

**Research Report on International Economy and  
Foreign Affairs**  
(Interim Report)  
(Excerpt)

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Research Committee on International Economy and Foreign Affairs  
House of Councillors  
Japan

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## **Foreword**

The Committee started activity with “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region” as its research theme for the current three-year period. In the Afterword of the interim report in the first year of the period, the Committee pointed out challenges related to the growing need to realize peace and promote regional cooperation at a time when various aspects of the international order that have led to the postwar stability and prosperity of the world have been put into question and when the security situation in the Asia-Pacific region remains unstable.

Now, in the second year of the research, strong uncertainty remains on the security front, as evidenced by the increasingly urgent North Korea issue following the sixth nuclear test and test-firing of ICBM-class ballistic missiles. On the economic front, the U.S. Trump administration is stepping up its protectionist policy while expressing its readiness to wage a trade war. This situation is urging Japan to engage in more concrete initiatives based on the recognition of the abovementioned challenges. In 2018, following the Olympics held in PyeongChang, South Korea, North Korea has shifted to a dialogue-based approach, creating the possibility of the situation changing dramatically, as indicated by the announcement of the Panmunjom Declaration by the leaders of North and South Korea and various diplomatic maneuvers related to the summit meeting between the United States and North Korea.

In this situation, the Committee has conducted the second year of research with a particular focus on the importance of initiatives to promote confidence building within this region, which constitutes the basis of the realization of peace, and the significance of regional cooperation in resolving various cross-border problems that could be the key to the realization of peace.

In the second year, the Committee listened to opinions of a total of 15 experts as testifiers in five sessions and asked them questions. In addition, it received reports from and exchanged opinions with the delegation of lawmakers dispatched abroad and observed initiatives conducted by local governments and government-affiliated organizations with respect to confidence building and regional cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region. After

conducting this multi-faceted research, Committee members exchanged opinions with each other, reaffirmed the issues of debate, and held in-depth discussions.

This interim report in the second year outlines the research activities and recommends concrete measures to realize the peace and prosperity in this region as the basis for future discussions in preparation for a final report in the third year in light of the issues that have been identified during the research conducted so far.

## **I. Research Process**

The House of Councillors establishes Research Committees to conduct long-term and comprehensive research relating to fundamental matters of government. On September 26, 2016, during the 192nd session of the National Diet, the Research Committee on International Economy and Foreign Affairs was established for the purpose of conducting long-term and comprehensive research on the international economy and foreign affairs.

At a Board of Directors meeting on December 14, 2016, the Committee decided on “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region” as the theme for this three-year term’s research. The Committee also adopted five subsidiary research themes: “Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution,” “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace,” “Challenges for Initiatives to Enhance Diplomatic Capabilities and Strategy,” “Challenges for Confidence-Building Initiatives to Use Soft Power Including Cultural and Personal Exchanges,” and “Challenges for Building Domestic Scheme for Promoting and Implementing International Commitments Including SDGs (Sustainable Development Goals) and the Paris Accord.”

In the first year, after conducting a general review, the Committee listened to opinions of testifiers and asked them questions with respect to “Challenges for Initiatives to Enhance Diplomatic Capabilities and Strategy” and “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace”, and Committee members exchanged views with each other. Subsequently, the Committee determined the research report (interim report) on May 31, 2017 and submitted it to the president.

In its research in the second year that is covered by this report, the Committee selected “Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” from out of the five research themes in the 196<sup>th</sup> session of the National Diet and listened to opinions of three testifiers each time and asked them questions on “Initiatives to Realize International Peace” (February 7 and April 18) and “Response to Environmental Problems,

Climate Change, etc. (February 14). Regarding the subsidiary research theme “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace,” the Committee listened to opinions of three testifiers each time and asked them questions on “Japan-ASEAN Relationship, Japan-Russia Relationship, etc.” (February 21) and “Role of Multilateral Frameworks of Cooperation, etc.” (April 11). Furthermore, it received reports from and exchanged views with delegations of lawmakers dispatched abroad (February 14). Finally, Committee members exchanged views with each other on the subsidiary research themes “Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” and “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace” under the main theme “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region” (May 9).

The Committee visited relevant organizations in Yokohama City and Tokyo in order to conduct the “Situation Survey on Initiatives for Confidence Building and Regional Cooperation to Realize Peace in the Asia Pacific Region and the Roles of Local Governments in Solving Cross-Border Problems, etc.”

## **II. Research Outline**

### **1. Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution**

#### **(1) Initiatives to Realize International Peace**

As a result of the advances of science and technology and ICT (Information and Communication Technology), it has become essential to secure freedom and security in public domains regarded as “Global commons”, including oceans, outer space, and cyberspace in order to maintain the peace and prosperity of the globalizing international community. In the Asia-Pacific region as well, various risks and problems have emerged as security challenges with respect to stable use of those domains, so it is important to consider how to ensure appropriate governance.

In the Asia-Pacific region, such cross-border problems as nuclear proliferation and international terrorism are also becoming increasingly serious. As for the response to nuclear proliferation, the United Nations has adopted the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons amid the rising tensions over the situation surrounding the North Korean nuclear and missile issue. Regarding international terrorism, there are concerns over a possible penetration by the Islamic State (IS), which has lost its bases of activity in Syria and Iraq, into South and Southeast Asia. Under such new circumstance, it is important to implement initiatives to secure the peace and prosperity of this region and Japan.

In order to deal with these various cross-border problems, it is necessary not only to promote various cooperative activities within the region but also to implement appropriate and effective collaboration with international organizations.

Therefore, the Committee listened to opinions of testifiers and discussed with them Japan’s maritime security and its maritime policy, the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and Japan’s role, and the current state of cybersecurity and challenges on February 7 and on the current state of space development and challenges, the current state of

international terrorism in the Asia-Pacific region and the impact on the region, and Japan's international cooperation as seen from the frontlines of U.N. emergency humanitarian assistance activity on April 18.

The points of discussion on February 7 included the following matters: the budget for measures to ensure the security of Japan; Japan's international contributions in non-military fields and deterrence of wars; concrete measures to enhance the coast management system; international cooperation regarding human resource development in the field of maritime security; ASEAN countries' response to the South China Sea issue and the United States' commitment; how Japan should disseminate information internationally with regard to the Senkaku Islands issue; Japan's response to China's "One Belt, One Road" initiative; military involvement in North Korean fisheries and trade of fishing rights by North Korea; the response to North Korean fishing vessels' activities around the Yamato Sedimentary Basin; emergency entry by a large number of Chinese fishing vessels into Japanese ports for the ostensible purpose of seeking shelter from rough weather; China's responsibilities concerning the control of the Straits of Malacca; Promoting government-to-government cooperation through environmental problems; measures to increase Japan's presence in matters other than those related to the Straits of Malacca; the approach to resolving the Northern Territories issue; profitability and effectiveness of the development of methane hydrate resources; the Trump administration's Nuclear Posture Review (NPR); Japan's response to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons; the significance of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons and its impact on individual countries' nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation policies; nuclear-free zones in the Southern Hemisphere, etc. and nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation in East Asia; the current state of nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation in the Asia-Pacific region and the significance of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons; effectiveness of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons; Japan's role in the control of nuclear weapons, etc.; whether or not Japan should accede to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons; how to respond to and attributing the source of cyberattacks; challenges for Japan regarding

human resource development in the field of cyber security; the significance of rule-making concerning cyberattacks; promotion of companies' initiatives to cope with cyberattacks; the response to data localization; Japan's efforts to identify cyberattacks. The points of discussions on April 18 included the following matters: governance in outer space; maintenance of peace in outer space: space development cooperation mainly within Asia; Japan's position in space development; utilization-oriented space development; the impact of the revision of the JAXA Act; the future of Japan's manned space project; the current state of Japan's space research and development; structural actions to prevent acts of terrorism; concerns over the introduction of workers from Asia in relation to anti-terrorism measures; Japan's support for ASEAN countries regarding anti-terrorism measures; backgrounds to acts of terrorism in developed countries; cities that should be particularly vigilant against acts of terrorism; the development of anti-terrorism measures in preparation for the 2020 Olympics in Tokyo; the fight against terrorism through peaceful means; the situation in Syria and anti-terrorism measures; use of the World Food Program's supply capacity; Japan's international cooperation and defense capability; how to estimate outcomes of assistance; priority challenges for improving Japan's international development assistance; the future of Japan's participation in PKO; support for NGOs by Western developed countries; financial contributions from the private sector to NGOs in Japan; support for NGOs necessary for improving the reputation of Japan; the balance between neutrality and fairness and national interests in international cooperation.

#### **A. Outline of Statement of Opinions by Testifiers**

(Omitted)

#### **B. Main Points of Discussion**

(Omitted)

## **(2) Response to Environmental Problems, Climate Change, etc.**

Climate change is one of the most critical challenges among non-military threats faced by the international community. Of the top five countries in terms of emission volume of CO<sub>2</sub>, a major greenhouse gas, four are located in the Asia-Pacific region. In addition, in this region, where storm and flood disasters are heavily concentrated, there are concerns that the severity of disaster damage will become more serious than now. As a result, enhancing climate change mitigation measures is a particularly important challenge in this region. Under these circumstances, attention is focusing on how Japan will provide effective support and contribute to climate change mitigation in response to the high expectations for its high level of disaster-related skills, experiences and knowledge as well as its superior technology for the reduction of CO<sub>2</sub> emissions.

For Japan, which has developed as a maritime country surrounded entirely by the seas, preserving the maritime environment is a more important challenge than for other countries. With the increasing economic activity along coastal areas as a background factor, the problem of the growing volume of marine litter drifting ashore is becoming increasingly serious. While local governments and NGOs are playing a major role in coping with this problem, there are limits to what they can do. Therefore, it is necessary for the Government to increase its involvement in countermeasures in Japan and other countries to cope with this problem in light of its cross-border nature.

Moreover, cooperation in coping with non-military threats like this is expected to lead to international confidence-building and the creation of a framework of international cooperation in other fields in the Asia-Pacific region.

Therefore, the Committee listened to opinions of testifiers and discussed with them the current state of climate change, the path to a post-carbon society, the current status of, response to and challenges related to marine pollution due to plastic litter, and how to promote and streamline international cooperation in the field of disaster management.

The points of discussion included the following matters: Japan's role in initiatives against

global warming; a shift away from fossil fuels and oil-producing countries; public opinions on the authenticity of global warming; how to promote education and enlightenment concerning climate change; climate change mitigation measures by emerging countries and how Japan should take measures under new trends; accumulation of scientific knowledge concerning climate change; damage caused by global warming to developing countries and vulnerable people; energy policy aimed at reducing CO2 emissions; relationship between shale gas and CO2 emissions; energy in Okinawa; effectiveness of forest resources in shifting to a post-carbon society; how to deal with plastic litter in Japan; chemical properties of microplastics; regional differences concerning countermeasures against marine litter: global initiatives to realize a plastic-lite society; the current state of the microplastics problem and scientific knowledge concerning resolution; the appropriate size of the budget for countermeasures against drifting marine litter; how to operate an international cooperation fund to cope with marine litter; relationship between global warming and storm and flood disasters; Japan's role in the field of disaster management; Japan's international cooperation concerning human resource development in the field of disaster management; how to promote systemic initiatives in the field of disaster management; factors behind the increase in natural disasters in Asia; mono-polarization in Tokyo and vulnerability to large-scale disasters; how the Government should be involved with various cross-border problems; disaster management measures at the time of recovery in affected areas; and governmental funds and NGOs.

**A. Outline of Statement of Opinions by Testifiers**

(Omitted)

**B. Main Points of Discussion**

(Omitted)

## **2. Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace**

### **(1) Japan-ASEAN Relationship, Japan-Russia Relationship, etc.**

Japan's postwar development as a peace-loving country started with its engagement with Southeast Asian countries on the war reparation issue and the subsequent provision of development cooperation. To date, Japan has established a friendly and close relationship with ASEAN, which is comprised of 10 Southeast Asian countries, in order to maintain the peace, stability and prosperity of Asia. On the other hand, while Russia, the successor state of the Soviet Union, is an important neighbor, Japan has not yet concluded a peace treaty with it, nor have the bilateral relations improved sufficiently. The contrast between the histories of Japan's relationships with Southeast Asian countries and with Russia could suggest useful insights for us when we consider the significance of confidence building for the lasting peace and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region.

Southeast Asian countries have continued steady region-wide development because of development cooperation provided so far by Japan and the effective deepening of their economic integration due to the supply chains created by companies from Japan and other countries. Meanwhile, amid growing concerns over the middle income trap, some countries are backpedaling on such values as freedom, human rights and democracy, so Japan should consider how to conduct diplomacy in this respect.

As for the relationship with Russia, Prime Minister Abe has strived to strengthen a relationship of trust by repeatedly holding meetings with President Putin. However, due to the deterioration of the international situation, including the U.S.-Russia relationship, and Russia's concerns over the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty, progress has been slow in the Japan-Russia negotiations toward the solution of the Northern Territories issue and the conclusion of a peace treaty, so there are expectations for a new initiative that takes into consideration the whole of the Asia-Pacific region.

Furthermore, at a time when India, which has recorded remarkable population growth and economic development, is attracting attention not only in terms of political

influence but also on the economic front, the role the country will be able to play in the Asia-Pacific region is important when we consider the future peace and prosperity of the region. Japan, which has historically maintained a good relationship with India, must strengthen its cooperative relationship, while closely communicating with the country, including from the perspective of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy, which is being implemented by the Government.

Therefore, the Committee listened to opinions of testifiers and discussed with them the arrival of the new Russian government under President Putin and the prospects for the Japan-Russia relationship, the current state of India's diplomacy and security and challenges, the India-China relationship, and how Japan and ASEAN should act to build confidence and realize lasting peace.

The points of discussions included the following matters: improvement of predictability of external events through the enhancement of education opportunities; differences between the Fukuda doctrine and the Five Principles of Japan's ASEAN Diplomacy; how to assist Cambodian media organizations; improvement of the forum of consultation on official development assistance between the Government and NGOs; how to assist Cambodia; the current situation of and future prospects for the situation of Cambodia; the current state of repression of opposition parties and media organizations in Cambodia; conflict between globalization, sovereignty and democracy in Southeast Asia; confidence building between Japan and Russia; the impact of the opening of Arctic Ocean shipping routes on the resolution of the Northern Territories issue; the role of the Japan-U.S. Alliance in resolving the Northern Territories issue; Russia's military buildup in the Northern Territories; the future of joint economic activity in the Northern Territories; conditions for the resolution of the Northern Territories issue; the true meaning of President Putin's comments concerning the Northern Territories; Japan's involvement in the development of Arctic Ocean shipping routes by Russia; sharing of the recognition of the North Korea situation with Russia; the future of the Japan-Russia relationship; India's development; relationship between the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy and the One

Belt, One Road initiative; the future of the Japan-India relationship; the Japan-India Agreement for Cooperation in the Peaceful Use of Nuclear Energy and infrastructure exports to India.

**A. Outline of Statement of Opinions by Testifiers**

(Omitted)

**B. Main Points of Discussion**

(Omitted)

## **(2) Role of Multilateral Frameworks of Cooperation**

Europe, which has experienced the devastation of war over and over again in the past, pursued a regional integration on both political and economic fronts after World War II as an initiative to avoid the recurrence of war in order to achieve lasting peace. The European Union (EU) today represents the fruits of this effort. On the other hand, a supranational union similar to the EU has not been developed in the Asia-Pacific region, which is more diverse than Europe in terms of political system, economic development stage, language, religion and culture, etc.

ASEAN has developed as a regional organization, despite being a loose integration body, in Southeast Asia for many years in the postwar period. Many frameworks of dialogue with other countries in the region which have been established under ASEAN's leadership have played a role in solving regional challenges and promoting confidence building toward realizing peace and have contributed to a regional economic integration. Meanwhile, in recent years, China has been implementing the One Belt, One Road strategy centering on bilateral relationships and economic cooperation through AIIB. It is necessary to keep a careful watch on how these activities will affect multilateral frameworks of cooperation.

While efforts to institutionalize the economic integration that has effectively been proceeding have been made in order to further consolidate the integration and improve its quality, only some of the ASEAN countries are participating in the TPP now. Attention should be paid to how the economic integration in this region will develop, including progress toward the conclusion of RCEP.

Promotion of multilateral cooperation requires diplomatic efforts to harmonize international and national interests. To that end, not only the Government but also various actors should vigorously conduct activities in partnership and cooperation with each other. With respect to what role the parliament can play in diplomacy, it is necessary to consider what initiatives should be conducted and what challenges lie ahead while taking into consideration Japan's political system and the operation of the system.

Therefore, the Committee listened to opinions of testifiers and discussed with them initiatives related to the development of regional institutions in Asia in recent years and challenges for Japan, economic structures and challenges in the Asia-Pacific region and the results and limitations of existing multilateral frameworks of cooperation, and the division and fusion of powers under Japan's political system.

The points of discussions of the questioning included the following matters: ASEAN's perception of security; Japan's approach to ASEAN; the future development of ASEAN; measures to prevent ASEAN from becoming tired of being involved in numerous multilateral frameworks; the ASEAN-Africa relationship; ASEAN-India relationship; the significance of the "ASEAN way" and ASEAN's role; ASEAN's policy toward the One Belt, One Road strategy; the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy and China; progress in the mega-FTAs and ASEAN; TPP 11 and ASEAN; infrastructure exports to Asia; limitations of nation states regarding regional peace and prosperity; significance of the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP), political themes that can be discussed in multilateral diplomacy; Japan's influence over TPP 11; free trade and agriculture in Japan; the future of bilateral FTAs; economic globalization and small and medium-size enterprises; economic globalization and diffusion of economic activities; the reputation of TPP; measures to invigorate diplomacy by lawmakers and international exchanges; the dispatch of lawmakers from the House of Councillors to international conferences; multi-layered international exchanges and multilateral frameworks of cooperation; direction of election and political systems; the situation of the choice of government in other countries; the future of the election system for the House of Councillors; the future of the powers of the House of Councillors; and the case of constitutional amendments in Italy and challenges for Japan.

#### **A. Outline of Statement of Opinions by Testifiers**

(Omitted)

#### **B. Main points of discussion**

(Omitted)

### **3. Reports from Lawmakers Dispatched Abroad**

(Omitted)

### **4. Inspection**

(Omitted)

### **5. Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region (“Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” and “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace”)**

(Omitted)

### **III. Recommendations**

The Committee makes the following recommendations, mainly with respect to “Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” and “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace” under the main research theme for the current three-year period, “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region,” while keeping in mind the summary of issues in the interim report in the first year and taking into consideration the results of the questioning of testifiers in five sessions and exchange of views among Committee members.

#### **1. Securing Peace and Freedom concerning “Global Commons”**

Securing free and safe use of global commons, such as oceans, is critical for the peace and prosperity of the international community. On the other hand, in line with the advancement of science and technology in recent years, outer space and cyberspace which is related to the use of IT and AI are attracting attention as new public domains, so it is necessary to establish governance in these domains.

##### **(1) Realizing Free and Safe Oceans**

For Japan, which depends heavily on imports from abroad for the supply of resources and energy, ensuring the safety of oceans is important for securing sea lanes. However, concerning the oceans in the Asia-Pacific region, various conflict factors exist. China, which has achieved rapid economic growth and has become the second-largest economy in the world, is actively pursuing maritime expansion, as there is a growing need for the country to secure sea lanes. In light of the reality of the importance of cooperation with China for ensuring the safety of oceans in the Asia-Pacific region, Japan should promote cooperation with China in the field of maritime environment preservation and aim to develop into a framework of cooperation covering a broader range of fields while ensuring Japan’s own sovereignty and continuing to share with countries in the region the

recognition of the importance of the freedom of navigation and the rule of law. Japan should also continue to provide capacity building assistance for coast guards in other countries in the region and consider initiatives for establishing an international organization related to human resource development.

## **(2) Governance in Outer Space**

With respect to governance in outer space, little progress in rule-making has been made because of the increasing diversity of interested parties as exemplified by the rise of private-sector venture companies. In particular, there is a rift between countries seeking to establish an extensive set of rules covering commercial use, such as Japan, the United States and Europe, and countries focusing on the security aspect, such as Russia and China. However, in light of the results of the ongoing Sentinel Asia initiative, which represents international cooperation in disaster management using satellites owned by various countries under the Asia-Pacific Regional Space Agency Forum (APRSAF), Japan should make efforts to obtain understanding from Russia and China on the need for an extensive set of rules concerning the use of outer space by creating a framework of rule-making that extends beyond cooperation between space agencies and accumulating achievements.

## **(3) Cooperation concerning Cybersecurity and other related matters**

Concerning cyberspace, which underpins the IT society, the main infrastructure is owned and operated by private-sector companies. Therefore, cyberspace is not a global common in the pure sense of the term, but it is an urgent task to formulate adequate rules that take into consideration the critical importance of cyberspace in many aspects, including domestic and international politics, economy, and security. Over the long term, Japan should aim to develop international law. However, for the moment, Japan should promote international cooperation concerning surveillance and analysis of cyberattacks while bearing in mind the development of de-facto rules that cover such activities as cooperation among like-minded countries in identifying the source of cyberattacks and imposing sanctions as necessary in response to attacks unacceptable for states and societies. Concerning the use of AI as well, effort for rule-making is necessary.

## **2. Nuclear Disarmament and Non-Proliferation in the Asia-Pacific Region**

Nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation are global challenges. In the Asia-Pacific region, North Korea's continued nuclear and missile development despite repeated warnings from and sanctions by the international community is posing a grave threat to the regional security including Japan, thus prompt and effective response must be made.

Since the PyeongChang Olympics held in February, North Korea has made various moves toward resolving the issue through dialogue. In order to take advantage of those moves to ease the military tension in East Asia, Japan should make diplomatic efforts to resolve the nuclear and missile issues in close cooperation with relevant countries while bearing in mind how peace should be maintained in the region in the future. As a precondition, the issues important for Japan, including the abduction issue, must not remain unattended. When making such efforts, Japan must not forget the need to further promote the mitigation of the burden on local communities, particularly Okinawa.

In light of the need to realize the complete, verifiable and irreversible dismantlement of nuclear weapons in order to resolve the North Korean nuclear issue, Japan should exert initiative so as to realize effective verification.

Furthermore, while keeping in mind expectations for the role of Japan as the only country in the world ever to have experienced nuclear devastation, Japan should continue to make diplomatic efforts to act as a bridge between nuclear-armed states and non-nuclear-armed states under the NPT process.

With respect to the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons, it is pointed out that Japan's approach to the abolition of nuclear weapons is different from the approach of the treaty and there are concerns that the treaty undermines the deterrence capability of the United States. On the other hand, this treaty is significant in establishing rules that treat nuclear weapons as something illegal due to their inhumane nature and there is the view that simultaneous accession to the treaty by Japan and North and South Korea will effectively make East Asia a nuclear-free zone. In consideration of all these factors, in-depth debate

should be held at parliament and so on, including on the establishment of a committee responsible for studying the significance and impact of accession to the treaty.

### **3. Implementing Anti-Terrorism Measures in Preparation in anticipation of the Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics**

Concerning international terrorism, the situation has been improving on the whole as exemplified by the Islamic State's (IS's) loss of bases of activity in Iraq and Syria. However, there is the view that the IS is recruiting combatants and conducting fund-raising activity in an attempt to advance into South and Southeast Asia as a survival strategy. Moreover, forces affiliated with the IS occupied Marawi City in the Philippines and kept the city under its influence temporarily. Therefore, in the Asia-Pacific region, it is necessary to continue to enhance anti-terrorism measures. Japan should fully recognize that the expansion of the sphere of influence of a terrorist organization in South and Southeast Asia, a region with which it is closely related, is a problem that could directly affect the peace and security not only of the whole region but also of Japan itself.

In addition, ahead of the Tokyo Olympics and Paralympics scheduled for 2020, Japan should take every possible anti-terrorism measure in consideration of concerns that the risk of terrorism will grow.

Based on the recognition of this situation, in addition to continuing to support Asian countries in taking anti-terrorism measures, Japan should consider providing more active support in terms of human resources, for example by dispatching personnel of relevant organizations as necessary. Moreover, keeping in mind that hatred is a background factor of acts of terrorism, Japan should pursue the fight against terrorism through peaceful means, such as promoting a Japanese culture of respecting harmony and "win-win" spirit.

To that end, in addition to strengthening cooperation with relevant foreign organizations in terms of information sharing, Japan should make efforts to prevent acts of terrorism by enhancing the development of IT technologies, including facial recognition and behavioral authentication, and by making appropriate use of them on the premise of giving

due consideration to human rights.

#### **4. Regional Cooperation concerning Environmental Issues and Disaster Management**

In the Asia-Pacific region, where confidence building has not necessarily made progress because of differences in the political system and historical backgrounds, cooperation in responding to non-military threats, such as climate change, environmental pollution and natural disasters, is presumed to contribute to the improvement of national feelings between countries at the grass-roots level. Such cooperation is also presumed to contribute to confidence building between countries through the accumulation of knowhow concerning the development of a framework of cooperation.

##### **(1) Response to Climate Change**

With respect to the response to climate change, which has come to be recognized as a security issue as well in recent years, it is necessary to enhance the effectiveness of the Paris Agreement. Therefore, it is important to encourage the people to change their mindset about climate change and strengthen initiatives to facilitate innovations that create technologies essential for further reduction of greenhouse gases and promote lifestyle changes at the same time. Japan should not only spread knowhow to developing countries through technical cooperation and economic activity but also make active contributions to support for climate change mitigation measures. Concerning support for exports of coal-fired thermal power plants, Japan should conduct a comprehensive review of the validity, including medium-and long-term effects, of the support as a measure to contribute to the achievement of the emission reduction target under the Paris Agreement.

##### **(2) Disaster Management Cooperation**

Natural disasters and disaster victims are heavily concentrated in Asia, and Asian countries' expectations for Japan's abundance of experiences and knowledge and high-level technology are high. Disaster management helps to limit recovery cost and contributes to poverty reduction and sustainable development. In consideration of these factors, Japan should continue to strengthen support for human resource development in cooperation with

a diverse range of actors, including the Asian Disaster Reduction Center. Japan should also devise ways of more effectively promoting the mainstreaming of disaster management by taking advantage of its knowledge and experiences—for example by promoting the establishment of an organization similar to the Forum for International Strategy for Natural Disaster Mitigation, which was proposed by the Committee on International Cooperation for Natural Disaster Risk Reduction under the Science Council of Japan and have not been established due to the Great East Japan Earthquake.

### **(3) Response to Cross-Border Marine Litter**

Cross-border marine litter problems, in which litter is generated in one country and is washed ashore in other countries, are becoming increasingly serious as exemplified by the emergence of microplastics pollution, which is considered to have an impact on ecosystems. In this situation, in order to resolve these problems, not only prefectural governments are required to be involved as stipulated by existing laws, but also the national government must be more actively involved. International cooperation is also essential. At a time when NGOs in various countries are conducting activities through an international network, Japan, which recognizes its position as a maritime nation, should play a more active role in supporting such initiatives. Concerning cooperation with China in particular, in light of the country's political system and the level of awareness of these problems among the Chinese people, Japan should make efforts to encourage the country to actively implement countermeasures, for example by explaining the importance of the problems and the significance of initiatives at high-level meetings in addition to promoting grass-roots initiatives.

## **5. How to Conduct Diplomacy toward Russia and India**

Russia and India can play a significant role in ensuring the peace and prosperity of the Indo-Pacific region. Russia which has some degree of influence in international politics as a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council, is rich in natural resources, possesses huge military forces, including nuclear arsenals, and is ready to exercise its military power in some cases, as shown by its annexation of Crimea. Meanwhile, India is a powerful country in South Asian which is expected to become the world's most populous country in the near future and which also has huge economic potential.

### **(1) Diplomacy toward Russia**

In recent years, Russia has shown growing interest in Asia on the economic front as well as on the security front against the backdrop of the North Korean nuclear and missile issue and China's active expansion into the Arctic Ocean, which it regards as part of its sphere of influence. Meanwhile, regarding the U.S.-Russia relationship, which significantly affects Russia's foreign policy, despite the lack of improvement since the inauguration of the U.S. Trump administration, there is the view that President Putin is exploring the possibility of changing course from the China-leaning policy. Therefore, Russia may seek to use cooperation in the fight against terrorism as an opportunity to improve its relationship with the United States.

The Japan-Russia relationship remains in an abnormal situation in that a peace treaty has not been concluded since the end of World War II. In this situation, the Government is engaging in various initiatives, including the initiative to realize joint economic activities on the four Northern Territory islands, in order to conclude a peace treaty after resolving the Northern Territories issue. However, we must not forget that the Northern Territories issue is a security one for Russia.

Therefore, while watching developments related to the U.S-Russian relationship, the Government should implement diplomacy in a way that supports its improvement. At the same time, with the peace of Asia and the role of Russia in mind, the Government should promote the development of the Japan-Russia relationship while engaging in appropriate

cooperation in consideration of Russia's concerns.

## **(2) Diplomacy toward India**

India has been engaging in a dispute with neighboring Pakistan over sovereignty concerning Kashmir since Pakistan's separation and independence in 1947. And it also has a border dispute with China. Therefore, we can say that India's foreign policy has a significant impact on the stability of South Asia.

While Japan has historically maintained a good relationship with India, the two countries' political relationship has been strengthened as shown by the annual exchange of visits by their leaders. Furthermore, the bilateral economic relationship, including trade and investment, has also developed in recent years amid high expectations for the Indian market.

In light of the close economic relationship between China and India, when implementing the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy, Japan should consider ways of coordination with China's One Belt, One Road strategy that complement the advantages and disadvantages of both strategies.

Japan, the United States and European countries think highly of India as the world's largest democratic country. However, the Modi government, whose support base is comprised of pro-Hindi people, is pursuing policies apparently intolerant of diversity amid the spread of Hinduism in India. In light of this situation, Japan should encourage India to recognize the importance of freedom and human rights so that the two countries can share those values.

## **6. Role of Multilateral Cooperation**

### **(1) Intra-Regional Cooperation in Asia**

Among countries in Asia, a region rich in diversity, a supra-national integration body similar to the EU has not yet emerged. However, a unique framework of dialogue between major countries in the region has played some role in realizing regional peace and prosperity, with ASEAN, a loose federation based on the principles of non-interference in each other's internal affairs and unanimous agreement, acting as a connection point.

However, in recent years, China has promoted the One Belt, One Road strategy which attaches importance to bilateral relations, while some ASEAN countries have joined TPP, in which Japan is participating. This situation has put into question the “ASEAN centrality” that has been observed in multilateral diplomacy in Asia.

There are limits to the “ASEAN way,” under which it is not easy to make tough decisions. However, in due consideration of the fact that ASEAN has been a successful multilateral framework of cooperation in Asia, a region rich in diversity, Japan should continue to attach importance to and provide sufficient support to it as an equal partner that plays an important role in multilateral diplomacy in Asia.

In recent years, in ASEAN, particularly Cambodia, there has been a situation raising concerns about backpedaling in terms of the development of democracy and respect of human rights, which Japan has been supporting. In light of the situation, Japan should encourage improvement of the situation by strongly lobbying countries through various measures while constantly examining the effectiveness of assistance.

When promoting multilateral cooperation in Asia on the economic front, Japan should pay attention to the huge scale of the Chinese economy and China’s close relationship with countries in the region. Japan should also seek to quickly realize RCEP, which is a framework of economic partnership that includes China, after taking necessary domestic measures while taking care to ensure that RCEP is a free trade agreement with high quality.

## **(2) Cooperation with International Organizations and NGOs**

Emergency humanitarian assistance and development cooperation play some role in promoting regional stability, development and confidence building between countries in the region. However, in order to more effectively implement such assistance and cooperation, it is necessary to cooperate not only with international organizations such as U.N. agencies possessing a high level of expertise and skills but also with Japanese NGOs engaging in assistance activities with Japanese meticulousness. From that viewpoint, the Government should consider creating a new mechanism to study effective combinations of its four policy tools—bilateral assistance, assistance through international organizations, assistance

through NGOs, and peace-keeping operations—in line with its policy objectives. Japan should also raise public awareness of the fact that assistance provided through international organizations is conducted in ways that make donor countries visible—for example, relief goods are delivered to families and schools in packages on which the national flag of the donor country is depicted. In addition, in order to demonstrate its presence in the frontline of assistance activities by taking advantage of its strengths, the Government should further enhance assistance for Japanese NGOs, including financial assistance and human resource development assistance, while taking into consideration the situation in other developed countries. At the same time, Japan should consider how activities in dangerous areas should be conducted. The Government and Japanese NGOs should share the recognition that internationally demonstrating Japanese unique thoughtful and meticulous assistance lays the foundation for the permanent peace of Japan in the future.

As for the reform of the United Nations to strengthen its functions, Japan should exercise leadership and play an active role. Japan should implement the initiative to increase Japanese staff members at international organizations while conducting a sufficient study on its significance for diplomacy and its effect in achieving policy objectives in light of the neutrality that international public servants are required to maintain in relation to their home countries.

## **7. Role of the Parliament in Diplomacy**

In the international community, the influence of a diverse range of actors has grown, and as a result, factors behind international issues and the approach to resolving them have become more complex than before. What is required in this situation is not a diplomacy conducted by the Government alone but a multi-layered diplomacy in which the Government cooperates with various actors with influence in the international community. We members of the National Diet, as representatives of the Japanese people, must not forget that we are also actors involved in diplomacy.

The House of Councillors, which has dispatched members abroad and invited to

Japan delegations led by foreign parliamentary leaders for many years as part of its contributions to diplomacy, should make more strategic use of these activities. In particular, it is important to promote exchanges between parliaments and between lawmakers at bilateral and multilateral meetings with China, South Korea and ASEAN countries. It is also important that lawmakers with expertise in fields related to the conferences continuously participate in them so that Japan's position can be communicated internationally from the standpoint of the Japanese parliament when members are dispatched to attend international conferences. In addition, when there are diplomatic negotiations that may have a serious impact on Japan's national interests or the Japanese people's everyday life, such as negotiations over important international treaties, we should consider dispatching a delegation of lawmakers to accompany the Government's delegation in order to collect information on behalf of the parliament.

Around 2002, the mood was growing in both houses of parliament for establishing a democratization support foundation of a kind existing in major Western countries in order to enable the parliament and political parties to play a larger role in ensuring that democracy, which constitutes the foundation of peace in the Asia-Pacific region, takes root. Recalling that, we should hold in-depth debate again on establishing a similar organization in order for the parliament to complement the Government's diplomacy and tackle long-term diplomatic challenges from its own standpoint. In light of the relationship between the administrative and legislative branches under Japan's parliamentary cabinet system as viewed from the perspective of the separation and fusion of powers, the debate should be held on the necessary conditions for the parliament, the House of Councillors in particular, to conduct diplomatic activity with some degree of independence from a broad viewpoint covering the management of parliamentary affairs and the election systems.

## **Afterword**

The Committee is conducting research with “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region” as its main theme for the current three-year period. In conducting the research, the Committee is holding discussions toward long-term, fundamental resolution of the challenges under this theme from multi-faceted viewpoints in light of the purpose of the Research Committee System. Since the establishment of the Committee, the North Korean nuclear and missile issue has been casting a shadow over its discussions as a challenge that must be promptly dealt with.

In the meantime, the summit meeting between North and South Korea was held on April 27 and an agreement was reached on complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and the formal ending of the Korean War within this year. On the other hand, concerning the summit meeting between the United States and North Korea, various diplomatic maneuvers are being made, so attention is focusing on future developments. We expect the Government to make further diplomatic efforts in close cooperation with relevant countries in order to ensure the peace and prosperity of Japan and the whole of East Asia and the solution of the abduction issue in this sequence of events. At the same time, the Committee intends to hold in-depth discussions on what Japan should do.

After presenting this interim report, the Committee will continue its research for around one year. In the research, the Committee will hold discussions on the use of soft power and how to implement international commitments, such as the Sustainable Development Goals, while taking into consideration the matters which it has until now discussed, such as the relationship with major countries in this region, including confidence building, and how to promote cooperation in order to resolve various cross-border problems. Based on the discussions, the Committee will express its final consensus on the challenges for the realization of peace in the Asia-Pacific region that become clear through various points of debate and on ways of promoting regional cooperation and conducting Japan’s

diplomacy in order to resolve the challenges.

## Reference 1 Timeline of Deliberations

Diet session and date	Outline
194th September 28, 2017	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Resignation of a director and the election of a new Director to fill the vacancy</li> </ul>
195th	(Only procedures related to the end of the Diet session)
196th February 7, 2018	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election of new Director to fill vacancy</li> <li>• Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” (“Initiatives to Realize International Peace”) regarding the research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)</li> </ul> <p>(Voluntary testifiers)</p> <p><b>YAMADA Yoshihiko</b> Professor, Department of Maritime Civilizations. Tokai University</p> <p><b>KAWASAKI Akira</b> Co-representative of nongovernmental organization Peace Boat and a member of the International Steering Group of the International Campaign to Abolish Nuclear Weapons (ICAN)</p> <p><b>KAWAGUCHI Takahisa</b> Senior Consultant, Tokio Marine &amp; Nichido Risk Consulting</p>

	<p>Co., Ltd.</p> <p>February 14 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” (Response to Environmental Problems, Climate Change, etc.) regarding the research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)</p> <p>(Voluntary testifiers)</p> <p>EMORI Seita</p> <p>Head, Climate Risk Assessment Section, Center for Global Environmental Research, National Institute for Environmental Studies</p> <p>KANEKO Hiroshi</p> <p>Representative of Directors, JEAN (General Incorporated Association)</p> <p>Director, Non Profit Organization, Partnership Office</p> <p>HAMADA Masanori</p> <p>Chairman, Asian Disaster Reduction Center</p> <p>Professor Emeritus, Waseda University</p> <p>• Receiving reports from lawmakers dispatched abroad and explanations from the governments and exchanging opinions.</p>
<p>February 21</p>	<p>• Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace” (Japan-ASEAN relationship, Japan-Russia relationship, etc.) regarding the research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing</p>

Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)

(Voluntary testifiers)

HYODO Shinji

Director, Regional Studies Department, The National Institute for Defense Studies, Ministry of Defense

FUKUNAGA Masaaki

Visiting Professor, The Center for South Asian Studies, Gifu Women’s University

KUMAOKA Michiya

Professor, Japan Institute of the Moving Image

February 22

- Situation Survey on Initiatives for Confidence Building and Regional Cooperation to Realize Peace in the Asia Pacific Region and the Roles of Local Governments in Solving Cross-Border Problems, etc. (inspection)

(Inspection locations)

Yokohama Port, Yokohama City, The Japan Foundation, JICA Research Institute, and JICA Global Plaza

April 11

- Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace” (Role of Multilateral Frameworks of Cooperation, etc.) regarding the research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)

(Voluntary testifiers)

OBA Mie

	<p>Professor, Tokyo University of Science</p> <p>ISHIDO Hikari</p> <p>Professor, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Chiba University</p> <p>MASUYAMA Mikitaka</p> <p>Chair of Masters' Program Committee; Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies</p>
April 18	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” (Initiatives to Realize International Peace) regarding the research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)</li> </ul> <p>(Voluntary testifiers)</p> <p>SUZUKI Kazuto</p> <p>Professor, Hokkaido University Public Policy School</p> <p>ABEKAWA Motonobu</p> <p>Professor, College of Risk Management, Nihon University</p> <p>OSHIDARI Kenro</p> <p>Former Asia Regional Director for Asia, World Food Programme</p>
May 9	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li>• Election of Directors</li> <li>• Exchange of views between Committee members (“Current Situation of Cross-Border Problems and Challenges for Their Solution” and “Initiatives and Challenges for Building Confidence and Realizing Lasting Peace” regarding the</li> </ul>

June 6	<p>research theme of “Desirable Way for Realizing Peace, Regional Cooperation and Japanese Diplomacy in the Asia Pacific Region”)</p> <ul style="list-style-type: none"><li>• Decision on the research report and its submission to the President of the House of Councillors</li><li>• Decision to offer the report at a plenary meeting</li></ul>
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## Reference 2

### List of Committee Members

Chairman	KONOIKE Yoshitada (LDP・PJK)
Director	MIKI Toru (LDP・PJK)
Director	MIYAMOTO Shuji (LDP・PJK)
Director	YOSHIKAWA Yumi (LDP・PJK)
Director	SASAKI Sayaka (KP)
Director	OSHIMA Kusuo (DPFP-SR)
Director	ESAKI Takashi (CDP)
Director	TAKEDA Ryosuke (JCP)
Director	ISHII Mitsuko (JIP)
	INOBUCHI Kuniko (LDP・PJK)
	IMAI Eriko (LDP・PJK)
	ONODA Kimi (LDP・PJK)
	OTSUJI Hidehisa (LDP・PJK)
	OHNO Yasutada (LDP・PJK)
	SAKAI Yasuyuki (LDP・PJK)
	FUJIKAWA Masahito (LDP・PJK)
	MARUYAMA Kazuya (LDP・PJK)
	MIYAJIMA Yoshifumi (LDP・PJK)
	KUMANO Seishi (KP)
	SATOMI Ryuji (KP)
	KOGA Yukihiro (DPFP-SR)
	SAITO Yoshitaka (CDP)
	HACHIRO Yoshio (CDP)
	KIDOGUCHI Eiji (HC)
	IHA Yoichi (OW)

Note: LDP·PJK: Liberal Democratic Party and The Party for Japanese Kokoro  
KP: Komeito  
DPFP-SR: Democratic Party For the People and The Shin-Ryokufukai  
CDP: The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and Minyukai  
JCP: Japanese Communist Party  
JIP: Nippon Ishin (Japan Innovation Party)  
HC: Hope Coalition (Kibou)  
OW: Okinawa Whirlwind

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