristics ought to be taken into account. The progress within the ARF on confidence-building measures had been considered encouraging by many speakers, and support had been expressed for enhancing the ARF's co-operation with the OSCE.

Ambassador Turunen noted that as an organization including energy-producing, transit, and energy-consuming countries, the OSCE was well placed to address the issue of energy security. However, the exact role of the OSCE in this field of energy security needed to be defined in more detail. It could act as a platform for political dialogue and discuss political concerns such as transparency in the use of oil and gas revenues. It was also proposed that the OSCE should be active in building confidence in practical energy security issues in crisis situations. Furthermore, the link between energy security and environmental security had been highlighted and special attention had been drawn to water and energy issues in Central Asia. Furthermore, the Asian region had a significant role to play in energy security and many examples and best practices could be taken from there.

In the third session, the discussion had partly focused on whether human rights could be viewed as a common value. Strong emphasis had been placed on their universal character, although there were differences in how human rights were applied in different regions. As for civil society and the media, they remained key components of democracy: persisting serious shortcomings in the freedom of the media required continued vigilance. Afghanistan was mentioned as an example of how the strengthening of civil society was possible even in difficult circumstances. Examples of best practices in development co-operation in the media sector and civil society studies by the Asian Partners could provide food-for-thought for further co-operation. In this connection, an interesting proposal had been made that consideration should be given to the possibility of trilateral co-operation on media training involving the OSCE and the Partners for Co-operation in the Asian and Mediterranean regions.

Ambassador Turunen further noted that in spite of the current uncertainties, multilateral co-operation could be strengthened rather than weakened. The OSCE would continue to serve the security interests of its participating States and take into account those of its Partners, but at the same time it needed to adapt itself continuously to new challenges.

Finland and number of other countries had already contributed to the Partnership Fund to intensify relations with the Asian Partners. Some of this money had already been used, but the bulk of it was still waiting for concrete project ideas. In this respect, careful note had been taken of the proposal made by Thailand at the conference. Ambassador Turunen expressed readiness to discuss this issue further in Vienna.

In conclusion, Ambassador Turunen thanked the host country, all speakers, moderators and rapporteurs, the OSCE Secretariat and the Greek OSCE Chairmanship for their excellent work and wished all the best to the Republic of Korea as the next conference host.

5 Annex

5.1 List of participants

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Spain

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5.2 Seating arrangement

