

Provisional Translation

**Research Report on
Foreign Affairs and National Security
(Interim Report)
(Excerpt)**

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Research Committee on Foreign Affairs and National Security

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Contents

Foreword	1
I. Research Process	3
II. Research Outline	5
1. Efforts and Challenges in International Rule-Making on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) and Ensuring Implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC) (February 7, 2024)	5
2. Armed Conflicts, etc. and Efforts and Challenges towards Practicing and Rebuilding Humanitarianism (February 14, 2024)	8
3. Efforts and Challenges in Starting Negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) (February 21, 2024)	10
4. Efforts and Challenges in Ensuring International Food and Energy Security and Human Security, etc., in View of the Impact of Climate Change and Armed Conflicts, etc. (April 17, 2024)	13
5. Measures and Efforts to Address the Impacts of Climate Change on Maritime Legal Order (May 15, 2024)	15
6. War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order (Exchange of Views among Committee Members) (May 22, 2024) (Omitted)	
III. Summary of Key Discussion Points	19
Afterword	48
Reference 1 Timeline of Deliberations	50
Reference 2 List of Committee Members	54

Foreword

Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which began in February 2022, has greatly upset the existing international order, and the deterioration of the Israeli-Palestinian situation triggered by the terror attacks on Israel by Hamas and others in October 2023—in particular, the serious humanitarian situation in the Gaza Strip—highlights the various challenges facing the international community today. As for the recent increasing severity and frequency of natural disasters, the impact of climate change, also known as the climate crisis, is giving cause for concern. Furthermore, the impacts of climate change on foreign affairs and security, such as conflicts and climate refugees, are also becoming apparent.

Resolving today's problems of war and peace requires a multi-layered response that combines bilateral, multilateral and other frameworks in various aspects, including political, economic, and military. In this context, with Japan having assumed the G7 Presidency in 2023, at the G7 Hiroshima Summit, which was hosted by Japan in May in Hiroshima, the site of the atomic bombing, the key pillar of upholding and strengthening a free and open international order based on the rule of law was established, and the commitment to a world without nuclear weapons was reaffirmed. And in its address to the General Debate of the United Nations (UN) General Assembly in September, Japan re-shed light on human dignity, advocated human-centered international cooperation, called for ensuring the mainstreaming of nuclear disarmament, and stressed the importance of the rule of law and the importance of reforming the Security Council to realize a stronger United Nations.

The Research Committee had previously decided on “War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” as the research theme for this three-year term. Recognizing the importance of reviving multilateralism, including through the United Nations, in building a new international order, and while bearing in mind such considerations as the current situation of the international community and Japan's efforts, during the Committee's second year, it again undertook research with a

view to taking up a broad range of specific issues related to foreign affairs and national security, examining these issues in a comprehensive manner, and exploring ways of resolving problems of war and peace.

This report is an interim report of the second year and is a summary of the research undertaken.

I. Research Process

Research committees in the House of Councillors are a unique feature of the House of Councillors. Taking note of the fact that the House of Councillors is not dissolved and that members serve six-year terms, research committees are established for the purpose of conducting long-term, comprehensive research relating to fundamental matters of government over a period of three years. At the 210th Diet session (extraordinary session) on October 3, 2022, the Research Committee on Foreign Affairs and National Security was established for the purpose of conducting long-term, comprehensive research on foreign affairs and national security. The Committee decided that the research theme for this three-year term would be “War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order.”

In the first year of research, to mark the beginning of the three-year research, the Committee first heard the opinions of and questioned voluntary testifiers on the “Requirements for the Prevention of War.” The Committee then proceeded with research through hearing the opinions of and questioning voluntary testifiers on the following subjects: Disarmament and Non-Proliferation #1 (NPT, CTBT, FMCT, INF, New START), Disarmament and Non-Proliferation #2 (Non-Nuclear Weapons of Mass Destruction, Anti-Personnel Landmines, Cluster Bombs, etc.), UN Reform (Security Council Reform and Strengthening of Specialized Agencies), and Developing Sustainable Defense Bases. After the Committee members exchanged views with each other, the Committee decided on the research report (interim report) and submitted it to the President of the House of Councillors on June 7, 2023.

In the second year of research, which is covered in this report, during the 213th Diet session (ordinary session), the Committee held meetings on the following subjects: Efforts and Challenges in International Rule-Making on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) and Ensuring Implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC), Armed Conflicts, etc. and Efforts and Challenges towards Practicing and

Rebuilding Humanitarianism, Efforts and Challenges in Starting Negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), Efforts and Challenges in Ensuring International Food and Energy Security and Human Security, etc., in View of the Impact of Climate Change and Armed Conflicts, etc., and Measures and Efforts to Address the Impacts of Climate Change on Maritime Legal Order (February 7, 14 and 21, April 17, and May 15, 2024). Each time, the Committee heard the opinions of three voluntary testifiers and asked them questions. Finally, the Committee members exchanged views with each other on the theme “War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” (May 22, 2024).

II. Research Outline

1. Efforts and Challenges in International Rule-Making on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) and Ensuring Implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC) (February 7, 2024)

Within the international disarmament and non-proliferation regime, initiatives for conventional weapons (weapons other than weapons of mass destruction, such as tanks, warships, artillery, landmines, as well as handguns and other small arms and light weapons) are being made through multilateral frameworks, including the Arms Trade Treaty (ATT), which establishes common standards to control the international export, import, and other transfer of conventional weapons, as well as the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), which regulates inhumane conventional weapons, the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC), which provides for a total ban on the use, stockpiling, production, and transfer of anti-personnel landmines, and the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), which prohibits the use, production, and other acts involving cluster bombs. Given that conventional weapons are widely used in actual wars and can cause injury and death to civilians, how they should be regulated and ensuring their effectiveness are also two of the issues from a humanitarian perspective.

Against the backdrop of recent rapid advances in artificial intelligence (AI) and other emerging technologies, a point of contention in this regard has been how to ensure compliance with international humanitarian law against lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS), in which AI targets and attacks autonomously without any human involvement. The Group of Governmental Experts (GGE) has been meeting since 2017 under the CCW framework to discuss the definition, regulation, and other aspects of LAWS, and at the 2019 Meeting of the High Contracting Parties to the Convention, a set of guidelines on LAWS was adopted, consisting of 11 guiding principles. Subsequently in May 2023, the GGE report was adopted. It included views on prohibition and restriction

of LAWS from the perspective of complying with international humanitarian law. Furthermore, at the Meeting of the High Contracting Parties to the Convention in November 2023, it was agreed that, between 2024 and 2026, the GGE would further consider the elements and other aspects of the deliverables in a manner that does not prejudice the negotiation of a legally binding instrument and that the GGE would report on the results of its work to the Seventh Review Conference in 2026. Outside of the CCW framework, a resolution was also adopted at the UN General Assembly in December 2023, requiring the UN Secretary General to submit a report on LAWS. Although the positions of individual countries on LAWS remain divergent, and the international definition and other aspects of LAWS are yet to be established, efforts for establishing international rules are underway.

With regard to the APMBC, since the conclusion of the convention in 1998, Japan has continued to promote comprehensive efforts, including to strengthen support for action that deals with mines in mine-affected countries. In this context, at the Meeting of the States Parties in 2023, it was decided that Cambodia (to which Japan has made considerable contributions in support for mine action, etc.) would preside over the quinquennial APMBC Review Conference to be held in 2024, and that Japan would preside over the 22nd Meeting of the States Parties in 2025, being the first year in the new five-year cycle. Regarding anti-personnel landmines, which indiscriminately harm noncombatant civilians and which cause extremely serious humanitarian problems, there have been issues with their use by countries that are not parties to the convention, such as their use in Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Hence, strengthening the universality and effectiveness of the convention is one of the issues that needs to be addressed.

With these points in mind, the Committee heard the respective opinions of the voluntary testifiers about: the current state of debate about LAWS and Japan's efforts regarding LAWS and the APMBC; the role that Japan should play in view of international legal issues surrounding the military use of AI and the current state of debate about LAWS; and the current state of the APMBC and issues related to support for mine action.

The question and answer session included discussion on the following matters: the current state of military use of AI and how it should be regulated; the definition of LAWS and how LAWS should be discussed hereafter; Japan's role in dealing with LAWS and anti-personnel landmines, and the role and current activities of civil society; the potential for humans to lose control of evolving AI; the problem of asymmetry under the APMBC, etc.; China's stance on LAWS regulations; issues surrounding investing in and financing companies that manufacture cluster bombs; how Japan's foreign and security policy should be; and the reform of the United Nations.

(1) Outline of Opinions by Voluntary Testifiers

(Omitted)

(2) Main Points of Discussion

(Omitted)

2. Armed Conflicts, etc. and Efforts and Challenges towards Practicing and Rebuilding Humanitarianism (February 14, 2024)

The international community today still faces a number of regional and national armed conflicts due to a variety of factors, including hostility between states and climate change, and these conflicts are becoming more and more prolonged. This has resulted in refugees and displaced persons, as well as humanitarian issues, including the killing of civilians and violence against women and children in conflict situations. In particular, Russia's aggression against Ukraine, which began in 2022, and the Israeli-Palestinian situation—especially in the Gaza Strip—following the terror attacks by Hamas and others in October 2023 have created extremely serious humanitarian crises that require an urgent response from the international community, including Japan.

As humanitarian crises become more prolonged and diverse, Japan is emphasizing the idea of the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus (HDP Nexus) as a response to conflicts and humanitarian crises. Under this idea, support should be provided for sustained peace through resilient nation-building and social stabilization from a medium- to long-term perspective, even in times of peace. Japan's Development Cooperation Charter, revised in June 2023, also sets out the policy to provide seamless support for peacebuilding while paying attention to the HDP Nexus approach. In cooperation with the international community, Japan is promoting efforts to extend humanitarian assistance, support for poverty reduction and economic development, and assistance for peacebuilding and preventing conflict recurrence.

In responding to such conflicts and humanitarian crises, especially in providing humanitarian assistance, an important role is performed by initiatives for practicing humanitarianism and ensuring human dignity through the activities of relevant international organizations and non-government organizations (NGOs), such as the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) and Médecins Sans Frontières (MSF). To guarantee these activities and to improve or prevent humanitarian crises, it is essential

that there be compliance with international humanitarian law that aims to protect victims of armed conflict, particularly the Geneva Conventions, and ensuring such compliance is an issue.

With these points in mind, the Committee heard the respective opinions of the voluntary testifiers about: the activities of the ICRC; the activities of the MSF; the crises and challenges facing humanitarian assistance activities; and how use of force should be regulated in international law and the challenges of international humanitarian law.

The question and answer session included discussion on the following matters: an evaluation of the situation in Gaza under international law and the Japanese government's response; action in response to the suspension of funding to the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA); requests to the Japanese government in light of the situations in Ukraine and Gaza; the issues surrounding institutions responsible for humanitarian assistance; linking of humanitarian assistance and development cooperation; international law regarding armed conflict and the functions of international organizations; and issues concerning Japan's national security policy.

(1) Outline of Opinions by Voluntary Testifiers

(Omitted)

(2) Main Points of Discussion

(Omitted)

3. Efforts and Challenges in Starting Negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT) (February 21, 2024)

Within international disarmament and non-proliferation, efforts for nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation related to nuclear weapons are being made through multilateral and bilateral frameworks. One of those efforts is the proposed Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT), a multilateral framework. The FMCT is intended to be a treaty aimed at preventing any further increase in the quantity of nuclear weapons by prohibiting the production of fissile material (such as highly enriched uranium and plutonium) for nuclear weapons. An FMCT was proposed for treaty negotiation by the then United States President Clinton in 1993. It was later agreed that the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva would be the forum for those negotiations. However, due to opposition from Pakistan and other factors, negotiations are still yet to begin.

In terms of other multilateral frameworks besides the FMCT, first is the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT). The NPT defines the five countries of the United States, Russia, the United Kingdom, France, and China as nuclear-weapon states, and stipulates that the proliferation of nuclear weapons to non-nuclear-weapon states be prevented and that the parties to the NPT conduct negotiations for nuclear disarmament in good faith. The NPT is positioned as the cornerstone of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime and is a universal treaty with 191 countries and regions party to the treaty, but given the dissatisfaction of non-nuclear-weapon states with the inequality of nuclear non-proliferation and with efforts for nuclear disarmament, which is a prerequisite for nuclear non-proliferation, consensus-building among the parties has been difficult.

The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) bans nuclear weapons test explosions and any other nuclear explosions in all environments. For the CTBT to enter into force, it must be ratified by all 44 states that are required for its entry into force. However, with some of the states not expected to ratify the treaty, it remains unenforced. Nevertheless, about 90% of the monitoring and observation stations for the International

Monitoring System based on the CTBT are already in place.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) provides for a legal ban on the possession and use of nuclear weapons, and is a new attempt to establish a norm banning nuclear weapons from a perspective of inhumanity for the realization of a “world without nuclear weapons.” Led by like-minded countries and civil society, the TPNW entered into force in 2021, but nuclear-weapon states and their allies, including Japan, have not participated in the treaty, indicating differences of opinion with the parties to the treaty over the security role of nuclear weapons.

In terms of bilateral frameworks between the United States and the Soviet Union (Russia), the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces (INF) Treaty expired in 2019 due to confrontation between the United States and Russia over treaty violations and concerns by the United States over China’s missile development. Currently, the New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START), which promotes further reductions of and restrictions on strategic offensive weapons, is the only nuclear disarmament treaty remaining between the United States and Russia. However, Russia announced in February 2023 that it would suspend participation in the treaty. With the treaty expiration date looming in 2026, the future of the framework is uncertain.

With Russia’s aggression against Ukraine and its threats of using nuclear weapons, and with North Korea’s nuclear and missile development, the international situation surrounding nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation is becoming increasingly tense. Amid this tension, in May 2023, the G7 Hiroshima Summit expressed its commitment to realize a “world without nuclear weapons” and the G7 Leaders’ Hiroshima Vision on Nuclear Disarmament—the first stand-alone G7 leaders’ document focusing on nuclear disarmament—called for renewed political attention to the FMCT. Then in September, a commemorative high-level event on an FMCT was held, co-hosted with the Philippines and Australia. Furthermore, the resolution on the elimination of nuclear weapons, submitted by Japan and adopted by the UN General Assembly in December, also focused on appealing to the international community to implement specific measures related to the

FMCT and enhancement of transparency.

With these points in mind, the Committee heard the respective opinions of the voluntary testifiers about: the current situation surrounding the FMCT and Japan's efforts; the significance of and issues concerning the FMCT concept; and the significance of the FMCT in view of its relationship with the TPNW.

The question and answer session included discussion on the following matters: the current state of fissile materials and how they should be regulated; forums where the FMCT should be discussed; the challenge of making an FMCT and interim alternative approaches; the relationship between the FMCT and other nuclear disarmament treaties, such as the TPNW; measures for promoting the FMCT; Japan's efforts and issues concerning promotion of the FMCT; how Japan should deal with the large amount of non-military fissile material it possesses; Japan's response to the TPNW; how nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation diplomacy should be; and efforts needed to enable peacekeeping by international organizations and Japan's role in this.

(1) Outline of Opinions by Voluntary Testifiers

(Omitted)

(2) Main Points of Discussion

(Omitted)

4. Efforts and Challenges in Ensuring International Food and Energy Security and Human Security, etc., in View of the Impact of Climate Change and Armed Conflicts, etc. (April 17, 2024)

Securing stable supplies of food and energy that support people's survival, lives, and economic activities is a critical security issue for each country, and realizing such supplies requires not only the country's own efforts, but also international efforts. In this context, phenomena such as climate change and armed conflicts have a significant impact on these efforts, including from a human security perspective.

In recent years, the increasing intensity and frequency of large-scale natural disasters, such as torrential rains, floods, droughts, and forest fires, which are feared to be attributable to climate change, have impaired the survival and dignity of those affected, and together with the impact of global warming on food production, they threaten human security. They have also given rise to climate refugees and to increased regional instability, and addressing these issues is a challenge. In addition, rising sea levels due to the impact of climate change will threaten the very survival of island nations. Furthermore, there is also the challenge of dealing with changes in the assumptions on which international security has been based, such as the impact on the importance of oil-producing regions from the progress of green transformation (GX) for addressing climate change and the fact that the Arctic Ocean will become navigable as a result of the ice melting. Thus, the impacts of climate change are profoundly related not only to the environment, but also to various problems of war and peace.

In relation to armed conflicts, given that Ukraine and Russia are both major producers of wheat and other foods and also that Russia is a major oil producer, Russia's aggression against Ukraine caused global disruptions in supply chains and soaring food and energy prices, among other problems. As a matter of urgency, the international community worked on the Black Sea Grain Initiative to secure food transportation routes, but with Russia's withdrawal from the initiative, challenges remained. Furthermore, in the wake of the

Israeli-Palestinian situation following the terror attacks by Hamas and others in October 2023, there has also been a series of attacks by the Houthis on civilian vessels navigating the Red Sea and other waters off the Arabian Peninsula, which has had a major impact on maritime traffic.

These impacts of climate change and armed conflicts are not limited to developed countries. They also extend to developing countries that have weak social infrastructure, including for disaster prevention, and fragile food production and energy supply systems. They pose a major crisis to today's international community.

With these points in mind, the Committee heard the respective opinions of the voluntary testifiers about: the relevance between climate change and security; the concept and types of climate security and national response measures to its specific effects; changing sea lanes and security implications of ice melting in the Arctic Ocean; the principle of human security and the impacts of conflicts and climate change on food and energy security; and efforts of the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) on conflicts and climate change and the need to further strengthen cooperation with Japan.

The question and answer session included discussion on the following matters: the current state and issues of climate change; the relevance between conflicts and climate crises; Japan's issues regarding climate change; the impact of climate change on food and energy security and associated issues; and efforts for ensuring human security.

(1) Outline of Opinions by Voluntary Testifiers

(Omitted)

(2) Main Points of Discussion

(Omitted)

5. Measures and Efforts to Address the Impacts of Climate Change on Maritime Legal Order (May 15, 2024)

Regarding the issue of rising sea levels—one of the effects of climate change—the Working Group I Contribution to the Sixth Assessment Report of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC), released in 2021, predicts that, compared to the 1995–2014 global mean sea level, sea levels in 2081–2100 will rise by tens of centimeters to one meter, and will continue to rise after 2100.

Such rises in sea level could cause coastlines to recede inland, with serious consequences caused by changes in the outer limits of territorial seas and exclusive economic zones (EEZs), especially for Japan, Pacific island countries, and other nations surrounded by the ocean. Not only would it impair the stability of maritime order, but it could also lead to new instability and international disputes.

The United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS), adopted by the UN Conference in 1982, comprehensively stipulates the rights and obligations under international law regarding maritime activities, and forms the basis of maritime order based on the rule of law. However, as the issues surrounding the ocean have increased in diversity due to climate change and other factors, some issues have arisen that were not envisaged when the convention was drafted. The convention does not include explicit provisions on dealing with rising sea levels, and there has been debate in the international arena as to whether not updating existing baselines and maritime zones is permissible from the perspective of emphasizing legal stability. In particular, in 2019, the United Nations International Law Commission (ILC) decided to address sea-level rise in relation to international law and set up a study group. In 2020, the study group prepared its first issues paper which primarily referred to the possible legal impacts of rising sea levels on the baselines and outer limits of maritime zones, and in 2023, the group submitted an additional paper which pointed out that no country had expressed opposition to not updating baselines and maritime zones. Discussion is ongoing, with the final report to be

compiled in 2025.

Regarding the legal response to rises in sea levels, Japan is taking various bilateral and multilateral opportunities to communicate and promote its position. At a meeting between Japan's Foreign Minister and a delegation of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF) in February 2023, Japan expressed its position that it is permissible to preserve the existing baselines established in accordance with UNCLOS even if coastlines recede due to rises in sea levels caused by climate change. Japan again declared the same position in its address to the General Debate of the UN General Assembly in September 2023.

With these points in mind, the Committee heard the respective opinions of the voluntary testifiers about: the current state of sea ice in the Arctic and Antarctic and the impact of melting ice sheets in the Antarctic on rising sea levels; legal impacts of sea level rises on baselines and international discussion on legal interpretation; and security concerns attributable to uncertainty over baselines in Pacific island countries and collaboration and cooperation between Japan and the Pacific island countries.

The question and answer session included discussion on the following matters: discussions about baselines; ideas about baselines; concerns associated with uncertainty over baselines and substantive methods for revising baselines; relationship between the Low-Tide Line Preservation Act and the Act on the Review and Regulation of the Use of Real Estate Surrounding Important Facilities and on Remote Territorial Islands; future projections of climate change; existing discussions in Japan for preventing damage from rises in sea levels; positive aspects of climate change; Japan's expected role in the international community; initiatives for addressing climate change; budgets and initiatives needed for scientific and technological research and the development of maritime human resources; the situation in the Antarctic amid the increased global warming; the significance of Antarctic research and study; China's influence on Pacific island countries; the impact of climate change on Pacific island countries; collaboration and cooperation with Pacific island countries; and the perceptions of Pacific island countries concerning the discharge of ALPS treated water from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station

into the sea.

(1) Outline of Opinions by Voluntary Testifiers

(Omitted)

(2) Main Points of Discussion

(Omitted)

6. War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order (Exchange of Views among Committee Members) (May 22, 2024)

(Omitted)

III. Summary of Key Discussion Points

Under the research theme for the current term, that is, “War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order,” during the second year of research, the Research Committee heard opinions from and questioned voluntary testifiers on the following topics: Efforts and Challenges in International Rule-Making on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) and Ensuring Implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC); Armed Conflicts, etc. and Efforts and Challenges towards Practicing and Rebuilding Humanitarianism; Efforts and Challenges in Starting Negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT); Efforts and Challenges in Ensuring International Food and Energy Security and Human Security, etc., in View of the Impact of Climate Change and Armed Conflicts, etc.; and Measures and Efforts to Address the Impacts of Climate Change on Maritime Legal Order. Finally, the Committee members exchanged views with each other.

Based on research conducted by the Committee, the key discussion points are summarized as follows.

[Disarmament and non-proliferation related to LAWS and conventional weapons under the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, etc.]

(Regulation of LAWS and Japan’s role)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that given that the purpose of LAWS regulation is to legally regulate military powers, and that the most important issue is to prepare a legal instrument for that purpose, even if the level of legal regulation is low, discussion should first progress from soft law to hard law; and given that if a disarmament treaty was created outside the framework of the Convention on Certain Conventional Weapons (CCW), military powers would not join, and there would be no treaty to regulate military powers, first, a humanitarian law treaty should be established within the framework of the CCW with work focused on drafting articles

- that are acceptable to military powers, which can then lead to a disarmament treaty.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, as seen in the spread of generative AI, advances in technology in fields related to LAWS have been extremely rapid, and there are widely shared concerns about whether meaningful results can be achieved by simply continuing discussions along the same lines as before; if hard law cannot be created in a timely manner, soft law should govern at the practical level; and trends in the comprehensive regulation of AI and regulations on the military use of AI need to be outlined.
 - An opinion was expressed to the effect that the question of whether AI can be controlled by humans is an important part of discussions around LAWS regulation; and particularly with regard to highly autonomous machines that rewrite their own commands, given that they could deviate from the military's chain of command, certain regulations should be considered, and prohibition and restriction norms should be established for this purpose.
 - An opinion was expressed to the effect that given that civilian casualties would be inevitable if LAWS are deployed on the battlefield, a culture of preventive measures to regulate LAWS should be established before that.
 - An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in advancing LAWS regulation within the CCW framework, Japan could play an important role through: clarifying and discussing the distinction between anti-personnel and anti-material uses as well as the distinction between humanitarian law and disarmament law, and coordinating discussion within the humanitarian law framework with agreement by military powers; focusing on consensus-building on soft law, such as political declarations with the participation of China and Russia; and leading discussions on the final stages of setting specific conditions for the legitimate use of autonomous weapons.
 - An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while international regulation of LAWS remains unrealized, each country should regulate LAWS within its own borders based on a certain shared understanding; and it is important to create domestic foundations

for that regulation and to be able to explain internationally that LAWS are being regulated by law.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in creating a treaty to regulate LAWS, the National Diet should discuss broad principles, political declarations, best practices and so on in parallel with progresses in science and technology; and solidifying ideas through such discussion on what measures Japan will ultimately take and on how the treaty should look would facilitate understanding among the Japanese public and be easier for the relevant ministries and agencies to take action.

(Efforts and challenges in ensuring implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in Russia's aggression against Ukraine, Ukraine, which is a party to the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC), should be urged to report and investigate any suspected use of anti-personnel landmines by Ukraine as such use would be a violation of the convention no matter what the reason, and counsel to abide by the convention should be offered to Ukraine in consideration of support for landmine clearance and other activities in Ukraine; and, if Ukraine's use of landmines is permitted, given that it would undermine the normative strength of the convention, parties to the convention should work together to speak out against countries that use anti-personnel landmines, while urging parties to exercise restraint in their use of anti-personnel landmines.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in order to instill the norm that anti-personnel landmines are prohibited under international law, Japan should direct its message at the Meeting of the States Parties that the use of anti-personnel landmines is prohibited "under any circumstances," regardless of accession to the convention.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, of the 12 countries that have the capability of producing anti-personnel landmines and are still producing, Myanmar and Russia in particular are a major concern, and so Japan, in cooperation with ASEAN countries,

could encourage Myanmar, a non-signatory, to participate as an observer at the Fifth Review Conference in 2024.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although the number of victims of anti-personnel landmines has more than halved compared to when the APMBC came into force, it is still a substantial number, and given that more than 80% of victims are civilians—half of whom are children—stronger efforts are needed.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that given that the majority of aid for landmine measures is allocated to landmine detection, clearance, and similar measures, while the amount of support to victims is limited to 5% of the total budget, and given that much of the aid is limited to a few countries, the balance of budget between landmine measures and victim assistance and the balance of regional distribution needs to be reviewed.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there is a problem in victim assistance in that the assistance does not reach rural areas due to mechanisms of the country receiving the aid, so recipient countries need to be encouraged to form national programs to ensure that the aid is well utilized.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that since there are cases where it is the military that deals with the clearance of anti-personnel landmines, the National Diet should give consideration to designing programs that include flexible operations such as for cooperation that may fall between Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Official Security Assistance (OSA).

(Efforts and challenges related to the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM))

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although the CCM is also very important as part of the same trend of humanitarian disarmament treaties as the APMBC, the number of parties to the convention, which entered into force in 2010, remains at 112, so Japan—as a party to the convention—should make every effort to make the convention universal.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while it is considered from Article 1 of the CCM that investing in and financing companies that manufacture cluster bombs is a prohibited activity, and private financial institutions in Japan also issued guidelines in 2017 that they would not invest in or finance such companies, certain restrictions should be considered for the Government Pension Investment Fund (GPIF) as it has not yet issued such guidelines and holds shares in United States companies that manufacture cluster bombs.

(Problem of asymmetry under the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention, etc.)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, regarding the possession and use of anti-personnel landmines in the war in Russia and Ukraine, there exists an asymmetry between Russia (which is not a party to the APMBC) and Ukraine (which is a party to the convention) in that only Ukraine is in violation of the convention; and in order to prevent parties from withdrawing from the convention in order to avoid a detrimental position, as with nuclear disarmament, consideration needs to be given to negative security assurances in the APMBC and CCM to make non-parties to commit to not using anti-personnel landmines against a party to the conventions.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that one way of dealing with the problem of asymmetry would be to create a disadvantageous situation for industry, such as not purchasing weapons from countries that are not party to the APMBC. Another opinion was expressed to the effect that, given that in autocratic states, there are many state-run military companies and weapons end up being traded among states that are not party to the convention, it is important to create soft laws such as political declarations that include negative security assurances.

(Problem regulating explosive weapons in populated areas (EWIPA))

- Regarding explosive weapons in populated areas (EWIPA), which are a problem in the Gaza Strip, an opinion was expressed to the effect that soft law was established in

2022 in the form of a political declaration that EWIPA would not be used; and in view of the increasing number of civilians killed and wounded, in addition to regulating weapons, consideration should be given to expanding the soft law to comprehensively regulate EWIPA, and eventually make it into a treaty.

(Role of civil society)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that a nonpartisan league of Diet members to consider LAWS should be created and it should continue dialogue with civil society, which has a wide range of information.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that NGOs and other civil society movements have been a considerable force in promoting the APMBC and the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), so to overcome the current situations in Ukraine and in the Gaza Strip, there needs to be increased public opinion worldwide.
- Regarding the APMBC and the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM), an opinion was expressed to the effect that, with civil society being aware of the sacrifices being made and quickly communicating that awareness to decision-makers, the partnership between the two has led to greater awareness of the problem; and that ongoing efforts from the perspective of civilian victims serve as a firm foundation of the conventions.

(Japan's foreign and security policy)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in addition to regulating weapons, it is important to regulate war and to deal with the issue peacefully and through diplomatic means; and now is a critical time, but Japan has not had the opportunity to communicate with its neighbors.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while simultaneously managing confrontation and cooperation is a significant challenge in this era of confrontation between major powers, dialogue with neighboring countries is also an extremely important element of cooperation.

(UN reform and efforts for disarmament and non-proliferation)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, currently, the weakest link in the chain of elements in the disarmament and non-proliferation framework (namely, negotiation, ratification, domestic implementation, mutual verification, and dealing with non-compliance) is the response to non-compliance; and that, in order to discipline disarmament and non-proliferation through the rule of law, it is important for the Security Council to function in a way that it can respond to non-compliance, so UN reform is still needed.

[Nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation under the FMCT, etc.]

(Significance of the FMCT)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that promoting FMCT is meaningful as moving towards a world without nuclear weapons and Japan's active efforts for initiating negotiations are of great significance from the perspective of demonstrating its commitment to disarmament.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although the FMCT has various issues inherent in it being a treaty, it is necessary to pursue the treaty approach because: (1) the concept of a non-discriminatory, multilateral, and effectively verifiable treaty is widely accepted; (2) countries understand what it means for a treaty to be legally binding; and (3) complex points of contention can be resolved through negotiation; and therefore, it is important to endeavor to resolve the concerns of countries that are reluctant to pursue the treaty.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the possible significance of creating the FMCT while the TPNW—which bans all development and production of nuclear weapons—is already in effect is: (1) it focuses on fissile materials and enforces exhaustive bans and regulations, including technical verification; and (2) the FMCT may be joined by countries possessing nuclear weapons, none of which have joined the TPNW.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in nuclear disarmament, the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT), and the TPNW are mutually complementary, and strengthening the international control of fissile materials through the FMCT and developing a verification system would also be beneficial in enhancing the effectiveness of the NPT and the TPNW.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while there are issues in elaborating on the text of the TPNW and NPT, there should a separate treaty that defines in detail the common elements; international agreement needs to be reached on the scope of controlled fissile materials, control methods, and monitoring methods under the FMCT; and the process of discussion for agreement itself should be seen as an important step toward nuclear disarmament.

(Issues and efforts in starting negotiations for an FMCT)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the FMCT would be neither credible nor effective unless it makes clear that its purpose is nuclear disarmament with the aim of a world without nuclear weapons, and unless it imposes restrictions universally on all countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that for the FMCT to truly contribute to nuclear disarmament, it also needs to impose restrictions on countries possessing nuclear weapons using existing stockpiles to maintain or modernize their nuclear weapons.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, since negotiations for an FMCT are unlikely to proceed in a form that locks in any disparities in nuclear weapons, in order for negotiations to proceed, it would be necessary to also include existing stockpiles in the scope of regulation.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in the current situation where nuclear arms proliferation is proceeding amid endless discussion on the problems of specific countries, it is important to discuss a treaty for the purpose of forming a norm that

nuclear arms proliferation itself is a problem.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important for Japan to demonstrate its determination and continue efforts to resolve the global dilemmas of nuclear deterrence and nuclear disarmament.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, if the objective is creating a treaty, consideration needs to be given to other forums of negotiation besides the Conference on Disarmament (CD) in Geneva.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important to express political intent for the broad direction of participating in the TPNW for the elimination of nuclear weapons, and to promote discussion of the FMCT as one of the specific points of discussion.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while it is difficult to promote a ban on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons with the consensus of the international community, the FMCT should be seen as one of a large packet of initiatives to pursue greater consensus through a combination of formal treaties and informal measures while considering the architecture of multilateral disarmament.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the FMCT is about inaction—a ban on the production of fissile materials—and requires an approach to trust-building based on ideas that is different from the method of accumulating best practices.
- Regarding concerns held by China and Pakistan, which believe that those nations at a disadvantage in term of security should catch up, an opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important that efforts be made to resolve such concerns through thorough dialogue.

(Issues and efforts to be addressed amid difficulties in starting negotiations for an FMCT)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in view of the fact that negotiations for an FMCT are unlikely to start in the immediate future, in the lead up to initiating

negotiations, Japan should: (1) make the moratorium on the production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons more universal; (2) improve transparency; (3) deepen discussions about responsible action by nuclear-weapon states; and (4) engage in strategic dialogue with China for candid discussion on their mutual concerns and resolution of those concerns.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in the current situation where pursuing the treaty approach is difficult in the short term, as an interim alternative approach, a way forward should be sought in non-binding measures that does not impose legal obligations, which may be acceptable to nuclear-weapon states.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while the TPNW lays out the broad direction for the elimination of nuclear weapons and the NPT confirms that nuclear-weapon states will also fulfill their obligations, if an FMCT that deals with the specific points will not become a treaty immediately, there will need be discussion on the whole package, such as a moratorium and political declarations to deal with the issue.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in addition to urging China to ensure transparency—which is a universal principle of nuclear disarmament—and to declare a moratorium on production, there should be discussions between China and the United States about the reasons for China’s pursuit of nuclear disarmament, and while supporting these discussions, Japan should communicate its concerns to both countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, rather than placing China at the forefront of discussion, efforts that result in a change in China’s attitude would be better, such as regulatory measures being determined by a UN General Assembly resolution that can be adopted by a majority vote, mechanisms for checking the implementation of such measures being gradually secured, and universal efforts being made so that countries with insufficient initiatives could be identified in the international community.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan needs to make approaches to China

and at the same time devise a strategy for cooperation with other countries so that China has no choice but to engage in a production moratorium.

(Significance and nature of non-binding measures as an interim alternative approach to the FMCT)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the implementation of non-binding measures already established in the final documents of the NPT Review Conference and in UN General Assembly resolutions—such as continuation of the production moratorium or a new declaration, encouragement for the destruction or conversion of facilities producing fissile materials for nuclear weapons, and requests for information on their inventories—is expected to build confidence among states and dispel the concerns of countries that are reluctant to pursue a treaty.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the problem with non-binding measures is that there are no institutionalized mechanisms for monitoring implementation of the measures, and if such mechanisms were introduced, they would be even more significant.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that two points to note about non-binding measures are: (1) they are not binding and may be completely ignored by countries that oppose their introduction; and (2) their temporary nature may become perpetual; regarding point (1), significance should instead be found in the fact that political pressure will be put on countries that do not implement the measure by making their non-implementation status public; and regarding point (2), as long as the measure is implemented and production of fissile materials for nuclear weapons is stopped, positive elements should be found in the emergence of a situation similar to as if the treaty was binding.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although the Japanese government has made sustained, steady efforts for the FMCT, as its next step, it should work on setting up a mechanism to monitor implementation.

(Participation in the TPNW)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that basic recognition that nuclear weapons are unacceptable and inhumane weapons for any nation needs to be constantly affirmed; and to this end, Japan should actively participate in Meetings of States Parties to the TPNW while demonstrating its political intent to join the TPNW, and should lead substantive discussion toward a ban on the production of fissile materials, strengthening control, and verification.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although Japan should ratify the TPNW given the importance of conveying the voices of victims as quickly and widely as possible, as an initial step, Japan could participate in the Meetings of States Parties to the Treaty as an observer, fulfilling the role of sharing its experiences and programs for victim support; and thinking from the perspective of victims would be the most effective deterrent.

(Dealing with Japan's stock of non-military fissile material)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, amid arguments that enriched uranium and plutonium that could be used as material for nuclear weapons should also be regulated by the FMCT, as well as the need for measures to strengthen the perspective and transparency of comprehensive management of these materials, Japan's stock of approximately 45 tons of plutonium is a notable amount for a non-nuclear-weapon state, although it is under IAEA safeguards and cannot be converted for nuclear weapons; but to avoid raising doubts in the international community, Japan needs to halt the full-scale operation of the reprocessing plant in Rokkasho Village, Aomori Prefecture so that no more plutonium is produced.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan can take the initiative in this area—taking the initiative to significantly reduce Japan's considerable stock of plutonium would send a message to other countries that they must take this issue seriously.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, even if Japan leads by example, it could

provide an excuse to other countries; and therefore, Japan should take the initiative by reducing its stock of plutonium and also find a way to dispose of its stockpile.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that unless Japan clarifies its stance on its large stockpile of separated plutonium for non-military use, its position will become more difficult.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although plutonium has a multiplicity of uses and there is no opposition to its use as long as it is based on the general principle of preventing its diversion to military uses, Japan's plutonium stockpile is excessive; and while transferring the overseas portion may be an option, Japan needs to show how the domestic portion is used.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, to prevent Japan's considerable stock of separated plutonium from arousing groundless suspicion, and in light of the trend in international discussion that the FMCT will not be effective unless regulations are strengthened to cover all fissile material that could be converted for use in nuclear weapons, Japan can have a positive impact on the world if it drastically reduces its stockpile of separated plutonium and reverses its current nuclear fuel policy of increasing plutonium.

[Humanitarianism]

(Issues and efforts in humanitarian assistance activities)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that prolongation and urbanization of conflicts results in severe harm to civilians and heavy damage to civilian infrastructure due to attacks on densely populated areas; in addition, prolonged urban warfare requires a long period of time for infrastructure recovery, and often forces development agencies to withdraw for security reasons; and in this context, humanitarian aid organizations need to provide sustainable humanitarian measures.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that most conflicts are forgotten at a very early stage, and the question of how to shine light on these conflicts and on the people living

in them is a major challenge for humanitarian aid organizations.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that people working in medical facilities and engaged in medical activities under the protection of international humanitarian law, as well as ambulances and other transport vehicles, have been attacked; and for such situations, Japan should show leadership by making approaches to states and other parties involved in conflicts to comply with the protection of medical care as stipulated by international humanitarian law.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there have been cases in which humanitarian aid activities permitted under international humanitarian law have been restricted by the anti-terrorism policies of individual countries or hindered by international sanctions; and work should be undertaken to ensure that no humanitarian assistance is hampered by any international sanctions or state sanctions.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, amid prolonged conflicts, how humanitarian aid organizations and development agencies collaborate while being aware of the gray area between humanitarian assistance and development assistance is a very important issue.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that due consideration should be given to aspects that, by making a clear distinction between humanitarian aid activities and development/peace-building, neutrality and security of humanitarian aid activities can be ensured in conflict zones, and emergency medical care and humanitarian aid activities can be carried out.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although emergency humanitarian aid is essential, a view must always be maintained that allows for a smooth transition to future development aid.

(Significance of international humanitarian law and the need to ensure its observance)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that respect for the rules of international

humanitarian law is essential for saving lives, alleviating suffering, and maintaining the possibility of dialogue and peace in the future.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although under international humanitarian law, the two fundamental principles—namely, the principle of distinction and the prohibition on inflicting unnecessary suffering—apply to all weapons and methods of combat, since prohibitions based on general principles may lead to conflicting interpretations, the content of the principles need to be further expanded, and specific treaties like the Convention on Cluster Munitions (CCM) should be created.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although ensuring implementation of international humanitarian law is of utmost importance and the International Committee of the Red Cross and fact-finding mechanisms are in place, because the response to violations in particular is extremely weak and there is little that can be done once a conflict has begun, preventive diplomacy is important to prevent a conflict from actually starting or to quell a conflict that has broken out so that it does not lead to an armed conflict.
- Regarding the dissemination of international humanitarian law in Japan, an opinion was expressed to the effect that cross-ministerial efforts through the National International Humanitarian Law Committee are important.
- In terms of encouraging other countries to comply with international humanitarian law, an opinion was expressed to the effect that, while it is important to send a strong message in bilateral and multilateral forums, the first step is to promote understanding of international humanitarian law.

(Role to be played and efforts to be undertaken by Japan in practicing and rebuilding humanitarianism)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, at a time when multilateralism is hampered by divisions in the international community and peace is wavering, Japan should elevate international humanitarian law in political priorities and make appeals

at bilateral and multilateral forums for compliance with international humanitarian law; and at important international meetings, Japan should actively lead discussions and play a role in coordinating opinions on the various issues faced by humanitarian assistance.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is hoped that support for humanitarian assistance through ODA will be continued and expanded by promoting consideration for realization of the international target of increasing ODA to 0.7% of gross national income (GNI) as envisaged in the revised Development Cooperation Charter.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan, which has often taken a neutral position in civil wars and international conflicts, and which has long provided development assistance as a major donor even before the outbreak of conflicts, is expected to: (1) urge both parties to a conflict to comply with international humanitarian law; (2) urge the governments of the countries involved to remove any national policies and regulations that restrict the implementation of humanitarian aid activities; and (3) lead efforts in the international community to ensure that humanitarian aid is provided impartially and truly based on people's needs.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in practicing humanitarianism, from the perspective of developing human resources capable of responding to humanitarian crises, it needs to be made more acceptable and there needs to be more encouragement in Japanese society for humanitarian aid workers to go into the field; and the situation in Japan would be improved if a law similar to the one in France could be enacted requiring employers to have positions available to workers who return after going on a humanitarian aid mission.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, with a national policy of being a peace-loving nation, given that Japan's primary contribution to building a new international order is in the form of human resources, an important issue for the country is increasing the number of Japanese staff working at international organizations and humanitarian aid organizations; and consideration should be given to how to develop

the environment for this purpose.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there are ways of increasing the number of Japanese staff working at international organizations and humanitarian aid organizations that do not involve legal reform, for example, creating model employment contracts that enable employees to return to work when upon their return to Japan.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan, which has included the right to live in peace in its Constitution, and which has no major geopolitical interests in conflict-prone areas even though it is a member of the West, can play an important role in preventing conflicts and responding to humanitarian crises.

(Assessment of and efforts for the situation in Gaza)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that humanitarian aid is currently facing an unprecedented crisis, and given that the situation in Gaza could change the future of humanitarian aid, the governments of Japan and other countries concerned are strongly urged to take action for a full and lasting ceasefire.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that even if Israel's assertion that its attacks on northern Gaza were an exercise of its right to self-defense against the Hamas attacks, the widespread, indiscriminate attacks on civilians and civilian objects—let alone hospitals—have been widely criticized as genocide, and there is absolutely no room to consider them lawful under international humanitarian law.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, regarding the Israeli attack on the Gaza Strip, with the International Court of Justice (ICJ) having issued an order on provisional measures to prevent genocide and killing, the Japanese government should not avoid evaluation under international law on the grounds that it is unable to ascertain the facts.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is not that the facts cannot be confirmed through daily news reports and other means, Israel's actions are deserving of

condemnation because they depart from the requirements of the right to self-defense—namely necessity and proportionality—and they violate the fundamental principles of international humanitarian law.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan should condemn and demand the cessation of violations of international humanitarian law, including on the part of Hamas, and in addition, if the intent to commit genocide can be proven, Japan has an obligation to make various efforts based on the Genocide Convention.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that a fair number of forces support the position of Israel; and the fact the international community is not necessarily wholly critical of Israel is one of the reasons why the international community has been unable to stop Israel's attacks on the Gaza Strip.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that a way out of the current situation should be pursued, while working to resolve the long-term issue of Palestine.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, given that current systems cannot adequately meet the humanitarian needs of Gaza and that it is critical to avoid disruptions of aid considering the magnitude of the needs, the support of the United Nations Relief and Works Agency for Palestine Refugees in the Near East (UNRWA) is essential.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, if some UNRWA staff members were to have links with Hamas, that in itself would be a major problem, but the suspension of funding to UNRWA amounts to a collective punishment; and as long as it is necessary for humanitarian aid, it is a problem to suspend funding.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, at the worst point in the humanitarian crisis in Gaza, the fact that countries are temporarily suspending funding to UNRWA is inconsistent with the ICJ's order for provisional measures; and the Japanese government should call on other governments to reconsider the suspension of funding as soon as possible.

(Issues concerning Japan's national security policy)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, with respect to the possibility of armed conflicts between the United States and China in Taiwan, it is important for Japan to make routine approaches for easing of tensions in regions that include Taiwan, China, the United States, and other countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the government and we Japanese should be more acutely aware that the right of the people of Okinawa to live in peace is clearly threatened by the situation in which they may be attacked because of the presence of the bases in Okinawa.

[Food and energy security and human security]

(Impacts of climate change and conflicts on security, and addressing those impacts)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that climate change and conflicts pose a major risk to food security because climate change causes temperatures to rise, sea levels to rise, and disasters to occur more frequently, which impairs biodiversity and which in turn adversely affects the quality and quantity of agriculture; while wars involve oil spills, fires, and bombardment associated with military operations, which cause large amounts of greenhouse gases and toxic gases to be released and water to be polluted.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the protracted war in Ukraine and the continuing instability in the Middle East have reaffirmed the need to increase the energy self-sufficiency rate in many developing countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that poverty, conflicts, and structural inequality are deeply interconnected, and since 2010, there has been a dramatic increase in violent conflicts, along with an increase in climate-change-related disasters.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that multilateralism plays an important role in a polarized world facing deep turmoil, such as the proliferation of conflicts, the escalation of emergency situations due to climate change, and the growth of inequality.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that are expectations for Japan's continued leadership in promoting multilateralism, including at the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), as well as for Japan's contribution in collaborative public- and private-sector efforts for the promotion of SDG investment and international awareness-raising activities for the achievement of the SDGs.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that expanding forests and breaking the vicious cycle of converting forests to farmland for food production, which is deficient due to the expansion of biofuel production (leading to an increase in CO₂ emissions), is one way to reduce CO₂ concentration.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that agriculture, livestock production, and other forms of farming, which are likely to be most affected by climate change, are difficult for single countries to address alone, and require a combination of technical assistance and advocacy for policies in the countries of import.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, from a geopolitical perspective, in addition to traditional military power, technological power, and economic power, a country's international contribution to climate security will also become one of its great influences.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while areas that produce rare metals will grow in importance in the future, the Middle East and other regions that are suppliers of fossil fuels will experience a power vacuum due to their declining importance; and, therefore, the international community, including Japan, needs to take measures to stabilize the security environment.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is estimated that there will be 210 million climate refugees by 2050, and measures must be implemented immediately to prevent this from happening.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, amid the convergence of all manner of issues, including climate change, food crises, and access to education, the importance of human security is growing, particularly in developing countries; and the question

of how to position human security in the international agenda is important for the UN Summit of the Future in September 2024 and for post-SDGs discussions.

(Japan's issues and efforts surrounding climate change)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the Arctic Ocean is extremely important as a sea lane in the North Pacific in the event that tankers bound for Japan from the Middle East are unable to navigate the South China Sea, the East China Sea or the Western Pacific due to some emergency; and given that ice will continue to melt in the Arctic Ocean, Japan needs to consider the security of the Arctic Ocean.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, if the Arctic Ocean becomes navigable, Japan must address securing ports, supply bases, and base functions as part of its security policy.
- In terms of Japan's climate change policies, an opinion was expressed to the effect that it is most important for Japan to visualize the economic benefits of not emitting CO₂, by quickly introducing carbon pricing to put a price on CO₂ emissions.
- As for carbon dioxide capture and storage (CCS) technology, an opinion was expressed to the effect that, while injecting carbon dioxide into empty oil wells is the least expensive option, Japan's plan to inject it into the offshore seabed is extremely costly, and such costs would be better spent on promoting renewable energy.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in order to promote discussion of decarbonization, the understanding that Japan itself will be affected by climate change if it does not change its lifestyles toward decarbonization should be promoted.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, looking at the reports of international public-opinion polls, while Japanese people recognize global warming as a vital issue, they do not think that they are responsible for it and must take action; and that perception gap needs to be filled.
- Regarding the low awareness of the need to take action on global warming, an opinion was expressed to the effect that lessons can be learned from the good practices of

various countries, for example Sweden, which emphasizes environmental education, and New Zealand, which has developed an education campaign on climate change.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while companies began voluntarily making decarbonization declarations from around 2015 when the Paris Agreement was adopted, and local governments began making similar declarations from around 2019 based on the belief that decarbonization would not be achieved in time through discussion at the Conference of the Parties to the UN Framework Convention on Climate Change (COP), Japanese companies, which began initiating change a few years later, are now moving at a very rapid pace; and given also the perceived expectation that new technologies will emerge, the government needs to take a policy stance to ensure that companies motivated to decarbonize are not disadvantaged in the market.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, although, in Japan, decision-making is carried out only after the fact, once the problem becomes visible, for global environmental issues where cause-and-effect relationships are difficult to trace, examining a decision-making process that respects scientific knowledge would lay the groundwork for Japan to properly articulate its views on global warming.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, among the impacts of climate change, issues related to security in particular, such as rises in sea level, are relevant across all ministries and agencies; but because decision-making tends to be bureaucratically divided, meaning that no action is taken and issues are left unaddressed, politics is needed to tackle these problems; and it is hoped that Diet members will speak out to initiate cross-ministerial initiatives and dialogue.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, like the United States, it is important that Japan be able to see the impacts of climate change in a single report so that discussion can include diplomacy and defense as well.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, looking at the climate security policies of various countries since 2000, Japan has communicated little; and given this, it is

important for each ministry and agency to prepare a policy document on climate security and to communicate it in English.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in ensuring food and energy security, Japan should think of itself not as a “have-not” country, but rather as a country with renewable energy potential, and should establish mechanisms so that it can avoid importing energy; and regarding food, it is important for Japan to support new forms of domestic agricultural business.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the world has changed considerably since the current Strategic Energy Plan was formulated, and a new plan should be discussed with a view toward sufficient growth of renewable energy.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because renewable energy is variable, rather than simply increasing capacity, the system should be changed to one that properly uses what is generated by means of control on the demand side.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that cooperation between Japan and China on climate change and other issues entails some difficulties and should be handled on a case-by-case basis; but with regard to illegal fishing, there should be a scheme for cooperation at the level of the Japan Coast Guard and the China Coast Guard.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important for the Asia Zero Emission Community (AZEC) platform advocated by Japan to be steadily promoted.

(Importance of cooperation between Japan and the UNDP, and efforts for strengthening that cooperation, etc.)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the Humanitarian-Development-Peace Nexus (HDP Nexus) declaration jointly issued by Japan and the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) in 2023 is a good example of Japan’s leadership in the international community; and the cooperation between the Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) and the UNDP is also worthy of note.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important that the partnership between

Japan and the UNDP in common priority areas be further deepened, and that collaborative efforts be undertaken to address pressing challenges in each country.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan and the UNDP can further strengthen their collaboration in many aspects of the revised Development Cooperation Charter, such as contributing to peace and prosperity, human security in a new era of complex crises, and co-creating social value through dialogue with developing countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important to incorporate young people with a relatively high level of interest in social issues into platforms of international cooperation, as well as to provide them places where they can be actively involved and to promote people-to-people exchanges with recipient countries of Japan's ODA.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, amid the rising importance of disaster prevention, Japan's knowledge and information related to disaster prevention should be disseminated.

[Rising sea levels and maritime legal order]

(Legal responses to rising sea levels, and Japan's efforts)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the argument of fixing baselines raises various problems and requires caution from an interpretive point of view; for example, permanent fixation of baselines that is inconsistent with the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) raises issues related to the exercise of jurisdiction, and maintaining baselines that are not consistent with reality on nautical charts could be hazardous to navigation.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, under the interpretation of UNCLOS, maintaining a baseline once established is possible, but if it deviates significantly from the actual coastline, the legality and so on of baselines could be questioned by other countries; and given this, there needs to be some kind of consensus-building, such as adoption of interpretation agreement through a resolution of the UN General Assembly.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, as the argument for fixing baselines gains traction from a perspective of legal stability, given the possibility that new islands may appear in the future, if Japan and other countries insist on including new islands in the baselines while maintaining the fixation argument, it is foreseeable that such countries may become isolated in the international community.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it may be possible to separately explain the fixation of baselines to prevent existing rights and titles from being diminished by rising sea levels, and the preservation of newly emerged islands as a matter of national territory; but excessive claims to territorial seas and exclusive economic zones on the basis of new islands could be challenged by other countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that UNCLOS has a very delicately balanced structure; making revisions with respect to baselines could spread to other areas and could cause the current maritime legal order to collapse; and revising the convention, which is said to be diplomatically and politically impossible, would also be difficult because the revision process would take time and effort.
- Regarding the legal response to rising sea levels, an opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important for Japan to proactively put forward its own interpretive arguments concerning the formation of legal interpretation and other matters; and that Japan should make concrete proposals such as whether such an interpretation would address the current problems at the officials level.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that preventing the alteration of remote islands that are beyond the control and monitoring intended by the Act on the Review and Regulation of the Use of Real Estate Surrounding Important Facilities and on Remote Territorial Islands as well as lands that are important to Japan from a security perspective is extremely politically important in terms of security and has a complementary role in relation to rising sea levels and the Low-Tide Line Preservation Act.

(Efforts and challenges in relation to the impact of climate change on oceans, etc.)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that satellite observations since 1979 show that Arctic sea ice has been decreasing since observations first began, while no long-term trend of increase or decrease was observed in Antarctica, save for periodic fluctuations of a few years in length; however, since 2016, sea ice around the Southern Ocean has also been rapidly decreasing and has not recovered, prompting concerns that a wave of global warming is sweeping around the Antarctic.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that currently, sea levels are rising due to increasing thermal expansion caused by warming oceans; but if the Antarctic ice sheet shifts into a melting phase and sea levels rise rapidly, the rise in sea levels will not only be a crisis for southern islands, but also for the world's major cities located at zero meters above sea level, such as Tokyo, Osaka, and Nagoya.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, given Japan will suffer increasingly severe damage from more severe and large-scale natural disasters due to climate change, in terms of disaster countermeasures, natural disasters originating in the ocean will pose a greater threat than rising sea levels.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan is a highly disaster-prone country, facing earthquakes and many other issues that need to be addressed as a priority; and although the reality is that people stop short of thinking about climate change, urban planning is important, such as gradually relocating residential areas inland during town planning, and long-term planning should be incorporated into normal disaster countermeasures.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because Japan's innovation and the high accuracy of its observation data are reliable, it should continue to leverage these advantages to promote well-coordinated cooperation and dialogue with relevant countries, including its East Asian neighbors.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there is a new trend for researchers to provide data on ocean currents, ocean temperatures, and other conditions around Japan

so that fishers can use the data to fish more efficiently; and understanding maritime conditions is important because if such information can also be provided to East Asian countries to the extent possible and good relationships can be built, it will increase the number of countries that support Japan when some form of international opinion is sparked.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while the overall budget for science and technology has not decreased, there has been an increase in limited-purpose funds, and the same time, unrestricted budgets, such as Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research, have relatively declined, as have grants for operating expenses at universities and research institutes; and these facts are leading to a decline in Japan's competitiveness, the consequences of which are beginning to be reflected in the declining number of citations of Japanese research papers.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that grants for operating expenses, which contribute to the basic operation of research laboratories, are continuing to decline, and many research laboratories are barely operating by securing budgets from certain categories which offer a higher acceptance rate but relatively low amounts within Grants-in-Aid for Scientific Research; and given this situation, in order to develop human resources for the future, it is important to stop cutting grants for operating expenses and restore an environment in which university staff can engage in innovative research.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important to begin increasing university grants for operating expenses and to increase the budget for education and science, such as by issuing education bonds as an investment for the future.
- Regarding the development of maritime human resources, an opinion was expressed to the effect that, while some countries are strategically implementing maritime education from elementary and junior high school, the word "ocean" has finally been included in the official curriculum guidelines for elementary, junior high, and high schools in Japan from 2023; and consequently, it is hoped that the number of ocean-

related classes will increase in the future.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, of the polar regions, the effects of climate change are more severe in the Arctic, while the Antarctic is yet to feel the effects of rapid warming; and it is Japan's duty to carefully continue observing the signs of global warming and to lead the world in detecting the first signs in the Antarctic.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan, with its Syowa Station, has an important obligation to obtain and openly disclose observation data from East Antarctica because it is one of few developed countries with bases there.

(Efforts and issues to strengthen cooperation with Pacific island countries)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the 14 Pacific island countries are not uniform, with differences in their relationships with former colonial powers, how they are classified into sub-regions, and their population and scale of budget. Therefore, it is necessary to take into account their diversity and the frameworks to which they belong.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important to hold conferences together with Pacific island countries and a number of other like-minded countries to generate momentum for cooperation on the legal response to rising sea levels, based on the relationships of trust between Pacific island countries and Japan, including the Pacific Islands Leaders Meeting (PALM) that has endured for nearly 30 years.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in terms of technical cooperation with the Pacific Community, although assistance is already being provided by Australia, the European Union, and New Zealand, it is important for Japan to get involved responding to the potential need.
- Regarding technical cooperation for countries with limited legal human resources, an opinion was expressed to the effect that, although there is a problem that direct involvement in negotiations between countries on seabed boundaries and the like can lead to difficulties in relations with one of the negotiating countries, it is necessary to

examine the needs in this field while striking a good balance.

- Regarding China's influence on Pacific island countries, an opinion was expressed to the effect that as a background of confrontational situations between former colonial powers and the Pacific island countries that have been trying to increase their independence since the mid-2000s, Pacific island countries have used China as a bargaining chip to negotiate successfully with the former colonial powers.
- Regarding the discharge of ALPS treated water from the Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station into the sea, an opinion was expressed to the effect that, although Japan and the International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) are gradually dispelling misunderstandings by engaging in direct dialogue with Pacific island countries, third-party monitoring and the dissemination of information from Japan remain important; and since some people in the Marshall Islands and other places are distrustful of science due to nuclear testing and other incidents in the past, it is important that the safety of the ALPS treated water be communicated carefully.

Afterword

The principles enshrined in the Charter of the United Nations, such as sovereign equality, respect for territorial integrity, and the prohibition of the use of force, form the basis of the rule of law in the international community. However, ongoing Russian aggression against Ukraine remains a grave challenge to the existing international order and a serious threat to international peace and security. Furthermore, the Israeli-Palestinian situation that has persisted since October 2023 has resulted in a serious humanitarian crisis that threatens human dignity and, like the response to Russia's aggression against Ukraine, it demands that the international community make greater efforts to overcome division.

Under a research theme for this three-year term of "War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order," the Research Committee has looked squarely at the extremely harsh realities faced by the international community, and in the second year, has been researching disarmament and non-proliferation, practicing and rebuilding humanitarianism, the impacts of climate change and conflicts on ensuring food security, energy security, and human security, and the impact of climate change, including rising sea levels, on the maritime legal order.

In the second year of research, the Committee highlighted various arguments and also discussed measures for resolving the issues, including with regard to the significance and challenges of international rule-making on lethal autonomous weapons systems (LAWS); the current situation and future efforts for ensuring implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC); the issues faced by humanitarian aid activities amid situations of armed conflicts and the need to ensure compliance with international humanitarian law; efforts and problems with respect to initiating negotiations on a Fissile Material Cut-off Treaty (FMCT); and how to respond to the specific impacts of climate change and conflicts on security; and the need for a legal response to rising sea levels.

The new international order that the Committee will explore through its three-year research theme could serve as a guideline for Japan in addressing the various complex and

serious issues of war and peace in the reality of the international community. In its third and final year of research, building on the outcomes of the past two years of research, the Committee proposes to proceed with research to present its ideas on building a new international order.

Reference 1 Timeline of Deliberations

Diet session and date	Outline
212th (Extraordinary session) December 13, 2023	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election of directors to fill vacancies
213th (Ordinary session) February 7, 2024	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Election of a director to fill a vacancy • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” focusing on Efforts and Challenges in International Rule-Making on Lethal Autonomous Weapons Systems (LAWS) and Ensuring Implementation of the Anti-Personnel Mine Ban Convention (APMBC)) <p>(Voluntary testifiers)</p> <p>OGASAWARA Ichiro</p> <p>Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Permanent Representative of Japan to the Conference on Disarmament</p> <p>IWAMOTO Seigo</p> <p>Visiting Professor, Faculty of Law Director, Institute for World Affairs, Kyoto Sangyo University</p> <p>SHIMIZU Toshihiro</p> <p>Executive Director, Japan Campaign to Ban Landmines</p>
February 14	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“War, Peace, and Capacity for

Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” focusing on Armed Conflicts, etc. and Efforts and Challenges towards Practicing and Rebuilding Humanitarianism)

(Voluntary testifiers)

HANZAWA Shoko

Head of Delegation in Japan, International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC)

MURATA Shinjiro

General Director, Médecins Sans Frontières Japan

MATSUI Yoshiro

Emeritus Professor, Nagoya University

- February 21 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” focusing on Efforts and Challenges in Starting Negotiations for a Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT))

(Voluntary testifiers)

AKIYAMA Nobumasa

Professor, Graduate School of Law, Hitotsubashi University

ABE Tatsuya

Professor, School of International Politics, Economics and Communication, Aoyama Gakuin University

KAWASAKI Akira

Executive Committee Member, Peace Boat

- April 17 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” focusing on Efforts and Challenges in Ensuring International Food and Energy Security and Human Security, etc., in View of the Impact of Climate Change and Armed Conflicts, etc.)

(Voluntary testifiers)

KAMEYAMA Yasuko

Professor, Graduate School of Frontier Sciences, The University of Tokyo

AKIMOTO Kazumine

Senior Research Fellow, Ocean Policy Research Institute, The Sasakawa Peace Foundation

HADZIALIC Hideko

Director, United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) Representation Office in Tokyo

- May 15 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order” focusing on Measures and Efforts to Address the Impacts of Climate Change on Maritime Legal Order)

(Voluntary testifiers)

HARADA Naomi

Professor, Atmosphere and Ocean Research Institute, The University of Tokyo

HONDA Yusuke

Associate Professor, Graduate School of Maritime Sciences,
Kobe University

SHIOZAWA Hideyuki

Senior Program Officer, Pacific Island Nations Program
Team, Ocean Policy Research Institute, The Sasakawa
Peace Foundation

- May 22
- Exchange of views among Committee members (“War, Peace, and Capacity for Resolution in the 21st Century: Building a New International Order”)

- June 5
- Decision on the research report and its submission to the President of the House of Councillors
 - Decision to offer the report at a plenary meeting

Reference 2

List of Committee Members

Chair	INOUCHI Kuniko (LDP)
Director	IWAMOTO Tsuyohito (LDP)
Director	OCHI Toshiyuki (LDP)
Director	YOSHIKAWA Yumi (LDP)
Director	SHIOMURA Ayaka (CDP)
Director	MIYAZAKI Masaru (KP)
Director	KUSHIDA Seiichi (JIFE)
Director	HAMAGUCHI Makoto (DPFP-SR)
Director	IWABUCHI Tomo (JCP)
	AKAMATSU Ken (LDP)
	ASAHI Kentaro (LDP)
	IKUINA Akiko (LDP)
	UENO Michiko (LDP)
	KOYARI Takashi (LDP)
	NAGAI Manabu (LDP)
	MATSUKAWA Rui (LDP)
	MORI Masako (LDP)
	OHTSUBAKI Yuko (CDP)
	TAKAGI Mari (CDP)
	MIKAMI Eri (CDP)
	MIZUNO Motoko (CDP)
	NIIZUMA Hideki (KP)
	KANEKO Michihito (JIFE)
	IHA Yoichi (OW)
	SAITO Kenichiro (NHK Party)

Note:	LDP:	Liberal Democratic Party
	CDP:	The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and Social Democratic Party
	KP:	Komeito
	JIFE:	Japan Innovation Party and Free Education For All (Nippon Ishin and Free Education For All)
	DPFP-SR:	Democratic Party For the People and The Shin-Ryokufukai
	JCP:	Japanese Communist Party
	OW:	Okinawa Whirlwind
	NHK Party:	The Party to Protect People from NHK

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