

Provisional Translation

Research Report on International Affairs
(Interim Report)
(Excerpt)

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Research Committee on International Affairs
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I. Research Process

Research committees in the Senate are a unique feature of the Senate. Taking note of the fact that the Senate 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 219th Diet session (extraordinary session) on October 21, 2025, the Research Committee on International Affairs was established for the purpose of conducting long-term, comprehensive research on international affairs. The Committee decided that the research theme for this three-year term would be “Japan’s Role in Achieving World Peace and Stability.”

In the first year of research, during the 221st Diet session (special session), the Committee heard the respective opinions of voluntary testifiers and asked them questions on “The Current International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World Stability,” focusing on the following subjects: “General Overview (‘Country-First’ Policies and International Cooperation),” “The Situation in the Middle East and Africa and the Future of Japan’s Diplomacy,” “Challenges for Stability in East Asia,” and “Challenges Facing Europe and the Future of Japan’s Diplomacy” (March 4, April 15, May 13, and May 27, 2026). After these hearings, the Committee members exchanged views with each other on “The Current International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World Stability” (June 10, 2026).

II. Research Outline

(Omitted)

III. Summary of Key Discussion Points

[Disruption of the international order]

(The second Trump administration and the future of the international order)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that since the 2010s, particularly since the second half of that decade, a geopolitical world has reemerged, breaking down the formula for stability that was cultivated in the post-war era—international law, international systems, and economic interdependence—giving way to an era of maintaining balance in a world where raw power prevails.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the United States clearly remains a sea power, the degree of its engagement with other countries tends to become selective based on American values.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that as the United States ceases to view the world as a single interconnected strategic circuit and shifts toward demanding regional self-reliance and cost-sharing, a key issue for Japan is how far it can create conditions that will keep the United States engaged in the Indo-Pacific.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is important to shift from a model in which public goods are broadly supplied by the United States on a global scale to a model in which networks are formed with allies, like-minded countries, and even countries that are not necessarily like-minded, to share in the supply of public goods within those networks.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that not only in the United States but also in European societies, so-called conservative parties shifted toward the center or left in a way that failed to retain public support; and how to regain that support is an important issue for domestic societies, including in Japan.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the liberal international order will never return to what it was, marking the end of an era in which the United States paid the costs to sustain the liberal system; and this is not simply because of the Trump

administration, but rather due to structural changes such as two decades of war in the Middle East and the rise of emerging countries like China, India, and Brazil, meaning it will not return even after the Trump administration.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that “peace through strength” as advocated by the Trump administration means that while the United States is willing to exercise force against smaller countries, provided it incurs no major sacrifices itself, it will engage in strategic deals with military powers like Russia and China that are not based on the values of freedom and democracy.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that small- and medium-sized countries benefit the most from international law, and even if they cannot make deals through strength, upholding international agreements under multilateralism can make future prospects clearer; and while international law does not always guarantee all interests, it is extremely important as a common language that protects much of the international order.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because the balance breaks down when changing the status quo by force becomes a rational means, creating relationships among all states that render such actions irrational is important in maintaining the stability of the international order.

(Changes in the security environment surrounding Japan)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the primary characteristic of today’s international environment is that crises are not confined to a single theater, creating a situation where the three theaters of Europe, the Middle East, and the Indo-Pacific interact with Japan’s three fronts of Russia, China, and North Korea to amplify military capabilities and military activities.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the security environment in East Asia remains severe and risks are interlinked, in addition to competition in conventional forces, a shift toward multilayered deterrence, including nuclear

deterrence, is progressing.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the rapid expansion of China's strategic nuclear warheads is a cause for concern, and it is necessary to consider how to respond should China catch up to the levels agreed upon by the United States and Russia under the New START Treaty.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that as North Korea progresses in acquiring tactical nuclear weapons and long-range drones, altering the strategic environment on the Korean Peninsula, South Korea could end up considering the option of possessing nuclear weapons if it determines that the nuclear umbrella of the United States is insufficient.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan remaining a non-nuclear-weapon state is a major force in maintaining the NPT regime, and if Japan were to review the Three Non-Nuclear Principles, neighboring countries would inevitably react, weakening Japan's ability to uphold the NPT regime; therefore, Japan should protect the NPT regime.

(Japan's foreign and security policy)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the Japan-U.S. Alliance in an era of "America First," a shift in thinking is necessary—from the notion that engagement is automatically guaranteed by Article V of the Japan-U.S. Security Treaty to the notion that it is managed within the President's decision space; and how to handle burden-sharing within the alliance as well as sharing common values will become important.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, at the national level, it is necessary to strengthen social resilience (including infrastructure) alongside defense capabilities; furthermore, Japan should present and share with Asia methods for investment in human capital and new redistribution, along with a social model that does not sacrifice the middle class.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that at the regional level, initiatives are needed to strengthen economic, social, and human connections and expand the emphasis on the rule of law together with regional like-minded countries such as ASEAN countries, South Korea, Australia, and New Zealand; and from a long-term perspective, persistent efforts to build forums for dialogue represent a role that Japan, historically, should play; and that Japan should make preparations for future arms control, disarmament, and confidence building in East Asia, and continue intellectual efforts such as promoting diplomacy to ease regional tensions, as seen in proposals for an Asian version of the OSCE.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that at the global level, while maintaining a rules-based international order is becoming difficult, Global South countries, which will drive future global growth, do not desire disorder either; and a country like Japan is required to make efforts to maintain spaces where certain rules exist by collaborating with those countries while continuing ODA and other forms of support.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that enhancing deterrence without dialogue is impossible; and while the cornerstone of Japanese diplomacy is Japan-United States relations—which grew into an alliance based on the shared values of freedom and democracy between both countries —the Japan-United States alliance relationship under the current “America First” policy has become something entirely different.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that rather than acting bilaterally, Japan needs to organize its relations with China multilaterally by collaborating with ASEAN, South Korea, Australia, and other partners; and utilizing the Comprehensive and Progressive Agreement for Trans-Pacific Partnership (CPTPP) to include China, Taiwan, South Korea, and the European Union would serve as a signal of intent to contain China while maintaining free trade, making it necessary to emphasize Asia-Pacific cooperation alongside a Free and Open Indo-Pacific.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while exporting defense equipment helps

recipient countries, it invites backlash from their adversaries; therefore, it should be recognized that decisions closely tied to diplomatic strategy are required.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in the course of making defense equipment transfers more flexible, regarding the supply of equipment that affects war sustainability, the concept of mutual cooperation among like-minded countries to build reserve capacity is important.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the trust Japan has cultivated as a peace-loving nation by refraining from arms exports until now should be cherished; however, at a time when the major premise of the significant defense role played by the United States that made this possible is changing, protecting Japan's brand as a peace-loving nation will be a major challenge.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that deterrence and dialogue are not mutually contradictory, and Japan should pursue both in parallel in its diplomacy more than ever before.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that as the role of the United States changes, Japan needs to seriously discuss national measures to secure greater autonomy; meanwhile, as efforts will be required to find a point of stability to prevent an unchecked spiral of military expansion regionally and globally, Japan possesses an accumulation of knowledge regarding arms control and disarmament that has been cultivated worldwide, and should collaborate with Europe, Canada, and other partners to lead dialogue diplomacy and future discussions on arms control and disarmament in Asia.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the best form for Japan is to become a nation capable of exercising strong influence over the United States, like the United Kingdom under the former Thatcher administration for instance; and rather than merely doing what pleases the United States, it is necessary for Japanese diplomacy to hold leverage over the United States and strengthen its influence.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that for Japan, the rule of law is national

interest itself; and even if the world becomes one where major powers brandish unilateralism, Japan must continue to live within the rule of law and multilateralism.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that as maintaining the conventional international order becomes difficult, Japan should collaborate with Global South countries, which will increase their presence in the future international community, and fulfill its role as a responsible state that supports spaces where rules exist.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while sincerely confronting discontent over widening disparities and living hardships is the most important duty of politics, being swept up in short-term emotionalism or exclusive “Country-First” Policies risks undermining long-term national interests, including peace and stability; and amid a shaking international order, Japan must not be swept away by short-term turbulence, but must maintain a long-term perspective and continue persistent efforts toward world stability.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in Japanese diplomacy, rather than stoking confrontation or tension, building practical security through dialogue is important.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while debate emphasizing deterrence is growing in Japan, a balance between dialogue and deterrence should be sought by calmly observing changes in the United States, utilizing collaboration with like-minded countries and knowledge of disarmament, and promoting dialogue diplomacy that leverages Japan’s brand as a peace-loving nation.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that extreme politics that incite social division or xenophobia should be rejected, and peaceful diplomacy that places importance on dialogue should be carried out through to completion, while advocating the steadfast maintenance of an international order based on universal values and principles such as freedom, democracy, human rights, and the rule of law.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, while relying solely on deterrence or creating an imbalance of military power risks triggering escalation, alongside the

reaffirmed importance of deterrence, the basic direction of Japan strengthening its defense capabilities to a certain extent to prevent a security vacuum is appropriate; however, Japan need not fully absorb the decline in the power of the United States, and calm debate, including on cost-effectiveness, must be conducted primarily within the National Diet.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that democratic information disclosure and deep public understanding are essential in the process of discussing the ideal state of defense capabilities, and given concerns that information disclosure regarding Japan's security is scarce compared to other countries and that the phrase "public understanding" may be nothing more than an empty slogan, the government is strongly urged to engage in honest information disclosure and dialogue with the public due to the importance of democratic control over security and national defense.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in order to respond to irreversible changes in the United States, Japan itself needs to build multilayered diplomatic relations.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the general principle of Japan's security should continue to be centered on the Japan-U.S. Alliance, rather than subserviently following the United States, Japan must firmly protect its national interests and deepen the alliance into a more equal relationship amid a time when shared values are wavering under a policy of "America First."
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that strengthening cooperation with countries that share values and interests—particularly middle powers—is important; and rather than relying on a United States-centered hub-and-spoke relationship, given the need to build layered relationships encompassing South Korea, Australia, ASEAN, Canada, Europe, and Global South countries, Japan needs to demonstrate leadership in both economic and security spheres while strategically utilizing multilateral frameworks such as the CPTPP.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the path Japan has taken as a peace-loving nation and the achievements built up along the way are not a shell to be discarded, but a brand unique to Japan that other countries cannot imitate; and leveraging this asset to continuously advocate a free and open international order and the rule of law while exercising diplomatic capability is precisely the role of Japanese diplomacy toward world stability.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, regarding how to approach the United States, borrowing the words of a voluntary testifier, determining the form of alliance burden-sharing and how to share values represents an extremely important point; and it is necessary to discern the fundamental nature and transformation of the United States and to redesign Japan-United States relations.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that facing complex crises such as nuclear threats, climate change, and the rise of emerging technologies, and amid the shaking of the rules-based international order, Japan should draw a line against politics that seeks to gain its energy by inciting division and confrontation, and under the basic line of aiming for centrist politics that encompasses the public, continue to sincerely pursue Japan's role in achieving world peace and stability.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while present world peace is being shattered by war and conflict, Japan is now in a position where its diplomacy is expected to play a role in actively resolving international issues; and in an era where the international situation changes by the hour, in order to prepare the governing party of the time to make decisions rapidly, communication among political parties should take place on a regular basis, making it necessary to establish a forum such as a parliamentary league for peace in a format where all political parties participate.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there are strong concerns that not only military conflicts but also various forms of information warfare and cyberattacks are combining to infringe upon national security, leading to crises that threaten the public.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that what is required of Japanese politics amid turbulent times is to act with a posture of sovereign independence—neither depending on other countries nor being complacent with the peace achieved to date—demonstrate leadership aimed at harmony among countries, and pursue the national interests gained thereby; and this is precisely the path toward true peace that Japan should pursue.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while maintaining the Japan-United States alliance relationship is important, it must not be one where Japan blindly does as it is told and becomes involved in a contingency while lacking autonomy; and regarding tense diplomacy toward China, a calm response is required, as diplomacy that merely gets pushed around by the United States and China cannot protect the lives of the public or the stability of their livelihoods.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that with Japan's food self-sufficiency rate remaining slumped at 38% on a calorie basis, Japan should rectify its overseas dependence on seeds, fertilizer, and energy, and firmly promote agriculture as a national policy; and that by having the State responsibly compensate the income of domestic producers, Japan will establish truly self-reliant food security so that the source of life is not controlled by other countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the Pandemic Agreement adopted at the World Health Assembly and subsequent discussions on its implementation, it is important to ensure under the name of public health that recommendations and decisions by international organizations do not unfairly restrict or infringe upon Japan's sovereignty or fundamental human rights, such as freedom of movement for the public, and the right to choose medical care; and the right to make major decisions concerning the lives of the Japanese public should rest entirely with Japan.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while every issue contains multifaceted elements, each with historical backgrounds and matters to be respected, building

peace through sincere dialogue, understanding, and efforts to foster relationships of trust is what the Constitution demands, and is the role imposed on Japan in the international community.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while Japan is being asked what kind of country it wants to be in terms of what it provides to the world, Japan possesses strengths distinct from military power or natural resources—such as disaster response and disaster prevention technologies, healthcare, education, environmental technology, and local community wisdom—and that the value Japan can provide to the world lies in frameworks that protect people’s lives and livelihoods.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in the future international community, not only military or economic power, but also the power to prevent social division, maintain local communities, and build trust between people will become increasingly important; and as Japan is a front-runner facing many challenges—such as population decline, an aging society, disasters, and isolation and loneliness—Japan’s challenge to resolve these issues itself will lead to a contribution to the world.

[Efforts for stability in East Asia]

(Challenges in East Asia)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in the post-war era, the rise of China has been shaking the world, and the question of how to view China-United States relations—which are entering a long-term competitive relationship—has become an urgent issue; however, an unstable bilateral relationship that clashes from time to time is inconvenient for both sides, and given that predictability is extremely important in conducting diplomacy, both countries seek to manage their competitive relationship.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because four of the six countries of Northeast Asia possess nuclear weapons, and talk of nuclear armament has emerged

even in South Korea, moves to revise the Three Non-Nuclear Principles have surfaced within Japan as well; however, as possessing nuclear weapons in close proximity would leave no way to prevent disaster if confrontation deepens, efforts must focus primarily on steering toward peace.

(Japan-China relations)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that merely strengthening deterrence to keep China in check is unlikely to make China a healthier nation; and while maintaining deterrence, a framework for multilateral dialogue with China should be pursued.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan-China relations have diverse pillars—political and diplomatic, military and security, economic, as well as cultural and civil exchanges—and while security is important, it must not dictate everything on its own; relations with China must be advanced comprehensively.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that China supports the current law-based international order through its own logic; and now that the United States is turning its back on that international order, the question of how to maintain and reinforce it is a shared challenge for both Japan and China.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that securing peace and stability in the East Asian region, realizing sustainable economic development, and enabling people to pursue happiness represents the best outcome for both Japan and China; and the “Mutually Beneficial Relationship Based on Common Strategic Interests” set forth in the 2008 Japan-China Joint Statement reflects the concept of cooperation toward realizing such medium- to long-term national interests for both countries, meaning both countries should remember this and enrich the content of their relationship accordingly.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that when China opens its society to Japan again, if more effort is made on Japan’s part—including exchanges among young people—it will be possible to instill warm feelings toward each other among the

people of both countries.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that around 2012–2013, because many areas of the Japanese economy were more advanced than China's, there was also momentum on the Chinese side to restore Japan-China relations; however, today Japan's relative importance to China has diminished, weakening that drive on the Chinese side and making it necessary for Japan to proactively reach out.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while Japan's post-war perception of history was an arena where ideologies conflicted, such a situation no longer exists today, and the statement on historical perception issued by former Prime Minister Abe may be regarded as the definitive position of the Japanese government on historical recognition.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in the relationship between the perpetrator and the victim of war, the victim remembers even after 100 years; therefore, we need to be conscious of the fact that historical issues remain not only in education but also as part of the memory of Chinese society.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding relations with China, precisely during phases of heightened political tension, diplomatic efforts to ensure communication without closing channels for dialogue—in addition to close people-to-people exchanges—are important, making it necessary to construct a multilayered framework for cooperation to ease tensions across the entire region.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that following statements by Prime Minister Takaichi, relations with China have cooled, resulting in a serious situation led directly by China's top leadership; and while approaches from Japan's top leadership based on Japan's position are essential, considering the impacts of economic and military tensions, it is vital for the Prime Minister to personally reach out to China, though this calls for a response based on past diplomatic efforts, such as the Treaty of Peace and Friendship between Japan and China.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in Japan's diplomacy toward China,

fostering good relations has historically become an end in itself, forgetting why good relations were being created in the first place and at times even compromising Japan's position or national interest; however, because protecting national interest is fundamentally the sole, primary objective of diplomacy, there are times when good relations are established to protect national interest and times when relations deteriorate, meaning creating good relations is not everything.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Prime Minister Takaichi's statements regarding a survival-threatening situation were not problematic in themselves, merely stating the traditional position of the Japanese government in different terms during parliamentary testimony; and if the statements were retracted to improve relations, the Japanese government's diplomatic standing toward China would be completely lost, meaning it is better to firmly protect Japan's position and national interest on crucial points, demonstrate a resolute posture, and seek clues for improving relations once circumstances change down the line.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan should refute claims when necessary, and the fact that Defense Minister Koizumi firmly refuted China's unjust attacks against Japan at the Shangri-La Dialogue was highly praised both internationally and within Japan; therefore, not only in relations with China but in all foreign relations, improving relations should not be the ultimate goal, but protecting national interest should be the sole objective.

(Taiwan)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that if deterrence can maintain a state in which China recognizes that executing an operation to unify Taiwan by force is impossible, such an undertaking will likely remain unfeasible under present circumstances; therefore, maintaining a posture where China does not conclude that the United States will abstain from intervening even if China invades Taiwan is an important issue.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that China is reacting strongly against Taiwan's inclination toward independence and applying military intimidation, making the Northeast Asian region the very center of humanity's nuclear crisis; and because a war breaking out in this region would escalate into a global nuclear war, it is necessary to make maximum efforts to prevent war from occurring.

(North Korea)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the United Nations Command currently plays no role, it may be preferable for the United States to involve various countries rather than confronting North Korea on the Korean Peninsula solely through the United States-Republic of Korea Mutual Defense Treaty.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that among its five neighboring countries, Japan lacks diplomatic relations only with North Korea; however, a nation cannot live in peace without diplomatic relations, and in order to resolve the abductions issue—which is Japan's most important issue—negotiations to normalize Japan-North Korea diplomatic relations must be resumed.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that even when considering a framework for peace and stability in Northeast Asia, reaching out to North Korea serves as the starting point; however, in doing so, it is unreasonable for Japan and South Korea to jointly raise the nuclear issue with North Korea, making Japan's normalization of diplomatic relations with North Korea, backed by South Korea, the initial starting point.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that even if the immediate objective is not the denuclearization of North Korea, structuring dialogue mechanisms between North and South, as well as East and West—which are currently lacking in Asia—is conceivable; and unless Japan takes the lead in establishing Six-Party Talks as a multilateral framework, progress will not be made.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the traditional Six-Party Talks

were managed by China, in a new framework, a mechanism led by Japan and South Korea—which are non-nuclear-weapon states—is desirable over the medium term.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while there are significant uncertainties surrounding how dialogue between the Trump administration and North Korean leadership might resume, over the medium term there is a possibility that ending the Korean War would result in the armistice line becoming a national border, creating an environment for Japan to put the restoration of diplomatic relations with North Korea on the negotiating table; therefore Japan should closely monitor trends in Asia and the war in Ukraine, maintain diplomatic agility, and respond with a broad range of options.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that when dealing with a dictatorship like North Korea, including on the abductions issue, Ministry of Foreign Affairs officials alone cannot handle the matter; and if things are to be set in motion, interactions between politicians at the leader level of each nation will be necessary.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that to truly advance the resolution of the abductions issue, returning to the origin of the 2002 Japan-DPRK (the Democratic People's Republic of Korea) Pyongyang Declaration, first getting the broad dialogue framework of resuming negotiations to normalize Japan-North Korea diplomatic relations on track, and strongly demanding resolution of the abductions issue within that negotiation process constitutes an extremely realistic approach; and dispassionate simulations from a realist perspective as well as compliance with international human rights standards are essential to advance negotiations favorably and gain broad support from the international community.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan's own independent sanctions must not be viewed as collective punishment against the general public of North Korea, turning international opinion—including that of the Global South—against Japan; and the Japanese government should more clearly communicate to the international community that considerations are being made not to cause unnecessary damage to

civilian lives, such as exemption procedures for humanitarian assistance and medical supplies.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the exclusion of Korean schools from so-called “free high school tuition” program, concerns and recommendations have been repeatedly issued by the United Nations Committee on the Elimination of Racial Discrimination and the Committee on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights stating that the measure is discriminatory and infringes upon the right to education; therefore reconsidering this measure, in light of the absolute principle of the international community that children bear no guilt, would raise Japan’s diplomatic moral standing and could serve as a powerful diplomatic card to favorably advance upcoming negotiations to normalize diplomatic relations.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that this Research Committee should not stop at merely endorsing government policies or criticizing the status quo, but should establish a nonpartisan special working group under the Committee for Japan-North Korea negotiations and East Asian stabilization; and within that working group, involving outside experts and individuals with practical experience in the United Nations and international organizations, constantly conduct simulations of concrete negotiation scenarios—such as the timing of sanctions relief, the approach to humanitarian assistance, and solutions to the Korean schools issue—to recommend constructive and concrete nonpartisan diplomatic options to the government.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that a voluntary testifier raised the point that although negotiations with North Korea are currently stalled, opportunities might be gained if the Japanese government demonstrates an attitude of dialogue, indicating the possibility that serious negotiations with determination on the Japanese side could move the resolution of the abductions issue and normalization of relations forward; and because normalization of diplomatic relations will become a realistic issue after the end of the Korean War, an attitude of dialogue and efforts to foster mutual understanding are required.

(Measures aimed at the stability of East Asia)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that as the security environment surrounding Japan grows increasingly severe, deterrence relationships must be continually updated; and if it is extremely difficult for Japan to achieve deterrence through means other than the United States, even if shared values with the United States waver, Japan must keep the United States engaged and in check, and continue maintaining deterrence in a manner advantageous to Japan's national interest; within that context, consistently enhancing relationships with countries that share values and establishing a free and open regional system and market is a crucial point for Japan's Asia policy; and in building these, the CPTPP provides significant leverage, while the institutionalization of confidence building in security is equally an important perspective.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the CPTPP serves as a key catalyst, there is a need to strengthen social and human connections extending beyond economics, particularly centered on ASEAN countries; and in order to maintain good relations with these countries and realize a society where people can move, learn, and work more freely than ever before, it is important to elevate the level of administration and the quality of the rule of law in each country together with Japan.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that for Japan, which cannot help but rely on the nuclear umbrella and market of the United States, strengthening relations with Asia is important for maintaining its relationship with the United States and exerting influence; and specifically, Japan should create a framework for confidence building and utilize multilateral mechanisms like the CPTPP in trade, though doing so requires political leadership to include China in such frameworks.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the problem for neighboring countries regarding China's nuclear weapons is that they are growing in number, varying in type, and structured under a system where distinguishing between conventional and

nuclear warheads is difficult; and unless dialogue advances through confidence-building measures, escalation management during any kind of crisis will be difficult, leaving Japan with no choice but to make efforts to create a confidence-building forum after first assessing the current situation—including quantities, types, usage, and storage conditions.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan possesses an accumulation of trust built on post-war diplomatic engagement in nuclear governance—such as the NPT—as the only country to have ever suffered atomic bombings, while relying on military power as little as possible in its own diplomacy; and persistent diplomacy is required to leverage Japan’s knowledge while enlisting the cooperation of neutral countries like Mongolia as well as ASEAN countries that maintain an interest in Taiwan, such as Singapore.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that it is precisely because of peaceful and stable international relations that East Asia was able to develop to the point of being called the engine of the global economy, and how to safeguard this is an important pillar of Japanese diplomacy.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the experience of the Six-Party Talks represents the brightest moment in the history of the Northeast Asian region as well as the starting point to which to return; and that, as it is considered both possible and necessary to establish a permanent framework for contact and consultation among Northeast Asian countries following the example of ASEAN, an Organization of Northeast Asian Nations (ONEAN) should be created, featuring an emergency contact organization and hotline as a minimum essential requirement.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that given the possession of nuclear weapons among regional countries, should a war break out in this region, tragedy would be unavoidable even if Japan prepared its own military force; and while certain security measures are necessary, diplomatic efforts are required even more, meaning Japan should first establish diplomatic relations with neighboring countries to create a

situation where dialogue is possible.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while not denying the necessity of deterrence from a security perspective, it is also important to create relationships where dialogue with counterparts is possible and build up numerous common interests, believing that creating areas for cooperation and working together will foster relationships of trust.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the heavy legacy of the past cannot be dispelled overnight, as Japan's ally, the United States, moves in an unpredictable direction, Japan needs to rebuild its relationships with Asian countries, and there is much to learn from the symbolic role played by European royal families.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that amid the crumbling of the NPT regime, the most desirable scenario for Japan is a strategic agreement on arms control and disarmament regarding nuclear weapons in Northeast Asia, distinguished from the medium- to long-term task of nuclear abolition.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while maintaining a resolute approach toward China, it is precisely because there are numerous issues that maintaining close communication is essential; and while a voluntary testifier made reference to a proposal for an Asian version of the OSCE, persistent efforts are required to create forums for dialogue and build multilayered human connections across industry, academia, government, and civil society aimed at easing regional tensions.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that even toward neighboring countries envisioned as targets for threat deterrence, it is necessary to persistently seek the building of mutually beneficial relationships—let alone avoiding conflict—and looking at national interest, maintaining peace through diplomacy is indispensable, making it extremely important to explore ways to prevent political and security confrontations from affecting private-sector and economic exchanges, regardless of the state of those confrontations.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the path Japan should take

amid the rise of populism, American discontent, and the impasse in Japan-China relations, Japan should maintain military readiness while also emphasizing dialogue; and given a voluntary testifier's proposal that Japan should present and share with Asia a social model that does not sacrifice the middle class, intellectual efforts are required—such as making preparations for future arms control, disarmament, and confidence building in East Asia, and promoting diplomacy to ease regional tensions, as seen in proposals for an Asian version of the OSCE.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that for Japan to play a leading role in creating a liberal order within the Asia-Pacific, restructuring Japan's security framework away from an exclusive reliance on the United States and building peaceful and friendly relations with Asian countries are indispensable.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, understanding that the apology by the King of the Netherlands for colonial rule and slavery yielded results through respecting the counterpart's culture and engaging in sincere dialogue and consensus building, even if it carried no legal meaning, Japan is likewise required to confront the task of settling its colonial past in order to build peace in East Asia.

[The situation in the Middle East and the future of Japan's Diplomacy]

(Current situation and background of the Iran war)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the use of force by the United States against Iran, interpretation likely comes down to how Israel's right of self-defense is viewed and how the repression carried out within Iran is characterized; but in any case, the total absence of procedures such as referral to the United Nations Security Council is extremely regrettable, and it must be said that there were procedural defects that render its legality even more questionable.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that if the United States continues a quagmire-like war in the Middle East through attacks on Iran, American power will wane significantly, and China and Russia are taking pleasure in seeing the stability

of the Middle East severely impaired by a cycle of retaliation.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, to lay the logical groundwork for the United States to cease its recent strikes, it is important to emphasize two points: seeking a qualitatively different nuclear agreement with the new Iranian administration compared to its predecessor, and bringing the fighting to an end to avoid it spilling over into a broader Middle East war.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the question of how the international community can intervene when threats to human life arise, following legitimate procedures—such as deliberating in the United Nations Security Council and intervening after identifying the situation as a major issue against humanity—is important in terms of upholding the legal order.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that likening the war between the United States and Israel on one side and Iran on the other to a game, the two sides are playing games with different rules, giving rise to the danger of misreading each other's signals; before initiating negotiations, President Trump fiercely criticized Iran intending it as a bluff—a standard practice in poker—but Iran, which is playing chess, had no concept of bluffing and took his words literally, deploying mines in the Strait of Hormuz, causing the war to escalate to a new level.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that most of the 13 United States military bases in the Middle East were severely destroyed by Iranian attacks, proving that United States military bases, far from protecting host nations, actually expose them to grave danger; and as Iranian Foreign Minister Araghchi called on Gulf States to close United States military bases, a mood grew—at least at the public level—that did not favor the continued presence of United States military bases.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the policies of the United States lack consistency, such as aiding Iraq during the Iran-Iraq War in the 1980s while turning a blind eye to its use of chemical weapons, only to later launch attacks during the Iraq War on the grounds that the Saddam Hussein regime possessed weapons of

mass destruction.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Iran holds a deep-seated perception of having been treated unfairly throughout history and possesses a strong sentiment of not tolerating unfairness or injustice, meaning it will never abandon nuclear development, which it considers an internationally recognized right.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Iran's Islamic revolutionary regime is one that shows no mercy toward the lives and property of its citizens for the sake of regime survival—which is its primary objective—and while repressions are indeed taking place, as a result of rigorously maintaining public order for over 40 years, there is no domestic vehicle to rally grass-roots discontent, resulting in a situation where there are no anti-regime forces.

(The Israeli-Palestinian issue)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while a framework in which Arabs and Jews coexist within a single state is inherently desirable, achieving this is difficult as Israel aims to establish a nation-state exclusively for Jewish people.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the lack of progress in the Palestinian peace process justifies Iran's claim calling for the elimination of Israel, and while it is held that if peace advances, the threat posed by Israel to Iran would also diminish, as long as Iran remains an Islamic Republic, relations between Iran and Israel will continue to be a destabilizing factor in the Middle East; and in order to improve the unstable Middle East situation, Japan can join with other countries to call on Israel to comply with international law.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that recognition of the Palestinian state is meaningful in responding to the strong national consciousness of the Palestinian people; and as Japan is in a position to mediate between the Palestinian Authority (PA) and Hamas so that the state can function, Japan is called upon to support the right to self-determination by utilizing a combination of the International Court of

Justice, the International Criminal Court, the United Nations General Assembly, and other bodies.

(Japan's role in the Middle East)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Japan should not lean exclusively toward the United States, but should tackle this crisis while cherishing the asset that is Iran's sense of affinity toward Japan.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because Japan is the only country among United States allies that enjoys good relations with Iran, Iran's expectations of Japan are higher compared to other major countries; and while satisfying the demands of both the United States and Iran is difficult under present circumstances, Japan can engage in activities that leverage its advantage of being likely to be relied upon by Iran.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Iran holds the highest expectations for Japan among the G7 and believes Japan can play a role; and while Japan's response until now has been to criticize Iran alone without criticizing the United States, Japan should maintain a more impartial posture.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while it is conceivable for Japan to provide some form of reconstruction assistance to Iran, evaluating Iran's current regime is challenging, making it difficult for Japan to speak out on domestic human rights issues in Iran as Western countries do.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the Iranian side is well aware of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and highly evaluates Japan's peace activities; and Japan's position as the only country to have ever suffered atomic bombings will serve as an important keyword in enhancing future relations with Iran.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that moving forward, over the short term, Japan should promote multilateral cooperation toward securing freedom of navigation in the Strait of Hormuz, while over the medium to long term, continuing

multilayered diplomatic dialogue as a “bridge-builder” among major countries, collaborating not only with the parties concerned but also with the United Kingdom, France, Saudi Arabia, the UAE, Turkey, and other partners.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because the resentment engraved in people’s hearts by armed conflict becomes a spark for future generations of conflict and permanently harms the peace of the international community, the International Peace Mediation Unit established within the Ministry of Foreign Affairs must not end up as a mere title in name only; and leveraging the unique relationships of trust and neutrality that Japan has cultivated thus far with Middle Eastern countries, Japan should play a more proactive role as a mediator for dialogue.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that because the situation in Iran and issues concerning the Strait of Hormuz directly affect Japan’s crude oil procurement, a voluntary testifier’s point that Japan should not merely side with Western countries but utilize its unique diplomatic relations cultivated historically with Iran to play its own diplomatic cards is important; and securing the stability of resources through unique diplomatic efforts represents a crucial issue that lightens the burden of electricity and gas bills for the public and supports comfortable living.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the deployment of United States Forces, Japan (USFJ), a voluntary testifier described the reality where United States forces receive missions after exiting Japanese territorial waters and thus have not been subject to prior consultation between Japan and the United States; and this accords with the view of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs regarding the recent deployment to Iran from USFJ bases, namely that relocating United States military units to other regions for operational convenience of United States forces is not subject to prior consultation.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that given a point raised by a voluntary testifier that United States forces are being deployed to Iran from bases in Japan, logically making it conceivable that USFJ bases could face retaliation, efforts are

required to avoid damaging Iran's trust regarding United States attacks on Iran—which violate international law—and Japan needs to state its position clearly.

[Challenges facing Europe and the future of Japan's Diplomacy]

(Current situation and background of European politics, and implications for Japan)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that prominent opposition parties, which had historically served as an alternative option when ruling parties were unpopular, are also losing support, and the moderate center-right and center-left two-party system that stably endured in Europe for a century is now dissolving.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that in recent years, populists criticizing vested interests and the political establishment while raising new issues of the globalization era are expanding their support in the politics of various countries.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that the European Union is currently exposed to complex threats internally and externally: internally, the expansion of populists critical of the European Union has eroded the foundation of the center-right and center-left parties supporting European integration, causing their decline; externally, it faces difficulties on four fronts—Russia's invasion of Ukraine to the east, relations with the United States to the west, refugee issues to the south, and Brexit to the north.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that discord arose in the European Union because integration was pursued from the top down, giving rise to Brexit as well; whereas ASEAN operates on a consensus basis, making withdrawal less likely; and while some form of international framework is necessary in East Asia as well, rather than top-down integration like the European Union, one option would be to create a framework where parties can reach mutual agreement from the bottom up.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while multi-party politics is progressing in European countries, having a framework where opinions of people in a

diversifying society can be politically expressed is not a bad thing, and understanding diverse opinions is considered preferable in the 21st century.

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that movements toward “Country-First” Policies are occurring globally, against a background where traditional political forces in various countries are losing their base and traditional political parties are failing to adapt to new issues arising within globalization.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that once foreign nationals gain employment in a country, many will settle there; therefore, rather than accepting them under the wishful assumption that they will eventually return home, it is necessary to grasp how to guarantee their livelihood; and moving forward, Japan should build a national consensus to the greatest extent possible regarding how it will treat foreign workers and what vision of Japan it intends to shape.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that amid a situation where society is divided due to differing perspectives—where elites focus on global crises while ordinary people focus on the crisis of this month’s bills—the internet serves as an effective medium to convey the voices of ordinary people, and unless a system is created to understand people’s intentions through such varied forms, broader social cohesion cannot be maintained.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the official apology extended by the Netherlands to Suriname concerning slavery, although it carried no legal effect and did not promise reparations, it was issued as a starting point for settling the past; and rather than offering a unilateral apology, traveling to the region, engaging in dialogue with affected communities, and building up stakeholder participation to reach a mutually agreeable format represents a signature approach of European diplomacy.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that there are many lessons Japan should learn from the current turbulent situation in Europe: in parts of Europe, excessive globalism and immigration policies have eroded traditional national cultures and

regional economies, provoking strong public backlash—risks that Japan should keenly recognize.

(The war in Ukraine)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that if the war in Ukraine is not stopped now, it shows signs of lasting for ten years, and while it must be brought to an end, since assisting Ukraine causes the war to stall, it is important for Japan to approach Russia to help end this war, which will contribute to improving future Japan-Russia relations.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, in the wake of the war in Ukraine, there is no longer any doubt that the present era is beginning to mark a turning point in post-war history and human civilization.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, regarding ceasefire monitoring in the event of a halt to the war in Ukraine, expectations are placed on creating a monitoring framework that includes BRICS countries such as Brazil and Indonesia, as well as potentially Saudi Arabia, Iran, both the European and Asian Quads, and China.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that Russia's aggression against Ukraine is an act that severely infringes upon Ukraine's sovereignty and territorial integrity; and to maintain international order as well as address a security issue for Japan itself, assistance to Ukraine should be continued, with Japan taking the lead in the international community in humanitarian and reconstruction assistance by leveraging its strengths, such as infrastructure restoration, landmine clearance, industrial revitalization, and medical support.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that, if asked whether Japan exercised diplomatic efforts to end the war—such as playing a distinct role in halting the war between Ukraine and Russia—it must be said that Japan has not fulfilled such a role.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that regarding the territorial status of Donbas

in the Russia-Ukraine war, deep historical context exists and reaching a resolution will not be easy; however, taking into account the culture, language, and religion of Donbas, how to reflect the will of the people and the process of consensus building are important.

(Future of diplomacy with Europe)

- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while the European Union possesses the flexibility to revise its policies according to changing circumstances, it does not abandon its core ideals; therefore, when Japan engages with the European Union, finding commonalities centered around shared ideals is important.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that for Japan, confronting challenges using fundamental European Union principles—such as freedom, democracy, and compliance with international law—as common ground is advisable.
- An opinion was expressed to the effect that while Europe has historically relied on the United States within the framework of the NATO, a shift in policy by the Trump administration is forcing it toward self-reliance; furthermore, the shared understanding on how to approach Russia has eroded, giving rise to policies aimed at reducing energy reliance on Russia, which suggests chaos will persist for a while; nevertheless, to a greater or lesser extent, the element of autonomy from the United States is also acting as a vector toward reconciliation with Russia, making it necessary to closely observe European autonomy unconstrained by conventional wisdom.

Reference 1 Timeline of Deliberations

Diet session and date	Outline
219th (Extraordinary session) October 21, 2025 December 17	• Establishment of the Research Committee on International Affairs at a plenary meeting • Election of the Committee Chair (SUZUKI Muneo (LDP-GI)) • Election of Directors • Decision on this three-year term's research theme: "Japan's Role in Achieving World Peace and Stability")
220th (Ordinary session) January 23, 2026	(End-of-session procedures only)
221st (Special session) March 4, 2026	• Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session ("Japan's Role in Achieving World Peace and Stability" focusing on the Current International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World Stability (General Overview ("Country-First" Policies and International Cooperation))) (Voluntary testifiers) JIMBO Ken Managing Director (Representative Director), International House of Japan Professor, Faculty of Policy Management, Keio University IWAMA Yoko Professor, National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies

TANAKA Hitoshi

Special Advisor, Institute for International Strategy, The
Japan Research Institute, Limited

- April 15 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a
question and answer session (“Japan’s Role in Achieving
World Peace and Stability” focusing on The Current
International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World
Stability (The Situation in the Middle East and Africa and
the Future of Japan’s Diplomacy))

(Voluntary testifiers)

SAITO Mitsugu

Former Ambassador of Japan to Iran

Visiting Professor, Kwansei Gakuin University

MIYATA Osamu

Chairman, Center for Contemporary Islamic Studies in
Japan

- May 13 • Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a
question and answer session (“Japan’s Role in Achieving
World Peace and Stability” focusing on The Current
International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World
Stability (Challenges for Stability in East Asia))

(Voluntary testifiers)

MIYAMOTO Yuji

Former Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of
Japan to China

President, Japan-China Friendship Center

	WADA Haruki Professor Emeritus, The University of Tokyo
May 27	• Hearing opinions of voluntary testifiers and conducting a question and answer session (“Japan’s Role in Achieving World Peace and Stability” focusing on The Current International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World Stability (Challenges Facing Europe and the Future of Japan’s Diplomacy)) (Voluntary testifiers) MIZUSHIMA Jiro Professor, Graduate School of Social Sciences, Chiba University SHIMOTOMAI Nobuo Specially Invited Professor, Kanagawa University Professor Emeritus, Hosei University
June 10	• Exchange of Views among Committee Members (“Japan’s Role in Achieving World Peace and Stability” focusing on The Current International Situation and Japanese Diplomacy for World Stability)
July 1	• Decision on the research report and its submission to the President of the Senate • Decision to offer the report at a plenary meeting

Reference 2

List of Committee Members

Chair	SUZUKI Muneo (LDP-GI)
Director	FUJII Kazuhiro (LDP-GI)
Director	YOSHII Akira (LDP-GI)
Director	SHIOMURA Ayaka (CDP)
Director	HARADA Hidekazu (DPFP-SR)
Director	KUBOTA Tetsuya (KP)
Director	ISHII Mitsuko (JIP)
Director	OHTSU Tsutomu (SAN)
	SUZUKI Daichi (LDP-GI)
	HORII Iwao (LDP-GI)
	WAKAI Atsuko (LDP-GI)
	WAKI Masaaki (LDP-GI)
	FUKUSHI Masumi (CDP)
	MIKAMI Eri (CDP)
	NIWATA Yukie (DPFP-SR)
	ITO Takae (KP)
	SEKI Hei (JIP)
	SUGIMOTO Junko (SAN)
	ISEZAKI Kenji (REIWA SHINSENGUMI)
	TAKARA Sachika (OW)

Note: LDP-GI: Liberal Democratic Party and Group of Independents
CDP: The Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan and the Independent
DPFP-SR: Democratic Party For the People and The Shin-Ryokufukai
KP: Komeito
JIP: Nippon Ishin (Japan Innovation Party)
SAN: SANSEITO
OW: Okinawa Whirlwind

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