The Significance of the G7 Hiroshima Summit in the Context of Global Governance SHIKATA Noriyuki*

Abstract

When the G7 Hiroshima Summit was held in May 2023, Prime Minister Kishida attached importance to two points: striving to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law; and strengthening Japan's engagement with the so-called Global South countries and other international partners beyond the G7. From these perspectives, he led discussions with the leaders of the G7, the invited countries and Ukraine, and it was outstanding that in the final session the leaders were able to share the view that all countries should adhere to the principles of the United Nations (UN) Charter and that we must strive to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law.

In addition to other key issues such as the situation in Ukraine, nuclear disarmament, a Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), economic security, development cooperation, and AI, food security was also discussed in the Summit. The G7 and invited countries jointly issued a statement on this issue, demonstrating the G7's commitment to take concrete action to address the grave issues facing the Global South.

After the G7 Summit, Prime Minister Kishida continued to share the outcome of the Summit with many countries by taking the opportunity to attend various events, such as the ASEAN-related Summit Meetings and the G20 New Delhi Summit. At this juncture, when the United Nations Security Council (UNSC) has been unable to function effectively, it is even more important to ensure cooperation among the G7 countries as well as the G7's outreach efforts. This applies not only to security issues, but also to efforts to address global challenges in such fields as food, energy, and global health.

Introduction

he diplomacy under the administration led by Prime Minister KISHIDA Fumio intends to lead the international community on the basis of the Japan-U.S. Alliance, while also working together with like-minded countries such as the G7 member countries, the Republic of Korea(ROK) and Australia, as well as the so-called Global South countries, for the purpose of ensuring the safety, security, and prosperity of Japanese nationals and maintaining and strengthening a free and open international order based on the rule of law amid the increasingly severe security environment. In this article, I would like to look back on the diplomacy pursued by Prime Minister Kishida as G7 chair before, during, and after the G7 Hiroshima Summit to examine the significance of the summit in the context of global governance. In doing so, I will take up primarily issues regarding security in a broader definition from the perspective of the global governance in the Ukraine War. This text presents the author's personal view.

^{*} Former Cabinet Secretary for Public Affairs, Prime Minister's Office of Japan

1. The Kishida Diplomacy in the runup to the G7 Hiroshima Summit—with two perspectives in the summit in mind

In February 2022, Russia, a permanent member of the United Nations Security Council (UNSC), militarily invaded the neighboring Ukraine, resulting in a dramatic change in the international situation. Since immediately after this aggression, Prime Minister Kishida made full use of summit diplomacy and other various opportunities to repeatedly emphasize (1) that this is not just a European issue; (2) that it is an issue that concerns the national sovereignty prescribed in the United Nations (UN) Charter, as well as an international order based on the rule of law; and (3) that security in Europe and the Indo-Pacific are inseparable and that today's Ukraine may be tomorrow's East Asia.

As the international community faced such a historic turning point, the G7 Hiroshima Summit was held in May 2023. In the summit, while achieving the objective of reaffirming the unwavering unity of the G7, the Prime Minister attached importance to the following two points toward the realization of cooperation, not division or confrontation, of the international community. The first point was to strive to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law. The second point was to strengthen Japan's engagement with the so-called Global South countries and other international partners beyond the G7, with a view to coming up with proactive and concrete contributions. From these perspectives, Prime Minister Kishida actively visited various countries to exchange views ahead of the G7 Hiroshima Summit in May.

In March 2023, Prime Minister Kishida visited India, chair of the G20 in the same year, to confirm with Prime Minister Narendra Modi that they will work together in addressing various challenges facing the international community toward both the G7 and G20 Summits, while also announcing Japan's invitation to the G7 Hiroshima Summit for the leaders of eight countries, including India, Brazil, and Indonesia, as well as the heads of seven international organizations. Right after his visit to India, Prime Minister Kishida visited Ukraine and Poland, and, in a meeting with Ukrainian President Volodymyr Zelenskyy, expressed his desire to make the G7 Hiroshima Summit an opportunity for the G7 to demonstrate its determination to strive to uphold the international order based on the rule of law.

In addition, in April and May 2023, Prime Minister Kishida visited Egypt, Ghana, Kenya and Mozambique, where he directly listened to the challenges facing those four African countries and other Global South countries, including development finance, food security, climate, and energy. This contributed to producing positive results in the course of the discussions at the G7 Hiroshima Summit.

2. Outcome of the Hiroshima Summit

(1) Cooperation with international partners beyond the G7

At the G7 Hiroshima Summit, held as a result of such preparatory work, the G7's unwavering unity was reaffirmed and various outcomes were achieved with the participation of invited countries. Particularly outstanding was the final session of the summit, where Prime Minister Kishida, as G7 chair, held discussions with the leaders of the G7, the invited countries and Ukraine regarding the peace and stability of the world, including those in the Indo-Pacific and Africa. Based on this, the leaders shared the view that the following points are important.

(a) All countries should adhere to the principles of the UN Charter, including the respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Eight invited countries: Australia, Brazil, Comoros (chair of the African Union (AU)), Cook Islands (chair of the Pacific Islands Forum (PIF)), India (G20 chair), Indonesia (ASEAN chair), Republic of Korea (ROK) and Vietnam. Seven invited organizations: United Nations (UN), International Energy Agency (IEA), International Monetary Fund (IMF), Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD), World Bank, World Health Organization (WHO) and World Trade Organization (WTO).

- (b) Confrontation should be solved peacefully through dialogue, and we support a just and durable peace that is based on respect for international law and the principles of the UN Charter.
- (c) Any unilateral attempt to change the status quo by force is unacceptable anywhere in the world.
- (d) We strive to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law.

Discussions were also held with the invited countries and organizations regarding the energy and food prices that were soaring in the world in response to Russia's aggression against Ukraine, as well as various challenges facing the international community such as development, health, climate change, energy, and the environment. This not only confirmed the importance of a broad range of partners beyond the G7 working together to address those challenges, but also identified the actions to be taken in the future. For example, regarding food security, which has become a grave issue for the Global South and the rest of the international community following Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the G7 and invited countries jointly issued the "Hiroshima Action Statement for Resilient Global Food Security," which presents a comprehensive set of urgent responses to the food security crisis and initiatives to establish agriculture and food systems that are sustainable and resilient from medium- to long-term perspectives. In promoting these efforts, Prime Minister Kishida particularly emphasized the importance of valuing human dignity and human security through a people-centered approach.

The message from the G7 as a result of the G7 Hiroshima Summit, which stated its commitment to taking concrete action to address grave issues facing the Global South, has demonstrated the G7's proactive contributions to the Global South. Concrete discussions regarding related global challenges will be detailed later in this text.

(2) Russia's aggression against Ukraine

With regard to the situation in Ukraine, one of the key issues discussed in the G7 Hiroshima Summit, the G7 had already responded proactively, including by holding the G7 Leaders' Video Conference on February 24, 2023, one year after the start of Russia's aggression against Ukraine.

First on the agenda of the G7 Hiroshima Summit on May 19 was a candid exchange of views among the G7 leaders regarding the situation surrounding Russia's aggression against Ukraine. Prime Minister Kishida stated that it is essential for the G7 to get united in providing vigorous support to Ukraine in all aspects and continue severe sanctions against Russia, while also expressing his desire to demonstrate once again the G7's strong determination to firmly reject Russia's aggression in order to restore peace in Ukraine.³ In response, the G7 leaders stressed that peace will never be achieved without the retreat of Russian military and confirmed that they will make every effort to bring peace to Ukraine.

In session 8 "Ukraine" on May 21, the G7 leaders exchanged views regarding the situation in Ukraine with the participation of Ukrainian President Zelenskyy. Prime Minister Kishida stated that the G7 welcomes and supports President Zelenskyy's continued sincere efforts toward a just and lasting peace under the basic principles of his "Peace Formula" and expressed his intention to exert leadership as G7 chair to ensure the continued unified response by the G7. In response to this, the G7 leaders confirmed that they will seek to restore peace in Ukraine to strive

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hiroshima Action Statement for Resilient Global Food Security, May 20, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100506868.pdf

³ Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Hiroshima Summit (Session 2 Ukraine), May 19, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ecm/ec/page1e_000674.html

to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law.⁴ President Zelenskyy appreciated Prime Minister Kishida's clear leadership in Asia in protecting the rule of law and the comprehensive support from Japan and its people.⁵

In the bilateral summit meeting between Japan and Ukraine on the same day, it was confirmed that the G7 will get more united than ever before in providing vigorous support to Ukraine in all aspects and that the continued severe sanctions against Russia are essential.⁶ President Zelenskyy told a press conference that what he requests Japan to support Ukraine with is "technology." The president stated that Japan's experience is extremely important for Ukraine to ensure reconstruction through technology in areas ranging from energy to healthcare and that there is a need for Japan's modern technology in green energy as part of the energy sector, as well as in sectors such as railways and healthcare. Asked at the press conference what struck him at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, President Zelenskyy referred to photographs depicting Hiroshima in ruins, which he said, "remind me of Bakhmut and other similar cities." This remark made headlines in many international media reports. "Hiroshima has achieved reconstruction. We now dream of the day when all the cities that have been reduced to ruins, and all the villages where not a single house has avoided Russian attacks will achieve reconstruction."

During his stay in Hiroshima, President Zelenskyy held separate meetings with not only the G7 leaders, but also those of India, Indonesia and the ROK. Particular attention was paid to the meeting he had with Indonesia President Joko Widodo, who expressed his country's readiness to serve as a bridge of peace. President Joko also expressed his intention to provide assistance in the healthcare sector for the reconstruction of Ukraine, to which President Zelenskyy expressed his gratitude. ROK President Yoon Suk Yeol expressed his intention to continue to provide diplomatic, economic, humanitarian aid and other forms of aid needed by Ukraine. The G7 Hiroshima Summit thus offered opportunities for participating countries other than those belonging to the G7 to express support for Ukraine.

The G7 Leaders' Statement on Ukraine, 9 which was issued as a stand-alone statement at the G7 Hiroshima Summit, reaffirmed the unwavering commitment of the G7 leaders to provide the maximum possible diplomatic, financial, and military assistance to Ukraine, while also sharing the view regarding concrete efforts to strengthen sanctions against Russia, including countermeasures against Russia's attempts to evade and circumvent sanctions.

President Zelenskyy's participation in the G7 Hiroshima Summit was extremely significant, as the G7 reconfirmed its commitment to take even more united efforts to bring a just and lasting peace to Ukraine and, with the invited countries that do not belong to the G7, sent an even more powerful message to the international community that it is important to reject any unilateral attempt to change the status quo by force anywhere in the world, and to strive to uphold the free

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Hiroshima Summit (Session 8 Ukraine), May 21, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ecm/ec/page1e_000701.html

Ukraine, President of Ukraine Official website, "We need global leadership of democracy - President Volodymyr Zelenskyy's speech at the session of the G7 Summit and Ukraine," May 21, 2023. https://www.president.gov.ua/en/news/nam-potribne-globalne-liderstvo-demokratiyi-vistup-prezident-83053

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan-Ukraine Summit Meeting, May 21, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/erp/c_see/ua/page4e_001424.html

Japan, NHK, Full Text of an Interview with President Zelenskyy of Ukraine: "Russia Should Be the Last Invader," May 22, 2023. This website is only in Japanese and the English in the text is a translation of this website. The press conference itself was conducted in Ukrainian. https://www3.nhk.or.jp/news/special/international_news_navi/articles/detail/2023/05/22/31753.html

⁸ Same as above

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Leaders' Statement on Ukraine, May 19, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100506474.pdf

and open international order based on the rule of law.

After the G7 Hiroshima Summit, the then Minister for Foreign Affairs HAYASHI Yoshimasa attended the Ukraine Recovery Conference held in London on June 21 and 22, 2023, co-hosted by the United Kingdom and Ukraine. Minister Hayashi expressed Japan's intention to provide "uniquely Japanese" flexible and bold assistance for the recovery and reconstruction of Ukraine on an all-Japan basis. Minister Hayashi pledged that in the long run, Japan's support will be mainly in the areas of (i) demining and debris clearance, (ii) livelihood reconstruction including the development of basic infrastructure such as electricity, (iii) recovery of agricultural production and industrial development, and (iv) strengthening democracy and governance. Minister Hayashi also stated that Japan will hold the Japan-Ukraine Conference for the reconstruction of Ukraine at the beginning of 2024 to vigorously assist the recovery and reconstruction of Ukraine. 10 In fact, Japan-Ukraine Conference for Promotion of Economic Growth and Reconstruction was held in the presence of the Prime Minister Kishida and Prime Minister of Ukraine Denys Shmyhal in February 2024. At the conference, Prime Minister Kishida stated that Japan attaches renewed importance of "investing in the future" of Ukraine, Japan and the world to support Ukraine, and expressed his intention to strongly support Ukraine's comprehensive economic development through public-private cooperation. A total of 56 cooperation agreements were signed between Japan and Ukraine that day.¹¹

(3) Nuclear disarmament and the "G7 Leaders' Hiroshima Vision on Nuclear Disarmament" The summit, held in Hiroshima, where a nuclear weapon was actually used as a weapon of war for the first time in the world, provided an opportunity for the leaders of various countries to visit the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum, learn about the realities of the atomic bombing, and lay a wreath at the Cenotaph for the Atomic Bomb Victims at the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Park. Candid discussions took place regarding nuclear disarmament among the G7 leaders, who reaffirmed their commitment to a "world without nuclear weapons." Such development led to the issuance of the "G7 Leaders' Hiroshima Vision on Nuclear Disarmament," the G7 leaders' first-ever stand-alone document focusing on nuclear disarmament, which I believe has enhanced the momentum in the international community toward a "world without nuclear weapons."

Taking advantage of the G7 Leaders' Hiroshima Vision as a powerful springboard, Prime Minister Kishida intends to continue and strengthen realistic and practical efforts by implementing one by one the initiatives under the "Hiroshima Action Plan," that he proposed at the NPT Review Conference held in August 2022.

Specifically, Prime Minister Kishida made repeated efforts toward an early entry into force of the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty (CTBT) and an early launch of negotiations of the Fissile Material Cut-Off Treaty (FMCT). During his visit to New York in September 2023 for attending a United Nations General Assembly, Prime Minister Kishida hosted the Commemorative High-Level Event on FMCT, which gained political participation from many figures and gathered political attention to FMCT. In March 2024, Foreign Minister KAMIKAWA

Japan, Ukraine Recovery Conference: Statement by Mr. HAYASHI Yoshimasa, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan, June 21, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100520058.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Leaders' Session of the Japan-Ukraine Conference for Promotion of Economic Growth and Reconstruction (Overview), February 19, 2024 https://www.mofa.go.jp/erp/c_see/ua/pageite_000001_00176.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Leaders' Hiroshima Vision on Nuclear Disarmament, May 19, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100506512.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Attendance of Prime Minister Kishida at the Tenth Review Conference of the Parties to the Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT), August 2, 2022 https://www.mofa.go.jp/dns/ac_d/page3e_001229.html

Yoko announced the establishment of "FMCT Friends" at the UNSC, to maintain and strengthen political interest in the FMCT and contribute to increased support for the start of the negotiations for the FMCT. Twelve countries, including the United States, the United Kingdom and France, are members of the "Friends." The initiatives and efforts shown by Prime Minister Kishida at G7 Hiroshima Summit are expanding.

In addition, in his general debate speech at the UN General Assembly, Prime Minister Kishida announced the establishment of the "Japan Chair for a world without nuclear weapons," which is aimed at promoting multi-layered initiatives involving both governments and private-sector entities through providing a forum for the dissemination of information and discussion for major research institutions in the world, thereby expressing his intention to overcome the binary confrontation "between deterrence and nuclear disarmament" in the academic and practical spheres.

(4) "Free and Open Indo-Pacific"

Another feature of the G7 Hiroshima Summit hosted by Japan, the only G7 member country in Asia, was the focus on the Indo-Pacific as a priority of discussions. The G7 leaders agreed that they will cooperate toward the realization of the "Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP)."

In March 2023, ahead of the G7 Hiroshima Summit, Prime Minister Kishida announced the New Plan for a FOIP during his visit to India, presenting the importance of sharing the vision of FOIP in the international community and concrete initiatives to realize a FOIP toward the coexistence and co-prosperity of various nations at the current historic turning point, under such principles as freedom, the rule of law, inclusiveness, openness, and diversity. In the third session of the G7 Hiroshima Summit, Prime Minister Kishida stated that Japan would like to cooperate with the G7 countries on the basis of this New Plan for a FOIP, and following his remarks, the G7 confirmed that they would continue to work closely together in dealing with various issues concerning China and North Korea, including the North Korean nuclear and missile issues and the abduction issue.

(5) Economic resilience and economic security

As the concept of security rapidly expands into more economic areas and the rule-based international economic order is challenged due to changes in the international situations and other factors, cooperation among allies and like-minded countries is essential in responding to issues regarding economic security. In Hiroshima, the G7 issued its first-ever comprehensive and concrete message regarding economic resilience and economic security in the form of a leaders' statement.¹⁷ The statement confirms the intention of the G7 to strengthen strategic cooperation for (i) building resilient supply chains and key infrastructure; (ii) responding to non-market policies and practices and economic coercion; and (iii) preventing leakage of critical and emerging technologies, and to cooperate and collaborate in a comprehensive manner through the G7 framework, with a view to continuing to produce results of the initiatives, rather than doing so solely during Japan's G7 presidency.

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Address by Prime Minister Kishida at the Seventy-Eighth Session of the United Nations General Assembly, September 19, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/unp_a/ page4e_001473.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Policy Speech by Prime Minister KISHIDA Fumio (New Plan for a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific"), March 20, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/fp/pc/page1e_000586.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Hiroshima Summit (Session 3 (Working Dinner) Foreign and Security Policy), May 19, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ecm/ec/page1e_000681.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Leaders' Statement on Economic Resilience and Economic Security, May 20, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100506815.pdf

At the same time, the G7 leaders also announced the "G7 Clean Energy Economy Action Plan," stressing the importance of the establishment of supply chains for energy transition and confirming the benefit of such efforts to workers and society in each region. The leaders also recognized that the transition to a clean energy economy is critical to reducing poverty and ensuring prosperity, and shared the view that they will deepen cooperation with partners around the world, with a focus on low- and middle-income countries.

(6) Development cooperation

In the infrastructure investment sector, a side-event on the Partnership for Global Infrastructure and Investment (PGII) was held. PGII is the G7's shared commitment to promote public and private investment in sustainable, inclusive, resilient and quality infrastructure. In its efforts on PGII, the G7 has realized investments in a series of pressing priorities, including climate change and the energy crisis, supply chain resilience, connectivity through digital infrastructure and transport networks, sustainable health systems, and gender equality and equity. To conduct such investments in a transparent and fair manner so that they will contribute to the sustainable development of partner countries, it is necessary to mobilize private funds in collaboration with various entities. To this end, representatives of the private sector were invited to the event and confirmation was made that they will work together. In the event, Prime Minister Kishida expressed Japan will support building wind farms in Vietnam and Egypt, and high-speed railways, subways, ports and port crossings in India, Bangladesh, and the Philippines. Japan will continue to work toward further developing PGII and promoting quality infrastructure investment, in line with the domestic GX promotion strategy.

In the healthcare sector, Japan also demonstrated its leadership and contribution. Considering the experience gained in the battle against COVID-19, the international community should take preparatory measures to deal with the next pandemic crisis. Together with the invited countries and organizations, the G7 held discussions focused on three pillars: developing and strengthening the Global Health Architecture (GHA) to strengthen prevention, preparedness, and response for future health emergencies; achieving Universal Health Coverage (UHC); and the promotion of health innovation. In particular, regarding the contribution to the achievement of UHC, the G7 has committed to providing a financial contribution of more than 48 billion dollars from both the public and private sectors. Japan plans to make a contribution totaling around 7.5 billion dollars between 2022 and 2025.¹⁹

(7) Artificial intelligence

In the G7 Hiroshima Summit, Prime Minister Kishida proposed the "Hiroshima AI Process" aimed at achieving trustworthy AI, on which the participating countries agreed. Based on the outcome of the subsequent ministerial-level discussions, the G7 leaders issued the "G7 Leaders' Statement on the Hiroshima AI Process" in October, 2023. This document states that the G7 leaders welcome the "Hiroshima Process International Guiding Principles for Organizations".

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Clean Energy Economy Action Plan, May 20, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100506817.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan-Chaired G7 2023: Health Outcomes, November 6, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ic/ghp/page22e_001065.html

Japan, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Hiroshima AI Process, https://www.soumu.go.jp/hiroshimaaiprocess/en/index.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, G7 Leaders' Statement on the Hiroshima AI Process, October 30, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ecm/ec/page5e 000076.html

Developing Advanced AI system"²² and the "Hiroshima Process International Code of Conduct for Organizations Developing Advanced AI Systems,"²³ both of which cover generative AI, as shared principles essential for achieving trustworthy AI. Furthermore, the "Hiroshima AI Process Comprehensive Policy Framework," which includes project-based cooperation such as those regarding disinformation, was endorsed at the G7 Digital and Tech Ministers' meeting in December, 2023.²⁴

The G7, together with the OECD, is leading the way in establishing international rules for the governance of generative AI, promoting transparency, countering disinformation and protecting intellectual property rights. At the occasion of the Generative AI Side Event held on the sidelines of the OECD Ministerial Council Meeting on May 2, 2024, Prime Minister Kishida announced the launch of the Hiroshima AI Process Friends Group with the participation of 49 countries and regions, including many OECD members, as a voluntary framework of countries supporting the spirit of the Hiroshima AI Process. This is a strong move to address the risks of generative AI and promote cooperation to ensure that people around the world can benefit from the use of safe, secure, and trustworthy AI. Furthermore, the G7 plans to strengthen support to ensure cybersecurity and advance the digitalization of developing countries. Japan will continue to contribute to the creation of international rules regarding generative AI through the Hiroshima AI Process.

3. The Kishida Diplomacy following the G7 Hiroshima Summit

After the G7 Hiroshima Summit, Prime Minister Kishida continued to work to share the outcome of the summit with various countries around the world, thereby taking the lead in the international community as the 2023 G7 chair for a year.

To begin with, in July, Prime Minister Kishida visited Poland, Lithuania, the venue for a North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO) Summit, and Belgium, where a Japan–European Union (EU) Summit was held. Prime Minister Kishida took advantage of those visits to reaffirm a consensus among the member countries of the EU and the NATO and partner countries on the importance of "striving to uphold a free and open international order based on the rule of law," which was confirmed at the G7 Hiroshima Summit among those countries. Jointly with the NATO, Prime Minister Kishida announced the agreement on the "Individually Tailored Partnership Programme (ITPP) between the NATO and Japan," confirming cooperation in new areas such as cyber, emerging destructive technologies, space and strategic communications, in addition to traditional areas. In a joint statement with the EU, ²⁶ Japan and the EU announced the launch of a foreign minister–level strategic dialogue to elevate the cooperation on the security front to a new level, and as well as their intention to strengthen cooperation in the areas of digital, connectivity, and energy.

Immediately thereafter, Prime Minister Kishida, as G7 chair, visited Gulf countries such

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hiroshima Process International Guiding Principles for Organizations Developing Advanced AI System, October 30, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ files/100573471.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Hiroshima Process International Code of Conduct for Organizations Developing Advanced AI Systems, October 30, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100573473.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Internal Affairs and Communications, Hiroshima AI Process G7 Digital & Tech Ministers' Statement, December 1, 2023 https://www.soumu.go.jp/main_content/000915261.pdf

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Prime Minister Kishida's attendance at the Side Event on Generative AI at the OECD Ministerial Council Meeting, May 2, 2024 https://www.mofa.go.jp/ecm/ec/pageite_000001_00332.html

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Joint Statement: Japan-EU Summit 2023, July 13, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100528227.pdf

as Saudi Arabia, the United Arab Emirates and Qatar, and held discussions with the leaders of those countries, based on the outcome of the G7 Hiroshima Summit. The leaders confirmed the importance of maintaining "a free and open international order based on the rule of law."

At the ASEAN-related Summit Meeting held in Indonesia in September and the G20 New Delhi Summit held in India, Prime Minister Kishida, as G7 chair, took the lead in the international discussions based on the outcome of the G7 Hiroshima Summit. On the occasion of the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation, Japan launched a "Comprehensive Strategic Partnership" with ASEAN to further strengthen the relationship, and reiterated its support for mainstreaming the "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific (AOIP)." They also confirmed that the AOIP and Japan's FOIP will promote cooperation in a way that creates synergy. In December 2023, the Commemorative Summit for the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation was also held in Tokyo. At the conclusion of the discussions, Prime Minister Kishida reaffirmed that Japan and ASEAN share a vision of a world in which all countries can pursue peace and prosperity and in which the principles such as democracy, the rule of law, good governance, and respect for human rights and fundamental freedom are respected. ASEAN and Japan also agreed to further strengthen their cooperation as "Partners for Peace and Stability."²⁷

Regarding the G20, even before the G7 Hiroshima Summit, Japan was in close communication with India as G20 chair and efforts were made with the idea of passing on the outcome of the G7 Hiroshima Summit to the G20 New Delhi Summit in mind. For example, as confirmed at the G7 Hiroshima Summit, items such as (1) achieving net zero through various paths tailored to each country's circumstances; (2) building sustainable and resilient agricultural and food systems; and (3) strengthening the delivery of Medical Countermeasures (MCM) to be used in the event of potential pandemic crises, were reflected in the G20 New Delhi Leader's Declaration.

The declaration also refers to just and durable peace in Ukraine and upholding the principles of the UN Charter, including territorial integrity and sovereignty. They are the items that were emphasized at the G7 Hiroshima Summit. It was significant that all the G20 members, including Russia, were able to agree on them.

Conclusion

The above is a review of the Kishida administration's diplomacy in the periods before and after the G7 Hiroshima Summit and its relationship to global governance regarding security in a broad definition. As G7 chair, Japan set the agenda for the G7 Hiroshima Summit and worked closely with the G7 member countries to improve global governance in a broad range of areas in a way to expand into non-G7 countries, including those belonging to the Global South. The countries of the Global South do not generally take sides with the United States or China, but rather look at the conjunctures and developments in the world from the perspective of their own national interests. In this situation, Japan and other G7 countries need to be attuned to the challenges they face in parallel to encourage them to uphold the free and open international order based on the rule of law and the principles of the UN Charter, such as respect for sovereignty and territorial integrity.

In addition, as it was possible for Japan, as G7 chair, to make adjustments to the conference formats and the composition of the invited countries and organizations, Japan was able to coordinate with other major international conferences, such as the NATO Summit, the ASEAN-related Summit, and the G20 Summit, making it possible to reflect the outcome of the G7 Hiroshima Summit in them effectively.

After Russia's aggression against Ukraine, the UNSC has been unable to function in an effective manner due to the positions of Russia and China, and this fact makes it all the more

Japan, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Commemorative Summit for the 50th Year of ASEAN-Japan Friendship and Cooperation, December 17, 2023 https://www.mofa.go.jp/a_o/rp/ pageite_000001_00062.html

important to ensure cooperation among the G7 countries and the G7's outreach efforts. This applies not only to security issues, but also to efforts to address global challenges such as food, energy, and global health. Whether the G7 countries can contribute to the international community by taking concrete actions to resolve these global challenges is becoming increasingly important.

While it is naturally difficult to improve global governance comprehensively and fundamentally through the G7 process alone, I believe that the G7's increasingly proactive efforts to address the various urgent key challenges facing the international community will contribute to medium- to long-term improvements in global governance. From this perspective, it is important for Japan's diplomacy to continue to actively utilize and participate in the G7 process even though its term as G7 chair has ended.

This paper is a revised English version originally published in The War in Ukraine and Global Governance edited by the Japan Association of Global Governance (JAGG) and published by Ashishobo Publishing in Tokyo, Japan in 2024. The author received the approval of JAGG to publish it.