

(For COLP49 Panel 1A)

Interconnected Maritime Security between Europe and Asia

At the critical juncture of the 10th anniversary of the PCA
award on the South China Sea dispute

September 21, 2026

Hideshi Tokuchi

Outline

- 1 “Ukraine today may be East Asia tomorrow.”**
- 2 The South China Sea may be the East China Sea tomorrow.**
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- 4 Restoration of the principle of the rule of law at sea**

“Ukraine today may be East Asia tomorrow.”

(“Keynote Address by Prime Minister KISHIDA Fumio at the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue,” Prime Minister’s Office of Japan, June 10, 2022,
https://japan.kantei.go.jp/101_kishida/statement/202206/_00002.html.)



(<https://www.mofa.go.jp/mofaj/files/100356327.jpg>)

Speech by NATO Secretary General Jens Stoltenberg at Keio University, Tokyo, Japan February 1, 2023

“We may be oceans apart. But our security is closely connected. And we share the same values, interests and concerns. This includes supporting Ukraine.”

(https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_211398.htm)



(【開催報告】KGRI特別講演会：「NATO and Japan: Powerful Partners for a New Security Reality」
(2023.02.01開催)、2023年2月14日、<https://www.kgri.keio.ac.jp/news-event/135482.html>。)

Speech by NATO Secretary General Mark Rutte followed by a moderated conversation on the topic “NATO and Japan – Strong Partnerships in an Interconnected World”, at the Keio University, in Tokyo

April 9, 2025

“We are on opposite sides of the globe, in different time zones, and yet in many ways, NATO and Japan are very close.

We share the same values, interests and concerns, and our security is clearly interlinked. What happens in the Indo Pacific matters to Europe, and what happens in Europe matters to Japan and to this region. This is why we both support Ukraine. Because it's where the fight for peace and freedom is taking place. Russia's war in Europe - yes, it's true, it is in Europe - but the conflict is truly global. With North Korean troops, Iranian drones and Chinese technologies fueling Russia's brutality against Ukraine and supporting Putin's attempts to crush freedom worldwide.”

(https://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/opinions_234447.htm)



(“Dialogue Between Secretary General of NATO and Keio Students: NATO and Japan—Strong Partnerships in an Interconnected World, Keio University,” April 24, 2025, <https://www.keio.ac.jp/en/news/2025/Apr/24/48-166550/>.)

The Interview: The Head of NATO Thinks President Trump ‘Deserves All the Praise’

By [Lulu Garcia-Navarro](#)

New York Times, July 5, 2025

If Xi Jinping would attack Taiwan, he would first make sure that he makes a call to his very junior partner in all of this, Vladimir Vladimirovich Putin, residing in Moscow, and telling him, “Hey, I’m going to do this, and I need you to keep them busy in Europe by attacking NATO territory.” ... And to deter them, we need to do two things. One is that NATO, collectively, being so strong that the Russians will never do this. And second, working together with the Indo-Pacific ... Because we have this close interconnectedness, working together on defense industry, innovation between NATO and the Indo-Pacific.

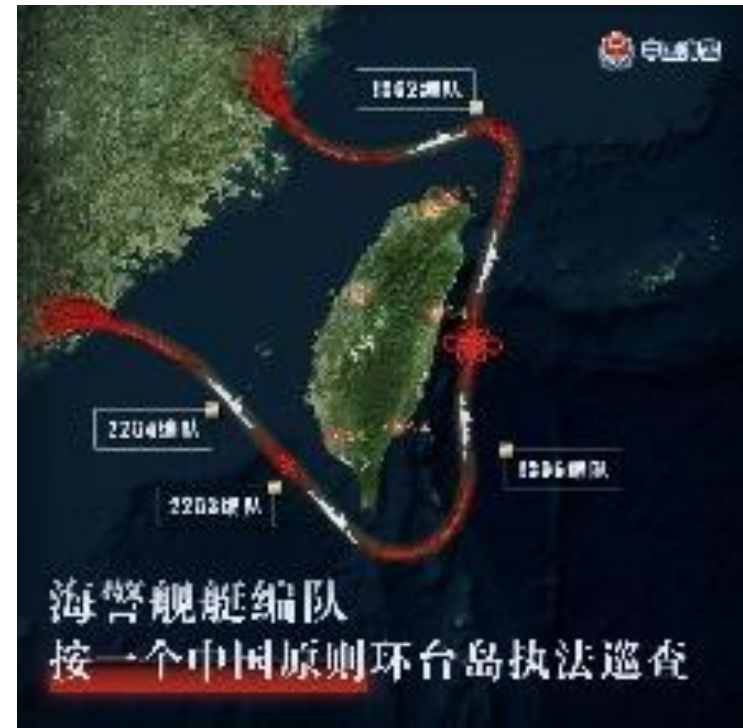
(<https://www.nytimes.com/2025/07/05/magazine/mark-rutte-interview.html>)

PLA's "Justice Mission 2025" military exercise

December 2025

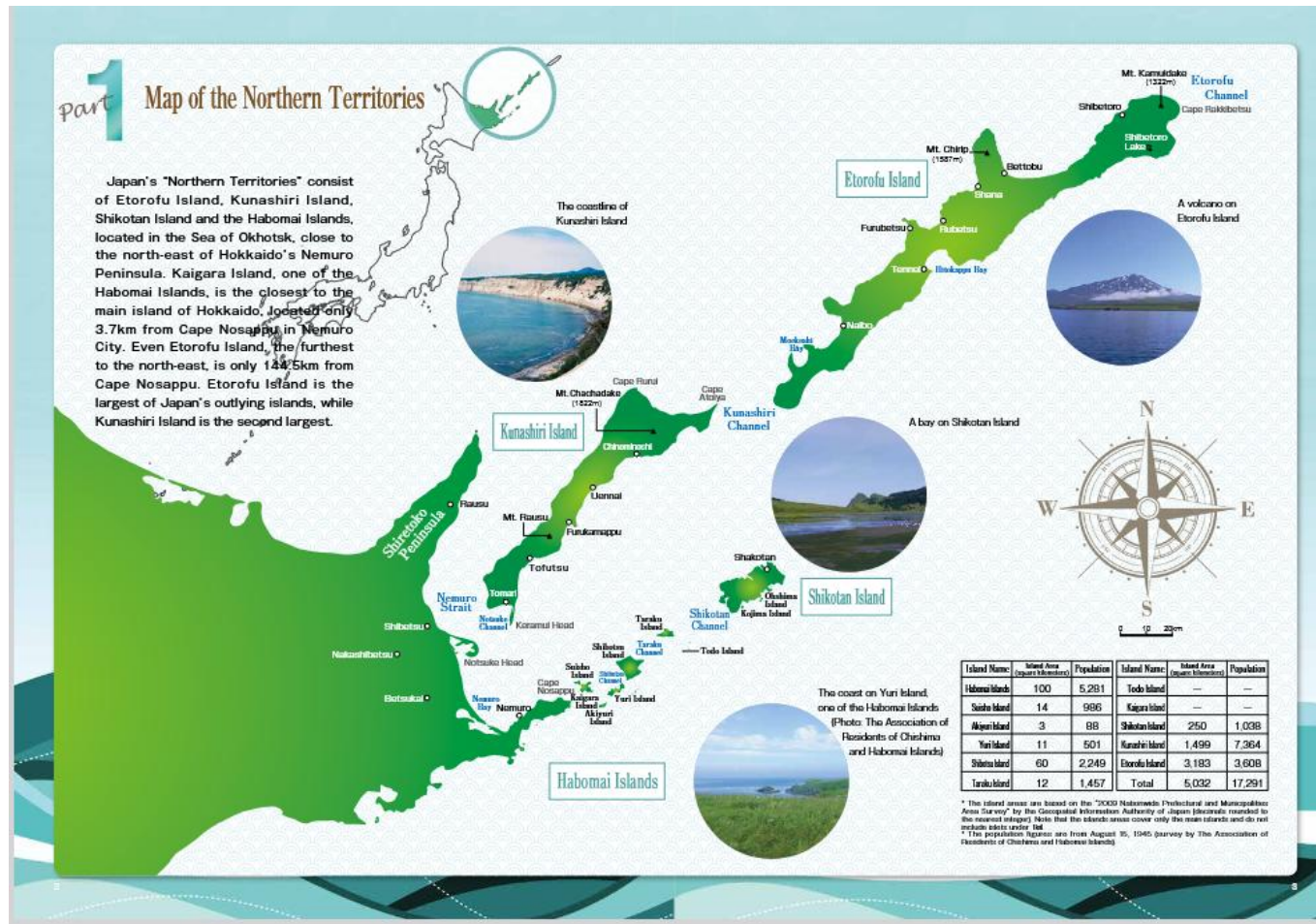


Joseph Yeh, "DEFENSE/PLA drill areas within Taiwan's territorial waters: Taiwan military," Focus Taiwan, December 29, 2025, <https://focustaiwan.tw/cross-strait/202512290019>.



Fan Wei and Liu Xuanzun, "What's the significance behind the illustration of CCG's law enforcement patrol off Taiwan island?" Global Times, December 29, 2025, <https://www.globaltimes.cn/page/202512/1351761.shtml>.

Japan's Northern Territories illegally occupied by Russia



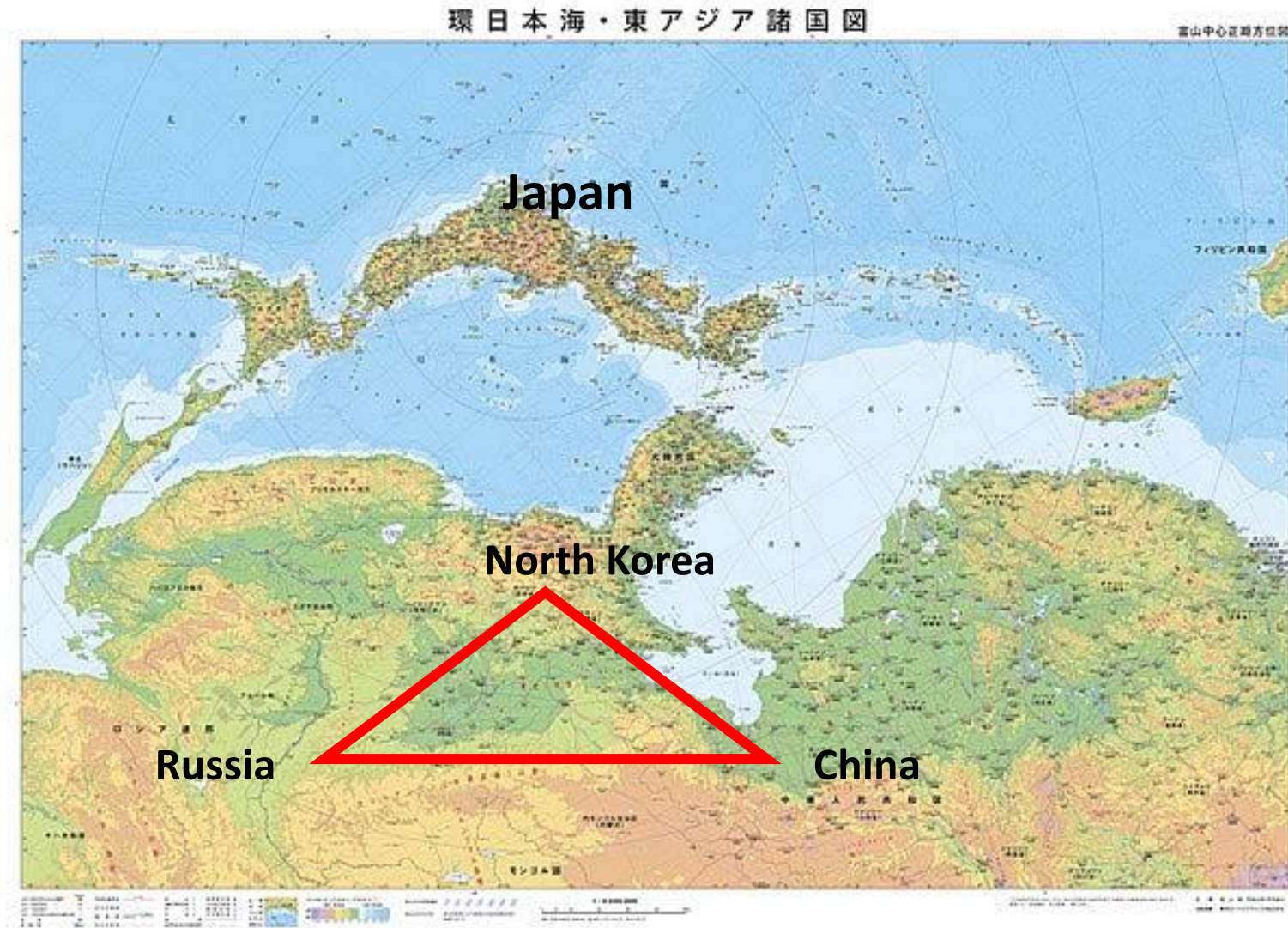
<https://www.mofa.go.jp/region/europe/russia/territory/pamphlet.pdf>

North Korean missile launch soon after “Justice Mission 2025” (January 4, 2026)



(防衛省、内閣官房「北朝鮮のミサイル等関連情報」2026年1月4日、
<https://www.mod.go.jp/j/press/news/2026/01/04c.html>。)

East Asian Security Environment



Joint Statement on the Tenth Anniversary of the Philippines-China South China Sea Arbitral Tribunal Award

July 12, 2026

4. We reiterate our strong opposition to any destabilizing or unilateral actions including by force or coercion that threaten peace and stability in the region. We reaffirm our strong opposition to the use of coast guard, military, and maritime militia forces to harass, obstruct, or intimidate lawful operations by other States at sea or in the air, and in so doing endanger the safety of personnel and fishermen and seriously degrade regional peace and security.

The 2023 China Standard Map, with nine-dash line and new tenth dash off Taiwan (Ministry of Natural Resources)



“S. China Sea Becomes Part of China on Beijing's New "Standard Map,” *The Maritime Executive*, September 1, 2023, <https://maritime-executive.com/article/s-china-sea-becomes-part-of-china-on-beijing-s-new-standard-map>

Chinese coast guard officers display their national flag on a tiny sandbar in the disputed Sandy Cay in April, 2025, CCTV



https://media.cnn.com/api/v1/images/stellar/prod/still-21578051-11772-619-still.jpg?c=original&q=w_860,c_fill/f_avif

(Nectar Gan and Kathleen Magramo, “China and Philippines unfurl competing flags on disputed South China Sea sandbars, reviving tensions “ CNN, April 28, 2025, <https://edition.cnn.com/2025/04/28/asia/china-philippines-sandy-cave-dispute-intl-hnk/>.)

Home » Japan Protests After Chinese J-15 Fighters Lock Radar on JASDF Jets Near Okinawa

Japan Protests After Chinese J-15 Fighters Lock Radar on JASDF Jets Near Okinawa

📅 Published on 08/12/2025 👤 By Kosuke Takahashi 💡 In News



Chinese J15 picture taken from a Japanese P-3C MPA released by Japan MoD. Credit: JSDF.

<https://www.navalnews.com/naval-news/2025/12/japan-protests-after-chinese-j-15-fighters-lock-radar-on-jasdf-jets-near-okinawa/>

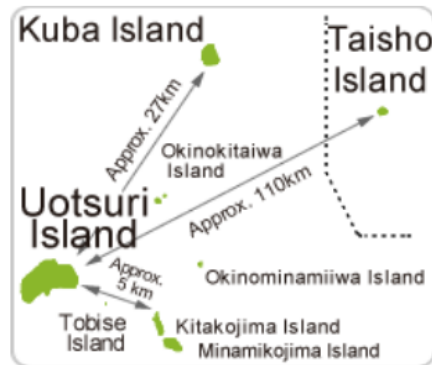
The Senkaku Islands of Japan in the East China Sea



Location Map



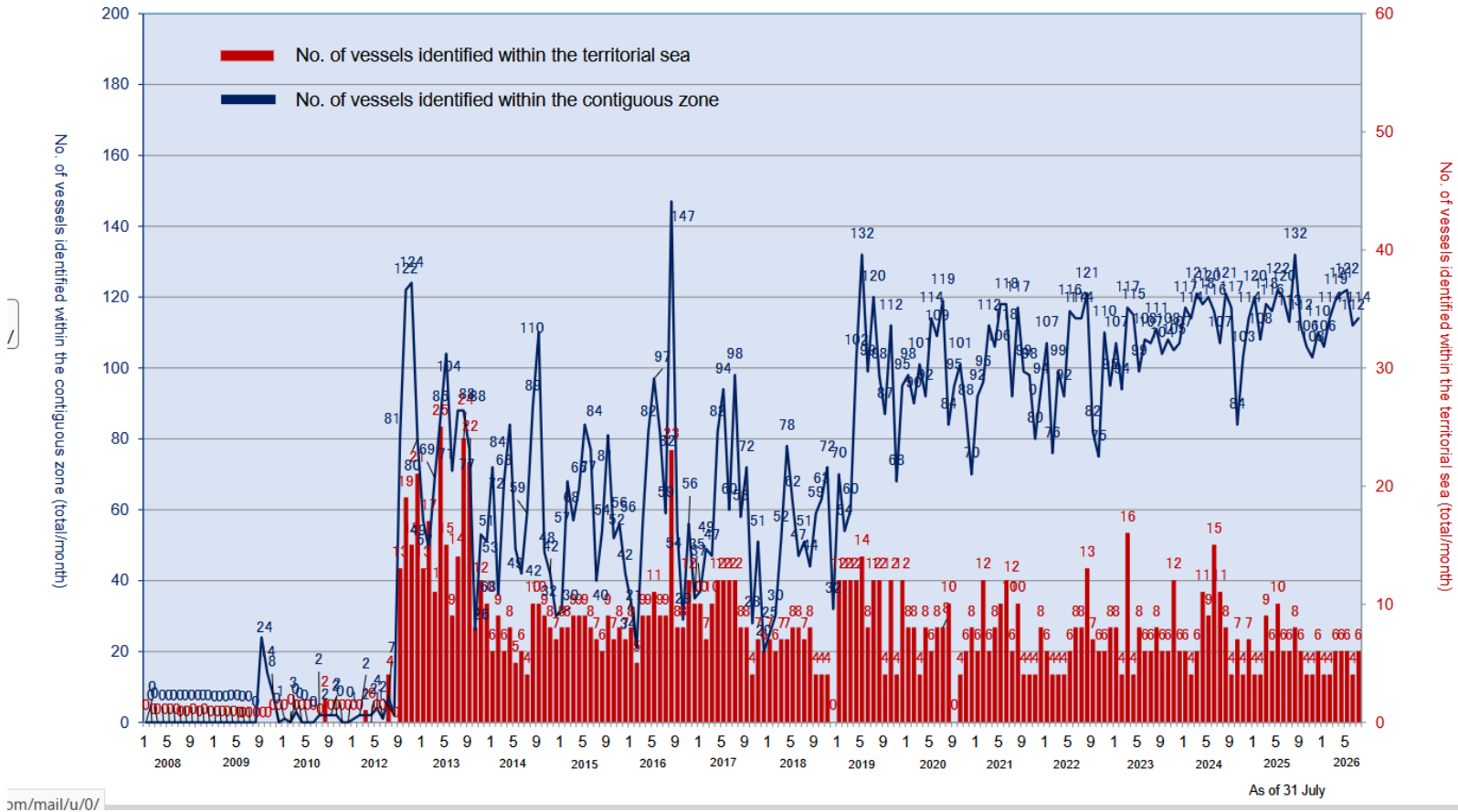
Surrounding Area



Detailed Map

The Senkaku Islands are a group of islands located in Ishigaki

The number of China Coast Guard and other vessels that entered Japan's contiguous zone or intruded into territorial sea surrounding the Senkaku Islands



Japan Coast Guard, <https://www.mofa.go.jp/files/100857530.pdf>



Assessment Report
on the United Nations Convention
on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)
Achievements, Positioning and Challenges



China Institute for Marine Affairs (CIMA)
June 2026

“The rule of law ... entails not merely the existence of rules but requires that such rules must conform to higher principles and values.” (p. 39)

Recommendations to restore the rules-based order built upon the rule of law

- 1. Back up rules with hard power.**
- 2. Keep exposing China's malicious actions to the international public.**
- 3. Counter the Chinese and Russian narrative on "the outcomes of WWII."**

Fig. I-3-2-17

Example of China's Advancement and Militarization Utilizing the Power Vacuum in the South China Sea (image)



(Ministry of Defense, *Defense of Japan 2025*, 2025, p. 77.)

Philippines Says Sailor Was Injured in Skirmish With Chinese Coast Guard

New York Times, July 21, 2026



**Philippine Navy personnel and China Coast Guard personnel clashing near a grounded Philippine warship at Second Thomas Shoal, in the South China Sea, on Monday.
(Credit...cnsphoto, via Reuters)**

<https://www.nytimes.com/2026/07/21/world/asia/philippines-south-china-sea-sailor-injured.html>

Scarborough Shoal incident between China and the Philippines on August 11, 2025



<https://apnews.com/article/south-china-sea-philippines-scarborough-shoal-0164b204d780052482c18a0876811266>



首页 > 大使馆动态

驻日本大使吴江浩与俄罗斯驻日大使诺兹德列夫联合发表署名文章《中国与俄罗斯——携手迈上新高度》(英文)

2026-08-13 15:00

China and Russia - Together Towards New Heights

“China and Russia - Together Towards New Heights” (Joint statement of the Chinese Ambassador and the Russian Ambassador to Japan), August 13, 2026,

“The preservation of historical memory of the Second World War and its outcomes is particularly important for our countries. The China and USSR suffered enormous losses in the fight against Nazism, fascism and Japanese militarism. The contribution of our peoples to the Victory laid a solid foundation for the post-war world order. We have consistently opposed attempts to revise the outcomes of the WWII, glorify the aggressors, and denounced all forms of historical revisionism.”

https://jp.china-embassy.gov.cn/dsdt/202608/t20260813_12003394.htm.

Putin visits disputed Etorofu island off Hokkaido, sparking protest from Tokyo

By [Eric Johnston](#) and [Kanako Takahara](#)

Japan Times, August 13, 2026



<https://www.japantimes.co.jp/news/2026/08/13/japan/society/russia-putin-japan-disputed-isle-visit/>