

19TH REGIONAL SECURITY SUMMIT
THE SHANGRI-LA DIALOGUE

KEYNOTE ADDRESS

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KISHIDA FUMIO

PRIME MINISTER, JAPAN

Dr John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, IISS

Welcome to the 19th IISS Shangri-La Dialogue. It is a delight for me personally and for our hosts, the government of Singapore, to be convening this Asia Security Summit after a two-year hiatus. Prime Minister Lee, the IISS is proud that we have again been able to bring together the national-security establishments of so many different states here this weekend, and we thank you for your support and the hospitality that this country so warmly provides.

The IISS has had two strong years since we last met here, growing by more than 25%, generating more data and analysis for governments in the private sector on geopolitical and geo-economic trends. We are pleased to have established a major new IISS–Europe office in Berlin, Germany, with staff drawn from a dozen different nationalities. I expect that IISS–Asia, based here in Singapore, and IISS–Europe in Berlin will have a good deal of intellectual exchange and practical cooperation.

In both 2020 and 2021, we managed to hold in-person IISS Manama Dialogues in the Kingdom of Bahrain, where our Middle East office is headquartered, and we look forward to the 18th Manama Dialogue on 18 to 20 November this year.

The strategic dynamic in the Indo-Pacific region has developed in ways that have naturally shaped our agenda for this weekend. The strategies of the US and China in this region remain central, as do the perspectives of Southeast Asian states on current geopolitical trends. The growth in number and importance of minilateral security arrangements in groups of three, four or five, plus or minus one or two, is dazzling even the most astute observers of diplomatic practice.

Military modernisation continues apace. Exercises at sea and in the air often bring operators dangerously close to each other as each stick to their national scripts on where freedom to operate begins or ends. The internal conflict in Myanmar has stressed the institution of ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations). Korean intercontinental ballistic missile (ICBM) tests multiply. Technological competition accelerates. The challenges of climate change and the requirement for developing green defence doctrines are pressing and urgent. All these issues are treated in depth in the IISS *Asia-Pacific Regional Security Assessment 2022*, released this week.

It is impossible, however, to pass by the fact that we convene as a major war is occurring and a geopolitical earthquake exploding in Europe that affects the globe. Russia's unprovoked and illegal war against Ukraine started as a war for regime change and occupation and has morphed into one of annihilation and destruction. The military tactics displayed by the Russians have little connection to sane political objectives.

The Western response has moved from noting that Ukraine was not in NATO but would be supported, to the determination to provide defensive weapons but avoid escalation, to the view that Russia's strategic failure must be assured, to the position that Ukraine can and must win, to the assertion that Russia's conventional power must be so reduced that it can never threaten a neighbour again.

Personally, I don't feel it's necessary to underscore that NATO countries have no NATO Article 5 obligation to come to the defence of Ukraine. I prefer to emphasise that Ukraine has a UN Article 51 right of self-defence and any other UN member state has the right under the same Article 51 on the request of the defending state to give it all the military support it may seek for its self-defence and in the service of collective security.

The only similar case arose in August 1990 when Saddam Hussein invaded Kuwait with the clear intent fully to occupy it and with the possible subsequent ability to pose a direct threat to the Kingdom of Saudi Arabia. Then, the Middle East security order was hugely at stake. Today, it is the European security order and the largest country in Europe that has been attacked. It was already attacked in 2014.

This time, Mr Putin has said that Ukraine is not a nation and has developed maximalist aims for his campaign.

To use a phrase commonly heard in Asia, the European security order is a core interest of the West. It is essential for the West to prevail in this contest, for Russia strategically to fail and for Ukraine to be able to dictate peace terms that can have the support of its people. To get there, it is essential to repeat that defence is not escalation. The paradox is that even though NATO has no formal obligation to Ukraine, the reputation of NATO is at least partly at stake in this war. That reputation has been strengthened by a broad show of unity and by the applications of Sweden and Finland to join.

Germany has pledged an additional €100 billion to defence and has said it would move at pace to spend 2% of GDP on defence. It will still take some time for Germany to adapt its strategic culture to this cash infusion. As NATO moves towards its summit in Madrid later this month, the Russian war will require thinking afresh the principles of pre-emptive action, flexible response, escalation dominance and intra-war deterrence that must underpin a revised NATO strategic concept.

Given the nature of contemporary warfare, the relationship between Articles 4 and 5 of the NATO Treaty might also require reassessment. For many countries in Asia and the Middle East, this war has raised questions about their alignments and hedging strategies. It is natural that countries engage in strategic hedging. There are few truly cast-iron guarantees in security. Some independence and autonomy of action is preferred by most states. Strategic self-determination may mean that interests do not always align with the same security partner. It is better to have many friends than only a few. Multi-alignment has its attractions.

But strategic hedging, rather like its financial equivalent, requires active portfolio management. Russia's strategic currency is now in free fall. It is perhaps not prudent to be too long Russia again, to use the financial-markets term. Indeed, being overweight Russia right now, including for those countries that have traditionally had Russia as a major arms supplier, may prove costly in the medium and perhaps rather soon. Rebalancing might become necessary.

What this war has additionally shown is that the Euro-Atlantic and wider Indo-Pacific strategic theatres are co-dependent. The largest importer of Ukrainian wheat is Egypt, the second largest Indonesia. The impact of this war in Europe is felt internationally. For North Americans and Europeans, who this weekend will be pledging their commitments to the Indo-Pacific region, success in Europe is vital to success in Asia.

It is not simply a question of time commitment but one of credibility. Put bluntly, how can one speak about helping to support a free and open Indo-Pacific, when so far it has not proven possible to ensure a free and open Black Sea? Negotiations are unlikely to be enough. It will require some risk-taking to get the traffic moving again from the Black Sea to the rest of the world. We are proud that, considering the global impact of Russia's invasion of Ukraine, President Zelenskyy has agreed to speak to us from Kyiv tomorrow at exactly 16.00 Singapore time, and I know that most of you assembled here will wish to be in this hall at that time.

Against that background, it is a great honour to introduce the keynote speaker for the 19th Shangri-La Dialogue. We have someone who can speak with unique authority on the links between European and Asian security. Prime Minister Kishida of Japan became head of government having had a long period of success as Japan's Foreign Minister. He represents in the diet a Hiroshima constituency, whose history naturally shapes his appreciation of the horrors of nuclear war. Hiroshima will play host to the 2023 G7 summit that Japan will chair.

As Prime Minister, he has developed his ideas on new capitalism and has been especially active on questions of international relations and strategy. He created a new cabinet position, Minister for

Economic Security, which signalled the importance of economic statecraft and contemporary diplomacy, as well as a need to anticipate vulnerabilities caused by the various stresses on the global economic order. The Kishida administration will also be crafting a new national security strategy this year, the first update since 2013.

Some in his party have suggested that Japan move toward the NATO standard of 2% of GDP expenditure on defence, a level that would put Japan as the third-biggest defence spender in the world, behind only the US and China.

Prime Minister Kishida, everyone in the audience and across the world will be fascinated to hear your thoughts on global security and Japan's contribution to it. It is an honour and a privilege to have you at the Shangri-La Dialogue. Prime Minister, the floor and this podium is yours.

Kishida Fumio, Prime Minister, Japan

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, Dr John Chipman, distinguished guests, it is my great honour to deliver this keynote address at the Shangri-La Dialogue, a conference of long history held in high esteem. I would like to share with all the participants gathered here today how I perceive the current severe situation facing the international community and look ahead to the future we should all aspire to.

There is no better place than this Shangri-La Dialogue to deepen such discussions. This is because Asia is indeed the centre of gravity of the ever-expanding global economy, accounting for nearly 35% of it, and because the region continues to enjoy growth characterised by diversity and inclusiveness, with ASEAN upholding unity and centrality at its core.

With the very foundations of the international order being shaken by Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the international community now stands at a historic crossroads. The last time the world faced such a major turning point was some 30 years ago. That was around the time of the Cold War, a period when the world was divided into two camps, and people were afraid that the two sides' cold antagonism might heat up again.

The Cold War came to an end and the post-Cold War era began. In an address to the Japanese diet, the Prime Minister Kiichi Miyazawa, who went before me as both a fellow legislator from Hiroshima and the leader of the Kochikai, the policy group I belong to, characterised the post-Cold War era as the start of an era of building a new order for global peace in his speech to the Japanese parliament, squarely addressing the reality that Japan was called upon to play a greater international role in the security arena.

Miyazawa, after an extensive debate in Japan, managed to get the Peacekeeping Operations Cooperation Act passed, and he deployed Japan's Self-Defense Forces to Cambodia based on this Act. With some 30 years having passed since Miyazawa's time, in what kind of era are we now living? Since the pandemic broke out, the world has become even more uncertain. Amidst continuing economic disruption, we have come to recognise the importance of reliable and secure supply chains.

Then, as the world was still recovering from the pandemic, Russia's aggression against Ukraine occurred. No country or region in the world can shrug this off as someone else's problem. It is a situation that shakes the very foundations of the international order, which every country and individual gathered here today should regard as their own affair.

In the South China Sea, are the rules really being honoured? Neither international law, in particular the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea, to which all relevant countries agreed after years of dialogue and efforts, nor the award rendered by the arbitral tribunal under this convention is being complied with. In the East China Sea, where Japan is located, unilateral attempts to change the status quo by force in violation of international law are continuing.

Japan is taking a firm stand against such attempts. Peace and stability across the Taiwan Strait, which is located between these two seas, is also of extreme importance. Unfortunately, much activity not respecting people's diversity, free will and human rights is also taking place in this region.

Furthermore, since the beginning of this year, North Korea has repeatedly launched ballistic missiles, including a new type of ICBM, with unprecedented frequency and in new ways. As such, North Korea is strengthening its nuclear and missile activities in violation of UN Security Council resolutions, posing a clear and serious challenge to the international community. It is deeply regrettable that the recently proposed Security Council resolution was not adopted as a result of the exercise of the veto.

The abductions issue, which is a top priority for my administration, is also a serious violation of human rights. At the root of all these problems is a situation in which confidence in the universal rules that govern international relations is being shaken. This is the essential and most serious underlying problem.

Can the rule-based international order we have built through hard work, dialogue and consensus be upheld? And the march of peace and prosperity continue? Or will we return to a lawless world, where rules are ignored and broken, where unilateral changes to the status quo by force are unchallenged and accepted, and where the strong coerce the weak militarily or economically? That is the choice we have to make today.

Japan is the world's third-largest economy and has consistently sought to bring about peace and prosperity in the region since the end of the Second World War, making contributions mainly in the economic field. Accordingly, the responsibility Japan must fulfil is heavy. With that understanding, what role should Japan play in realising peace and prosperity as we face this crossroads in history? While focusing on universal values that everyone should respect and defend, we must firmly hold aloft the banner of our ideals for the future, such as a world without nuclear weapons, while also responding astutely and decisively as the situation demands.

I am committed to realism diplomacy for a new era that adheres to this kind of thorough pragmatism. In the midst of all this, Japan will not lose its humility, flexibility in valuing diversity or tolerance that respects the individuality of others. However, we will be more proactive than ever in tackling the challenges and crises that face Japan, Asia and the world.

Taking that perspective in order to maintain and strengthen the peaceful order in this region, I will advance the Kishida vision for peace and boost Japan's diplomatic and security role in the region by promoting the following five pillars of initiatives.

The first is maintaining and strengthening the rules-based free and open international order. In particular, we will press forward in bringing new developments towards the free and open Indo-Pacific. The second is enhancing security. We will advance the fundamental reinforcement of Japan's

defence capabilities in tandem with reinforcing the Japan–US alliance and strengthening our security cooperation with other like-minded countries. The third is promoting realistic efforts to bring about a world without nuclear weapons. The fourth is strengthening the functions of the United Nations, including UN Security Council reform. The fifth is strengthening international cooperation in new policy areas such as economic security.

In order to bring peace to the international community, it is imperative that we first press forward in maintaining and strengthening the rules-based free and open international order. The rule of law serves as the foundation supporting this kind of international order. Alongside it are the peaceful resolution of disputes, the non-use of force and respect for sovereignty. On the sea, it is freedom of navigation. And in the economy, free trade.

Needless to say, respect for human rights is also critical, as is a democratic political system that reflects people's free will and diversity. These are common and universal principles developed by all people worldwide who, longing for world peace, have amassed collective wisdom. It goes without saying that the rules and principles I have just mentioned are also consistent with the purposes and principles of the United Nations Charter. Rules must be respected. Even if they become inconvenient, one cannot be allowed to act as if they did not exist, nor can one be allowed to unilaterally change them.

If one wants to change them, a new consensus must be made. Japan has been promoting a free and open Indo-Pacific with a view to maintaining and strengthening the rules-based free and open international order in this region. And the vision we have advocated has come to gain broad support in the international community. Japan has consistently and vigorously supported the ASEAN outlook on the Indo-Pacific, which ASEAN has developed as its own basic policy.

Looking around the world, a variety of actors, including the United States, Australia, India, the United Kingdom, France, Germany, Italy, the Netherlands and the European Union have all laid out visions for the Indo-Pacific, sharing a common grand vision. Like-minded partners are each taking action on their own initiative, not at the behest of others. This is the very concept of a free and open Indo-Pacific, which is based on inclusiveness, the so-called FOIP concept. In particular, here in the Indo-Pacific region collaboration with ASEAN is absolutely essential.

After assuming the post of Prime Minister, I first visited Cambodia, which holds this year's ASEAN chairmanship. Later, I visited Indonesia, Vietnam and Thailand. And today, I am here in Singapore. I have also held meetings with the leaders of ASEAN countries. The history of Japan and Southeast Asia is underpinned by a long history of goodwill and friendship. After the war, Japan supported the development of Southeast Asia. And Southeast Asian countries extended a helping hand to Japan in our recovery from the unprecedented earthquake and tsunami disaster.

I would like to continue to work hand in hand with the leaders of ASEAN countries to deepen discussions on ways to ensure peace and prosperity in the region. Along with ASEAN countries, Pacific Island countries are also important partners for the realisation of FOIP. We will contribute to strengthening the foundation for their sustainable and resilient economic development, including addressing the existential challenge of climate change.

We have provided timely assistance in response to recent changes in the security environment such as laying an undersea cable in East Micronesia in partnership with Australia and the United States, and

we will work together with our Pacific Island partners to ensure a rules-based, sustainable maritime order. Cooperation based on FOIP is cooperation built upon long-standing trust. It is not limited to hardware, such as infrastructure construction, but instead also focuses on supporting the development of local human resources, promoting autonomous and inclusive development and fostering the industry through public and private initiatives.

As potential investment partners, we have also supported efforts to strengthen ASEAN's connectivity. It is also necessary for like-minded countries to work together to increase the investment of resources in this region. In addition to the ASEAN and Pacific Island countries that I mentioned earlier, Japan, Australia, India and the United States, also known as the Quad, are playing an important role in promoting a free and open Indo-Pacific.

At the recent Quad leaders' meeting in Tokyo, we confirmed that the Quad will seek to extend more than US\$50 billion of further infrastructure assistance and investment in the Indo-Pacific over the next five years, which will be essential in promoting productivity and prosperity in this region. I will further accelerate these efforts. We intend to enhance existing free and open Indo-Pacific cooperation by beefing up our diplomatic efforts, including by expanding our official development assistance (ODA) while engaging in an optimised, efficient and strategic use of international cooperation through ODA.

I will lay out a free and open Indo-Pacific plan for peace by next spring, which will strengthen Japan's efforts to further promote the vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific with an emphasis on providing patrol vessels and enhancing maritime law-enforcement capabilities, as well as cyber security, digital and green initiatives and economic security.

In recent years, Japan has particularly been strengthening its maritime-security efforts while utilising advanced technologies, such as satellites, artificial intelligence and unmanned aerial vehicles, and we will continue to share its knowledge and experience with other countries. From this perspective, over the next three years, we will make use of technical cooperation, training and other means conducive to strengthening the maritime law-enforcement capabilities of at least 20 countries to promote efforts to train at least 800 maritime-security personnel and strengthen their human-resources networks.

In addition, we will provide at least approximately US\$2bn in assistance such as the provision of maritime-security equipment, including patrol vessels and development of maritime-transportation infrastructure in Indo-Pacific countries over the next three years. We will strengthen our support in the Pacific countries, utilising cooperation of Quad and frameworks of international organisations.

In addition, in order to maintain and strengthen the international order based on rules and universal values, such as the rule of law, we will strengthen connections and networks among countries and peoples. To this end, we will train more than 1,500 personnel in the fields of the rule of law and governance over the next three years.

Second, I would like to talk about the role Japan should play in the realm of security. In light of Russia's aggression against Ukraine, countries' perceptions on security have drastically changed around the world. Germany has announced that it will shift its security policy and raise its defence budget to 2% of its GDP. Finland and Sweden, Russia's neighbours, have changed their historical policy of neutrality and announced they have applied for NATO membership.

I myself have a strong sense of urgency that Ukraine today may be East Asia tomorrow. Japan has also made the decision to shift our policy towards Russia and is united with the international community in our efforts to impose strong sanctions against Russia and support Ukraine. As the Prime Minister of the peace-loving nation Japan, I have a responsibility to protect the lives and assets of the Japanese people and to contribute to a peaceful order in the region.

I will seek to build a stable international order through dialogue, not confrontation. At the same time, however, we must be prepared for the emergence of an entity that tramples on the peace and security of other countries by force or threat without honouring the rules. As a means of preventing such a situation and protecting ourselves, we need to enhance our deterrence and response capabilities. This will be absolutely essential if Japan is to learn to survive in the new era and keep speaking out as a standard bearer of peace.

As the security environment surrounding Japan becomes increasingly severe, we will set out a new national security strategy by the end of this year. I am determined to fundamentally reinforce Japan's defence capabilities within the next five years and secure a substantial increase of Japan's defence budget needed to effect such reinforcement. In doing so, we will not rule out any options, including the so-called counter-strike capabilities, and will realistically consider what is necessary to protect the lives and livelihoods of our people.

To all of you, I stress that Japan's posture as a peace-loving nation will remain unchanged. Our efforts will proceed within the scope of our constitution and in compliance with international law in a manner that does not alter the basic roles and missions shared between Japan and the United States under our alliance. We will continue to explain our approach to other countries in a transparent and thorough manner.

No country can ensure its security entirely on its own. That is why I will promote multi-layered security cooperation with like-minded countries that share universal values, positioning the Japan-US alliance as the linchpin. In my meeting with US President Biden, during his recent visit to Japan, he strongly supported my determination regarding Japan's defence capabilities.

We were also in full agreement on expanding and deepening Japan-US security and defence cooperation. We will further reinforce the deterrence and response capabilities of the Japan-US alliance, which has become the cornerstone of peace and stability in not only the Indo-Pacific but also the entire world. At the same time, we will actively promote security cooperation with Australia and other like-minded countries.

Prime Minister Lee Hsien Loong, I am extremely pleased to begin negotiations with Singapore to conclude a defence-equipment and -technology transfer agreement. We will continue to promote our efforts to conclude such defence-equipment and -technology transfer agreements with ASEAN countries and materialise specific cooperation projects, according to their needs.

Regarding Reciprocal Access Agreements, or RAAs, following the signing of an agreement with Australia in January, we have recently reached an agreement in principle with the United Kingdom. Japan will work closely with like-minded partners in Europe and Asia towards the conclusion of these agreements. In addition, in order to contribute to the realisation of a free and open maritime order, Japan will dispatch a Maritime Self-Defense Force unit, led by the destroyer *Izumo*, to the Indo-Pacific

region from 13 June and conduct joint exercises with countries in the region, including Southeast Asia and the Pacific.

Third, we will do our utmost towards achieving a world without nuclear weapons. Amid the crisis in Ukraine, the use of nuclear weapons by Russia is being discussed as a real possibility. We must not repeat the scourge of nuclear weapons. The threat of nuclear weapons, let alone the use of them, should never be tolerated. As the Prime Minister of the only country that has suffered the devastation of atomic bombings, I strongly appeal for this.

The ramifications of Russia's threat to use nuclear weapons are not limited to the threat itself. The threat may have already caused serious damage to the nuclear non-proliferation regime. It may have already made it even more difficult for countries seeking to develop nuclear weapons to abandon their plans. Moves to develop and possess nuclear weapons might even spread further to other countries. These are among the various concerns that have been voiced.

Even before the Ukraine crisis, North Korea frequently and repeatedly launched ballistic missiles, including ICBM-class missiles, and we have great concerns that yet another nuclear test is imminent. The non-transparent build-up of military capacity, including nuclear arsenals that can be seen in the vicinity of Japan, has become a serious regional security concern.

The return to compliance with the Iran nuclear agreement has not yet been realised. I must admit that the path to a world without nuclear weapons has become even more challenging. It is, however, precisely because of this extremely difficult situation that I, Prime Minister with roots in Hiroshima, where an atomic bomb was dropped, have decided to speak out, work tirelessly to reverse the current situation and contribute to any scale of improvement towards achieving a world without nuclear weapons.

There is no contradiction between ensuring Japan's national security, while squarely facing the reality of the harsh security environment surrounding Japan, and at the same time advancing towards the ideal of a world without nuclear weapons. Based on the relationship of trust we enjoy with the United States, our sole ally, Japan will present a road map that will take us from the reality to our ideal and press forward with realistic nuclear-disarmament efforts.

Greater transparency of nuclear forces is what underpins such efforts. It serves as the first step in supporting the irreversibility and verifiability of nuclear disarmament and in building trust among nuclear-weapon states, as well as between nuclear-weapon states and non-nuclear-weapon states. Mindful of the non-transparent manner in which some countries have been increasing their nuclear capabilities, we call for all nuclear-weapon states to disclose information regarding their nuclear forces.

Together with countries concerned, we will encourage the United States and China to engage in bilateral dialogue on nuclear disarmament and arms control. In addition, it is also key to bring back discussions on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty (CTBT) and Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT), which have recently become nearly forgotten.

More than ever, we need to maintain and strengthen the Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT), the very cornerstone of the international nuclear-disarmament and non-proliferation regime. We will do

everything to ensure that the NPT Review Conference in August, in which both nuclear-weapon states and non-nuclear-weapon states will participate, achieves a meaningful outcome.

With the use of nuclear weapons now becoming a real possibility, reminding the world once again about the scourge and inhumanity of the use of nuclear weapons is vital. As the only country to have suffered the devastation of atomic bombings, Japan will seize every opportunity, including the upcoming Conference on the Humanitarian Impact of Nuclear Weapons, to convey the stark realities of atomic bombings to the world.

With a view to further bolstering discussions taken by the Group of Eminent Persons for Substantive Advancement of Nuclear Disarmament, which I established when I served as Foreign Minister, and to rekindle the momentum for international nuclear disarmament, we will establish the international Group of Eminent Persons for a World Without Nuclear Weapons. This group will enjoy the involvement of incumbent and former political leaders of various countries, and our plan is to hold its first meeting in Hiroshima this year.

With regard to North Korea, working towards the complete denuclearisation of North Korea in accordance with the UN Security Council resolutions, Japan, the United States and the Republic of Korea will work closely together in the areas of regional security, deliberations at the United Nations and diplomatic efforts. And Japan will further act in cooperation with the international community as a whole. Through each and every concrete effort, we will strive to move step by step towards a world without nuclear weapons.

Fourth, no time can be lost in reforming the UN, which should serve as the guardian of peace. Russia, a permanent member of the UN Security Council, a body having primary responsibility for maintaining international peace and security, has engaged in an outrageous act that has shaken the very foundation of the international order, causing the UN to face a time of trial. Japan's stance of attaching importance to the United Nations remains unchanged.

Since my time as Foreign Minister, I have been actively working towards the reform of the UN. Now, having assumed office as Prime Minister, I have taken advantage of summit-level diplomatic opportunities to hold discussions with leaders of various countries on ways to strengthen the functions of the United Nations.

UN reform is not an easy task given the complexity of the intertwined interests of various countries. But Japan, as a peace-loving nation, will lead discussions to strengthen the functions of the United Nations, including the reform of the Security Council. Japan will join the UN Security Council starting next year, and in the Security Council, too, we will work tirelessly. At the same time, we will also seek a way forward for global governance that responds to the new challenges in the international community.

Finally, I would like to discuss international cooperation in new policy areas such as economic security. In the midst of an unprecedented pandemic, the vulnerabilities of the global supply chain have come to the fore. Exerting unjustifiable economic pressure on other countries to impose unilateral claims or intentionally disseminating disinformation can also never be accepted.

The aggression against Ukraine has made us even more aware of the clear and urgent need to make our own economy more resilient as it directly affects our everyday lives. Taking into account that the economy is directly linked to national security and that areas such as cyber security and digitalisation are becoming increasingly important for national security, we will promote economic-security initiatives to ensure the security of the nation and our people from an economic perspective.

In Japan, to address this challenge, the Economic Security Promotion legislation was enacted under my leadership. However, Japan cannot go at this alone. International cooperation is essential, including within frameworks of like-minded countries such as the G7. Japan and ASEAN have long been building multi-layered supply chains. It is crucial that our public and private sectors continue to invest in maintaining and strengthening these supply chains. To this end, Japan will support more than 100 supply-chain resilience projects over the next five years.

In addition, once a country's status in the international community, including its economic development, has been elevated, that country should not only enjoy the benefits, but more importantly it should also fulfil the responsibilities and obligations commensurate with that status. Economic cooperation and financing must be characterised by transparency and they should lead to the long-term welfare of the people of the recipient country.

We will continue to promote economic cooperation based on the idea of human security, respecting the ownership of each country and the interests of its nationals. To achieve prosperity in these difficult times, ASEAN and the Indo-Pacific region must remain the growth engine of the world. Japan will contribute to building resilient nations that can overcome any great or difficult challenges they may face.

Ladies and gentlemen, I ask you to contemplate our future. The vision I have shared with you today, the vision of a rules-based free and open international order, is one in which we all work together. We will elevate a free and open Indo-Pacific to the next stage.

I firmly believe that if we do so, a future of peace and prosperity will surely await us, a bright and glorious world full of hope, where there is trust and empathy shared amongst us.

Thank you for your kind attention.

Dr John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, IISS

Prime Minister, thank you very much for a speech rooted in principle, rich in policy, innovation and full of practical suggestions. I think we have time for two or three questions before opening it up to dinner. Yes, I think Yuka Koshino I see. If the microphone were to move at pace. There we go. All right.

Yuka Koshino, Research Fellow for Security and Technology Policy, IISS

Thank you, John, and thank you very much, Prime Minister, for your speech on Kishida's vision for peace. So, as you've made in your speech, you have been embracing your party faction's tradition of pursuing realism diplomacy, which, in my observation, is to respond flexibly, but at times also boldly, to the drastically changing strategic environment, such as normalising the relationship with China in 1972 and also dispatching the Self-Defense Force for the first time to a peacekeeping-operation mission in 1992, as you mentioned.

So in your realism diplomacy for the new era, what does that realism diplomacy look like? What do you hope to achieve in your realism diplomacy towards China? Thank you.

Kishida Fumio, Prime Minister, Japan

Thank you very much for the question. Now, Japan and China, the relationship between the two. The relationship between our two countries is important, not only for Japan and China, but also for the region and the international community. It is important for the peace and prosperity of the international society as well.

Now, between Japan and China, we assert and contend what needs to be contended and we also strongly ask China to act responsibly and also to build a constructive and stable relationship, and we will cooperate in a shared issue and agenda. Both of us need to make efforts to build such a relationship. And we also had a telephone summit meeting between our two countries in October last year. And President Xi Jinping has also agreed that we need to work mutually to create a constructive and stable relationship.

But because Japan and China are neighbours, and because we are neighbours, there are many issues pending between us. For example, for the military developments, both of us need to enhance transparency, and by doing so we will be able to execute accountability and also to create a relationship based upon trust and confidence. And because Japan and China are neighbours, we do have difficult issues between us, but for the peace and prosperity of the whole international community, I would like to create a constructive and stable relationship between the two countries.

Dr John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, IISS

I think there was General Lei He from the PLA Academy of Military Sciences. So I think you've just stepped down from there, but still hold an affiliation with the PLA. General, the floor is yours. Standing up is a great technique to get a microphone towards you. Thank you very much. There you are.

Speaker

I'm Lieutenant General (Retd) He Lei from PLA delegation. First of all, thank you, Dr Chipman, for giving me the floor.

Just now I heard the speech by Prime Minister Fumio Kishida. Now I have two questions for you. The first is also about China-Japan relationship. China and Japan are close neighbours, separated by a narrow strip of water, and they are separately the second- and third-largest economies in the world. And I think China-Japan relationship is not only a matter to the peace and stability to the two countries but also that of Asia-Pacific, even the world.

But after you assumed the current post, we are having the 50th anniversary of the normalisation of China-Japan relationship. So my question is, what is your major vision for China and Japan relationship during your tenure? And what are your major goals? And what major measures would you take accordingly?

Dr John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, IISS

General, thank you very much. I think we've got enough there for the Prime Minister to work on. Prime Minister?

Kishida Fumio, Prime Minister, Japan

Thank you very much for the question. Japan–China relationship: as you have pointed out, Japan–China relationship is not only important for the two countries. It has a major impact to the peace and prosperity of the world. So it is an important bilateral relationship, all the more so because we are neighbours, there are complex issues between us. That's true, but we want to make this a constructive and stable relationship. And with that in mind, I've talked over the phone with President Xi Jinping and we concurred on that view.

This is an important bilateral relationship. And in order to stabilise this extremely important bilateral relationship, we need to enhance communication and dialogue at all levels. We need to promote dialogue and communication in order to step by step build up trust between us. That's the kind of effort I want to engage in. So I invite the support of all relevant actors. Thank you.

Dr John Chipman, Director-General and Chief Executive, IISS

Thank you very much. You've given us a splendid presentation tonight. I think all of us look forward to hearing in the coming months and year more detail about your free and open Indo-Pacific plan for peace with its diverse elements of maritime, digital, green and economic security. We all appreciated your call for adherence to the Non-Proliferation Treaty and your underlining of the importance of economic security in this world that is struggling to hang on to the gains of globalisation of the previous generations. We've enjoyed you hugely tonight. Thank you very much indeed.

Kishida Fumio, Prime Minister, Japan

Thank you.