Chapter 2

Resilient and Unwavering Regional Diplomacy

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Promotion of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)" Based on the Rule of Law



Overview

The Indo-Pacific region, which stretches from the Asia Pacific across the Indian Ocean to the Middle East and Africa, is the core of the world's vitality and supports more than half of the world's population. At the same time, the region is home to several countries with strong military capabilities, and there have been some acts that shake the very foundation of the international order based on the rule of law. The region also faces a variety of threats, such as piracy, terrorism, proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, natural disasters, and illegal fishing. It is essential to ensure peace and prosperity in the entire region and beyond, through establishing a free and open order based on the rule of law.

Japan has long emphasized the importance of taking a holistic view of the Indian and Pacific Oceans, as seen in the "Confluence of the Two Seas" speech regarding the Indian and Pacific Oceans delivered by Prime Minister Abe to the Indian Parliament in 2007. In August 2016, this concept was brought to fruition as the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)" vision, which Prime Minister Abe announced to the world in his keynote speech at the 6th Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD VI) in Kenya. In his speech, Prime Minister Abe stated that the key to stability and prosperity of the international community is the dynamism created by combining "Two Continents"—rapidly-growing Asia and potential-filled Africa—and "Two Oceans"—free and open Pacific and Indian Oceans—and that Japan would work to realize prosperity in Asia and Africa.

Japan has widely promoted efforts to realize FOIP based on the rule of law in cooperation with

like-minded countries from 2016 to the present. As a result, the vision of FOIP first proposed by Japan has now gained broad support in the international community, including the U.S., Australia, India, the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN), the Republic of Korea (ROK), the European Union (EU), and other European countries. Various consultations and cooperation are also underway. Numerous policy documents on the Indo-Pacific have been released, such as the ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP) adopted at the ASEAN Summit in June 2019, the Joint Communication on the EU Strategy for Cooperation in the Indo-Pacific presented by the EU in September 2021, the Indo-Pacific Strategy presented by the U.S. in February 2022, Canada's Indo-Pacific Strategy, and the Strategy for a Free, Peaceful, and Prosperous Indo-Pacific Region presented by the ROK in November 2022.

In March 2023 in India, Prime Minister Kishida announced the New Plan¹ for a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)." He explained in detail the approach and efforts for FOIP at a historic turning point to achieve the goal of leading the international community toward cooperation rather than division and confrontation.

The new plan clearly emphasizes the importance of "rulemaking through dialogue," "equal partnership among nations," and an approach focusing on "human" as the approaches to be taken going forward, while maintaining the core principles of defending "freedom" and "the rule of law," and respecting "diversity," "inclusiveness," and "openness." The new plan also clarifies that Japan will strengthen coordination with various countries, expand the networks among countries that share the FOIP vision, and direct efforts



¹ For more information on the New Plan for FOIP, see the Ministry of Foreign Affairs website: https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/pc/page3e_001336.html

in the spirit of co-creation. Furthermore, it sets forth "four pillars" of cooperation for FOIP (Principles for Peace and Rules for Prosperity, Addressing Challenges in an Indo-Pacific Way, Multi-layered Connectivity, and Extending Efforts for Security and Safe Use from the "Sea" to the "Air").

2

Specific Initiatives Under the New Plan

The "four pillars" of the new plan are organized as "pillars of cooperation for FOIP" suited for a historic turning point in order to realize a world that FOIP aims for.

Principles for Peace and Rules for Prosperity

The first pillar, "Principles for Peace and Rules for Prosperity," is the backbone of FOIP. In the international community, it is important to defend "peace" and create an international environment where "freedom," "transparency," and "the rule of law" are upheld and the weak are not beaten by force. Japan will promote the sharing of fundamental principles that the international community should uphold for peace; peacebuilding; pursuit of a free, fair, and just economic order in a manner that adapts to changing times; and rulemaking to prevent opaque and unfair practices.

(2) Addressing Challenges in an Indo-Pacific Way

The second pillar, "Addressing Challenges in an Indo-Pacific Way," is the new focus of cooperation for FOIP. Japan will expand cooperation for FOIP through the dramatic increase in the importance of "global commons," such as climate and the environment, global health, and cyberspace, thereby enhancing the resilience and sustainability of societies. For example, in terms of climate, environment, and energy security, Japan will promote the "Asia Zero Emission Community (AZEC)" concept, which aims to achieve both decarbonization and economic growth, "assistance for loss and damage" to countries vulnerable to natural disasters, and the "Blue Ocean Vision" to protect the abundant oceans.

(3) Multi-layered Connectivity

The third pillar, "Multi-layered Connectivity," is the core element of cooperation for FOIP. In order to achieve vigorous growth for the entire region, countries need to stay connected in various aspects. Japan will increase each country's options and help them overcome their vulnerabilities through initiatives to further enhance connectivity. For example, Japan will work to enhance "knowledge" connectivity by further developing "human" connectivity and promote digital connectivity.

(4) Extending Efforts for Security and Safe Use from the "Sea" to the "Air"

The fourth pillar, "Extending Efforts for Security and Safe Use from the 'Sea' to the 'Air," places "marine routes" at the center as the "focus of FOIP" and ensures the security and safety of the entire "public domain," incorporating secured use of air domain in a safe and stable manner. Japan will work to ensure the "three principles of the rule of law at sea," strengthen maritime law enforcement capabilities, enhance maritime security, and promote safe and stable use of air space.

3

Collaboration and Cooperation with Other Countries

In 2023, Japan remained actively engaged in diplomatic activities for the realization of FOIP.

(1) United States (U.S.)

In January, Prime Minister Kishida visited Washington, D.C. and held a Japan-U.S. Summit Meeting with President Joseph Biden. Both leaders concurred again that Japan and the U.S. will continue to promote endeavors to realize FOIP. The Joint Statement of the United States and Japan issued as a result of the meeting confirmed that Japan-U.S. cooperation today is unprecedented, rooted in a shared vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific and a peaceful and prosperous world, and guided by shared values and principles, including the rule of law.

Subsequently as well, Japan and the U.S. have confirmed that they will continue to closely cooperate in

various fields, including diplomacy, security, and the economy, based on strong Japan-U.S. relations centered on the Japan-U.S. Alliance, the cornerstone of peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region, through a series of Japan-U.S. Summit Meetings and Japan-U.S. Foreign Ministers' Meetings, as well as the Japan-U.S. Security Consultative Committee (Japan-U.S. "2+2") in January and the Japan-U.S. Economic Policy Consultative Committee (Economic "2+2") in November.

(2) Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)

Japan and ASEAN released the Joint Statement of the 23rd ASEAN-Japan Summit on Cooperation on ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific in November 2020, confirming that the AOIP and FOIP share fundamental principles. At the ASEAN-Japan Foreign Ministers' Meeting in July 2023, Foreign Minister Hayashi stated that Japan is implementing many concrete cooperation projects in line with the four priority areas of the AOIP (maritime cooperation, connectivity, the SDGs, as well as economic and other possible areas of cooperation), while noting that Southeast Asia is clearly positioned as an important region in the new plan for FOIP announced by Prime Minister Kishida in March. In addition, during the ASEAN-related Summit Meetings in September, Prime Minister Kishida announced the ASEAN-Japan Comprehensive Connectivity Initiative to further strengthen connectivity in both tangible and intangible ways. Furthermore, at the ASEAN-Japan Summit, Prime Minister Kishida spoke about support for the AOIP and working together to ensure that many countries share and cooperate with the principles and activities raised by the AOIP, including openness, transparency, inclusiveness, and a rules-based framework. Moreover, at the Commemorative Summit for the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation in December, the leaders adopted the Joint Vision Statement on ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation outlining a new vision for cooperation and its Implementation Plan indicating extensive and specific cooperation. The leaders also concurred on aiming for a world where all countries can pursue peace and prosperity, and where the principles such

as democracy, the rule of law, good governance and respect for human rights and fundamental freedom are upheld.

(3) Canada

At the Japan-Canada Summit Meeting held during Prime Minister Kishida's visit to Ottawa in January, the two leaders confirmed cooperation toward realizing FOIP through steady implementation of the "Japan-Canada Action Plan for Contributing to a Free and Open Indo-Pacific" announced by both countries in 2022. The two countries also confirmed steady progress on cooperation in the fields of security and economic security mentioned in the Action Plan, including at the May and November Summit Meetings and at the Foreign Ministers' Meeting in October.

(4) Australia

In August, the Japan-Australia Reciprocal Access Agreement (RAA) entered into force, adding a new framework for Japan and Australia to further contribute to the peace and stability in the Indo-Pacific region. At the Japan-Australia Summit Meeting held in India in September, the two leaders welcomed the progress made in defense cooperation under the RAA and concurred on strengthening concrete cooperation, guided by the new Japan-Australia Joint Declaration on Security Cooperation (signed in October 2022), which confirms the two countries' unwavering commitment to FOIP.

(5) India

In March, upon his visit to Delhi, Prime Minister Kishida delivered a policy speech at the Indian Council of World Affairs (ICWA), and announced the new plan for FOIP. In addition, at the Japan-India Summit Meeting in May, during discussions on bilateral relations, the two countries shared recognition regarding the importance of FOIP and confirmed to advance cooperation in various fields. Furthermore, at the 15th Japan-India Foreign Ministers' Strategic Dialogue in July, Japan and India, which share fundamental values and strategic interests, confirmed the importance of cooperation toward realizing FOIP.

(6) Japan-Australia-India-U.S. (Quad)

The four countries of Japan, Australia, India, and the U.S. share recognition of the importance of promoting practical cooperation in various fields, including critical and emerging technologies, quality infrastructure, and maritime security, and expanding cooperation to more countries in order to realize FOIP, with the goal of strengthening a rules-based free and open international order. The Quad also fully supports the AOIP and welcomes the proactive efforts by European and other countries toward FOIP. At the Japan-Australia-India-U.S. (Quad) Leaders' Meeting held in Japan in May, the Quad leaders expressed their determination to uphold a free and open international order based on the rule of law and confirmed the importance of developing practical cooperation that will truly benefit the region. There was also reaffirmation of the firm commitment to the realization of FOIP at the Quad Foreign Ministers' Meeting held in the U.S. in September.

(7) Republic of Korea

At the Japan-ROK Summit Meeting in March, the two leaders confirmed the importance of realizing FOIP and shared the view that like-minded countries should work together to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law. They also concurred on exchanging views and maintaining close communication on cooperation for the realization of FOIP at subsequent summit meetings and other opportunities.

(8) Japan-U.S.-ROK

Recognizing that the collaboration among Japan, the U.S., and the ROK is essential for regional peace and stability beyond issues related to North Korea, the three countries have been enhancing collaboration at multiple levels, through holding summit meetings, foreign ministers' meetings, vice-ministerial meetings, and Heads of Delegation Meetings for the Six-Party Talks. Amidst this, the three countries have also been confirming trilateral cooperation toward the realization of FOIP. At the Japan-U.S.-ROK Foreign Ministers' Meeting in July, the ministers exchanged views on cooperation toward the realization of FOIP. In addition, at the Japan-U.S.-ROK Summit held in August at Camp David in the U.S., the leaders of the three

countries concurred on cooperation to ensure that the Indo-Pacific is thriving, connected, resilient, stable, and secure. They also concurred to launch an annual Japan-U.S.-ROK Trilateral Indo-Pacific Dialogue to cooperate on implementing the trilateral approach to the Indo-Pacific and to continuously identify new areas for common action. They also committed to work closely with ASEAN partners to support the robust implementation and mainstreaming of the AOIP (See the Special Feature on page 37).

(9) Europe

A The EU

At the Japan-EU Summit Meeting in July, Prime Minister Kishida stated that as the international community faces a historic turning point, it is becoming increasingly important for like-minded countries that share values and principles to work together beyond regional boundaries. He also stated that he would like to confirm close cooperation between Japan and the EU and deepen discussions on concrete measures for cooperation to maintain and strengthen the free and open international order based on the rule of law. In addition, in May, Foreign Minister Hayashi attended the EU Indo-Pacific Ministerial Forum co-hosted by Sweden and the EU in person and shared the importance of cooperation among like-minded countries with the participating countries.

B The United Kingdom (UK)

In March, the UK announced the Integrated Review Refresh of security, defense, development and foreign policy, and expressed support for the FOIP vision and making engagement in the Indo-Pacific a permanent pillar of its international policy. At the Japan-UK Leader's Working Dinner in May, Prime Minister Kishida and Prime Minister Rishi Sunak announced the "Hiroshima Accord: An Enhanced Japan-UK Global Strategic Partnership." They also confirmed promotion of interoperable, resilient, and cross-domain defense and security cooperation as each other's closest security partner in Asia and Europe committed to the vision of FOIP, and determined to strengthen the free and open international order based on the rule of law. In October, the Japan-UK Reciprocal Access Agreement (RAA) entered into force as a framework

to improve interoperability between the Self-Defense Forces (SDF) and UK forces and to further promote security and defense cooperation between the two countries.

C France

In January, Prime Minister Kishida and President Emmanuel Macron held a Japan-France Summit Meeting, in which they confirmed that the security of Europe and the Indo-Pacific are inseparable and welcomed progress on substantial cooperation, including reciprocal visits of assets and joint exercises between Japan and France. In the same month, Japan opened the Consular Office in Nouméa, New Caledonia, which has geopolitical importance in the Indo-Pacific region and serves as a crucial stronghold for advancing Japan-France cooperation toward the realization of FOIP. In September in New York, Foreign Minister Kamikawa met with Minister for Europe and Foreign Affairs Catherine Colonna and expressed the desire to further strengthen relations with France, an "Indo-Pacific nation" with territory in the Pacific and an "exceptional partner." In November, the two foreign ministers concurred to continue close cooperation, both bilaterally and through the G7 framework, at the Japan-France Foreign Ministers' Dinner in Tokyo. In addition, in December, Prime Minister Kishida also held a summit telephone call with President Macron and issued a roadmap for Japan-France cooperation, including cooperation to realize FOIP.

D Germany

Based on Germany's Indo-Pacific guidelines approved by the Cabinet in September 2020, security cooperation between Germany and Japan was further deepened as the Government of Germany has worked to strengthen its engagement in the region, including by dispatching a naval frigate in November 2021 and air force aircraft in September 2022 to the Indo-Pacific region, including Japan. In the Joint Statement issued during the Japan-Germany Inter-Governmental Consultations in March 2023, it was confirmed that the security of Europe and the Indo-Pacific are closely interlinked and that concrete cooperation between Japan and Germany in the Indo-Pacific region will be strengthened, amid the ever-increasing importance of maintaining and strengthening the free and open international order based on the rule of law. In November, the two countries reached an agreement in principle on the Japan-Germany Acquisition and Cross-Servicing Agreement (Japan-Germany ACSA).

I Italy

In May, Prime Minister Kishida and Prime Minister Giorgia Meloni held a Japan-Italy Summit Meeting and concurred on deepening discussions on concrete cooperation in security and defense fields, including through the Japan-Italy Politico-Military (PM) Dialogue.

In 2023, Italy dispatched to the Indo-Pacific Ocean the frigate *Francesco Morosini*, which made a port call at Yokosuka in June. In July, the Italian Navy and Maritime Self-Defense Force conducted joint training in the East China Sea. Furthermore, in August, Italy dispatched its air force aircraft, including F-35s, to the Japan Air Self-Defense Force's Komatsu Air Base to conduct joint training between the Italian Air Force and the Air Self-Defense Force.

The Netherlands

In February, Foreign Minister Hayashi held a Japan-Netherlands Foreign Ministers' Working Lunch with Deputy Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs Wopke Hoekstra, in which they discussed strengthening cooperation to realize FOIP. In September, Prime Minister Kishida held a Japan-Netherlands Summit Meeting with Prime Minister Mark Rutte, in which they discussed strengthening cooperation, including in the security field, to maintain and strengthen the free and open international order based on the rule of law.

SPECIAL FEATURE

Trilateral Cooperation among Japan, the United States, and the Republic of Korea

The first Japan-U.S.-Republic of Korea (ROK) Summit Meeting was held in November 1994 on the occasion of an APEC Economic Leaders' summit meeting in Jakarta, Indonesia. Prime Minister MURAYAMA Tomiichi, President Bill Clinton of the U.S., and President Kim Young-sam of the ROK at that time discussed issues such as North Korea's nuclear issue. Since then, the three countries have held meetings at various levels, including the leaders' and foreign ministers' levels, focusing on dealing with North Korea, including its nuclear and missile issues as well as the abductions issue.

As the current security environment surrounding the three countries becomes increasingly severe, the trilateral cooperation among Japan, the



Japan-U.S.-ROK Summit Meeting (August 18, Camp David, U.S.; Photo: Cabinet Public Affairs Office)

U.S., and the ROK is increasingly important not only in dealing with North Korea but also in realizing peace and stability in the region and beyond, as well as in realizing a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)" based on the rule of law.

In August 2023, at the invitation of President Joseph Biden of the U.S., Prime Minister Kishida visited Camp David, the U.S. President's country residence in Maryland, and held a Japan-U.S.-ROK Summit Meeting with President Biden and President Yoon Suk Yeol of the ROK. This summit was the first-ever stand-alone Japan-U.S.-ROK Summit Meeting, not held on the margins of an international forum. Prime Minister Kishida and President Yoon were the first foreign dignitaries hosted by President Biden at Camp David.

At this historic meeting, the three leaders declared a "new era of trilateral partnership," building upon their respective strong bilateral relationships, in order to maintain a free and open international order based on the rule of law. Additionally, the meeting achieved significant outcomes in three domains: enhancing strategic coordination between the Japan-U.S. Alliance and the U.S.-ROK Alliance, thereby bringing trilateral security cooperation to new heights; expanding the scope of the trilateral cooperation; and developing a foundation to enhance the trilateral cooperation in a continuous and stable manner.



The Japan, U.S. and ROK leaders at the press conference (August 18, Camp David, U.S.; Photo: Cabinet Public Affairs Office)

After the meeting, the leaders issued the three documents: the "Camp David Principles," serving as guidelines for promoting Japan-U.S.-ROK cooperation from a medium- to long-term perspective; the "Joint Statement of Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the United States," outlining their views on regional issues as well as concrete cooperation and frameworks for the three countries; and the "Commitment to Consult among Japan, the Republic of Korea, and the United States," stating that the governments of the three countries are committed to consulting trilaterally with each other, in an expeditious manner, to coordinate their responses to regional challenges, provocations, and threats that affect their collective interests and security.

Japan, the U.S., and the ROK have concurred to hold trilateral meetings at various levels, including at the leaders' level, at least annually. The Government of Japan will promote Japan-U.S.-ROK cooperation in a multi-layered and stable manner, including through newly established frameworks for cooperation, such as the Trilateral Indo-Pacific Dialogue, the Trilateral Development and Humanitarian Assistance Policy Dialogue, and the trilateral working group on North Korea's cyber activities.