

REPORT ON THE 7TH TOKYO PEACEBUILDING FORUM



Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan

25 November 2023

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Report on Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum
organized by the Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan on 25 November 2023

Theme: Peacebuilding and democracy on the verge of a crisis

The 7th Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum was held on 25 November 2023 at JICA Ichigaya Building with a total of 62 participants (41 on-site and 21 online). The following is a summary report of the Forum.

Opening Remarks



Mr. Yasushi Akashi

Chairman of the Kyoto International Conference Center and Vice-President of the United Nations Association of Japan

Mr. Akashi noted that it is almost 2 years since the war between Russia and Ukraine started. We are all deeply concerned about whether the possibility of peace in Eastern Europe will become a reality in the near future or not. But now, there is a new conflict with an entirely different nature. Almost 2 months ago on the 7th of October, Hamas suddenly attacked Israel, and Israel responded with all its might to this surprise attack. We hope that ultimately humanitarian activities will take over the very brutal military confrontation between the two parties. Mr. Akashi suggested that during this Forum, participants can also discuss how the international community is responding to these events. People are discussing how incapable the UN and Security Council are of doing anything. But the Security Council is not the only UN body, the General Assembly has been making good use of emergency special sessions. Very recently, one meeting took place creating some possibility of more humanitarian activities, which should be emphasized. He summarized by wishing everyone all the best for the discussion and hoping to benefit from ideas and thoughts that might be produced as the outcome.

Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa

Distinguished Professor at Kyoto University of the Arts and President of the Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan



Mr. Hasegawa indicated that this is the seventh Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum. Over time, many participants from overseas joined and addressed various global challenges, pandemics, COVID-19, climate change, and, of course, conflicts and wars in various parts of the world. This year, we are tasked to address the relevance of democratic principles and various forms of governance in peacebuilding. Can we really build sustainable peace with democratic governments? We want to examine the efficacy of what we call universal norms and standards. Mr. Hasegawa noted that when he was in Timor-Leste, he followed the liberal doctrine to bring about liberal democratic governance, and he thinks it is working well in Timor-Leste, but wondered how relevant and how effective it can continue to be in other countries. This should be discussed in the morning session.

Keynote speech



Mr. Mitoji Yabunaka

Former Vice-Minister for Foreign Affairs of Japan

Mr. Yabunaka started by informing about his own academy, which is called Global Terakoya, Yabunaka Juku, where each year 20 students can learn tuition-free. To those young generations, when they leave Japan and go out to the global world, what he always says to them is that they have to speak out with logic and express their own thought. And they have to understand what is going on in the world. We are at a crossroads when it comes to peace. Here in Japan, when you turn on the TV, experts appear all the time, speaking about Ukraine, and Gaza, war overrides peace. That is the reason why PM Kishida made the overnight decision that Japan has to strengthen its defense capabilities without any close examinations. The logic is that what happened in Ukraine might happen in Asia, but Mt. Yabunaka questions and challenges this idea and says let's examine more what is happening in the world and then decide what Japan should do. And certainly, in the world, unthinkable things are happening. There are many wars, and the UN is very much challenged. In 1945, the UN was established to take care of the peace and stability of the world. The Security Council is the core body, but it is now challenged, and the problem is the veto power. Is there any alternative if the UN is not functioning? Short answer is not really, and we must keep working with the UN. Gaza finally saw a short stopping of the warfare. The attack by Hamas was a terrorist attack, so it cannot be justified for sure, but we still must think about the reasons behind it. In 1996 Mr. Yabunaka visited the Gaza and West Bank and saw the brief hope for peace, but it was not realized. Since 2001, the world forgotten Palestine issue, but his Hamas attack awoke the world in a sense. There is a humanitarian crisis in Gaza that we can't tolerate.

On Ukraine, he is quite critical of the Biden administration's handling though Russia is indeed villain. Putin is 100% wrong, but wasn't there any room for diplomacy to prevent Russian invasion? Russia was asking not to let Ukraine join NATO, and there could be some diplomatic room for compromise by saying that Ukraine would not join NATO in the near future. Now, stalemate was reached in the fighting, and they should think of some kind of peace talks. But Ukrainians are concerned that whatever agreement is made today, Russians might come back tomorrow. It is quite difficult task to bring about successful result, and any kind of agreement must involve the US, but I wonder whether Biden Team is capable enough to handle such difficult negotiations, but they should try. China should also be considered to join the talks so that it might be more difficult for Russians to break the agreement later.

Mr. Yabunaka is also critical to the Biden Administrations approach of so-called diplomacy vs autocracy which divides the world and alienating many countries. Regarding the concept of Free and Open Indo-Pacific Ocean (FOIP), which Japan started to advocate in 2015 against the Chinese aggressive attitude in the South China Sea, the Biden administration embraced FOIP, and put forward the Quad Summit idea to materialize it. But Mr. Yabunaka questions the Quad Summit idea, in particular, its purpose and membership. Is it to contain China or to secure free and open ocean? It should be the latter, and ASEAN countries must be included in any undertaking.

Regarding Japanese security. First, Japan should show to the world including China and North Korea, that Japan-US Security Treaty alliance is strong and solid. Second, the proper strengthening of self-defense forces. Third, diplomatic efforts to make peace in East Asia. People are saying that diplomacy does not work, since we are living in a much more severe world. but I

believe that diplomacy is critical to preserve peace, and if you have problems, you must talk. Also, regarding Taiwan contingency, war must be prevented at any cost, and most Taiwan citizens indeed support the status quo, and all parties involved must exercise restraint. Regarding Senkaku Islands, Mr. Yabunaka was asked what to do by the PM office in 2014 when seven Chinese landed the islands. He answered to arrest them, and it was the moment when Japan showed to the world that they effectively controlled the Senkaku island.

In 2008, PM Fukuda and President Hu Jintao issued a joint statement calling for mutually beneficial strategic partnership which included the phrase to make East China Sea, sea of peace, friendship, and cooperation. Then, in June 2008, Japan and China agreed the Joint Exploration of natural gas in East China Sea. China used to argue that almost entire East China Sea was Chinese waters based upon continental shelf extension argument. Japan, on the other hand, argued to demarcate the waters based upon the medium line, and the agreement reached was indeed respecting medium line concept, since the medium line is running through the agreed small area of joint exploration. The Agreement was not popular in China because it was too favorable for Japan, and China asked for some delay for the treaty negotiation. In autumn 2010, when two countries were finally ready for the treaty making exercise, Chinese fishery boat crashed into the coastguard ship, and collapsed the negotiation. That's the end of the story, I thought for the 2008 Agreement. In 2017, however, miracle happened: PM Abe and President Xi Jinping met in Vietnam; they agreed to revive the 2008 Agreement! But nobody in Japan paid any attention to this, probably they do not like the idea of joint exploration with China. But this is quite wrong, and the 2008 Agreement could effectively demarcate the East China Sea by half through diplomatic work. Mr. Yabunaka's advice to PM Kishida is to go to Biden first and reaffirm that FOIP's purpose is to secure a free and open Indo-Pacific based upon international rules, and then talk with China to realize 2008 Agreement. This is a peace offensive approach. On North Korea, Japan must work hard toward denuclearization of North Korea, and should involve China as well in this effort. The main point of Mr. Yabunaka's speech was to let diplomacy work.

Panel discussion



Mr. Hans George Klemm

Japan Representative at the Pharmaceutical Research and Manufacturers of America (PhRMA) in Tokyo

Mr. Klemm recalled when, as a very junior officer at the US Embassy in Tokyo, he watched Mr. Yabunaka trying to strengthen diplomatic cooperation between the US and Japan and understood the importance of letting diplomacy work and trying to ensure peace and stability in Southeast Asia. Over the decades, Japan has been enormously successful in this world through soft power used very effectively. In 2017, a poll on the relationship between Japan and ASEAN showed that 87% of the ASEAN population rates its relationship with Japan as very friendly. 80% is very reliable and views Japan as a peace-loving nation. When asked which country made the most important contribution to ASEAN, Japan exceeds all other nations. 65% say that Japan is the most important country for peace development of ASEAN. China was 2 and the US was 3. Japan is also seen as a reliable partner in other parts of the world, according to other polls. That indicates that Japan did really well in diplomacy in the past decades, post World War II era in general. Regarding Ukraine, another exceptional thing witnessed was the public response to the Ukraine war. In particular, refugees who came to Japan after the conflict started. It was remarkable

how positively NHK treated the Ukrainians and covered them in reports, also response of citizens was positive, ensuring that they will have positive lives as long as they are here.



Ms. Hideko Hadzialic
Director of the UNDP Representation Office in Tokyo

Ms. Hadzialic noted that there are tensions, with the terms such as decoupling and de-risking. She would rather use anticipatory risk management, taking human security and human dignity into consideration. Despite of political tensions, there are inherent economic and financial interdependencies among countries. For instance, international visitors are expected to spend 2.2 trillion yen in Japan in 2023, and the Chinese account for nearly a third of all visitors there. In terms of anticipatory risk management, in Afghanistan, the Japanese government took the leadership to be one of the first development partners to support international organizations after Taliban takeover August 2021. UNDP does not support through Taliban transitional authority, but people are there; Afghan women are there, suffering every day. We need to support them in building a system of essential infrastructure/system so people can have access to drinking water. In terms of autocracy and democracy, it is not black and white; it is a continuum. Overall, for 16 consecutive years, the vulnerabilities of democracy are growing. Between 2016 and 2021, the number of countries moving toward authoritarian regimes was double that of those moving toward democracy. Democracy has fallen in most parts of the world. Let's look at Africa. In West and Central Africa, military leaders are exploiting this enchantment with democratic leadership. The definition of democracy is becoming ambiguous in Africa because it is a continuation of autocracy if the leaders are elected in false elections. About Ukraine, Mr. Yabunaka mentioned that Putin may come back years later, and Ms. Hadzialic agrees. Indeed, in 2014, Ukraine's territorial integrity was compromised in Crimea. The General Assembly Resolution was adopted calling not to recognize not changing the status of Crimea. But that resolution was endorsed by 100 member states, 11 against, and 58 abstained. There should be some lessons learned from 2014 to prevent what is happening right now.



Mr. Sheng Hongsheng
Professor of Public International Law at the School of International Law, Shanghai University of Political Science and Law

From the Chinese point of view, joint exploration is a provisional arrangement and transitional mechanism before the final agreement should be reached. We have several other arrangements with Southeast Asian states. Why is the agreement not so popular in China? According to the demarcation line of the limitation rule in the international law of the sea, China cannot decide the demarcation only by distance or middle line. They have to consider other aspects. Japan and China share the East China Sea nearly 450 miles, and it cannot be divided. According to other principles, we have to take into consideration the coastal line.

Open discussion



Mr. Takahiro Shinyo

Former Ambassador to the UN and Germany, Professor of Kwansei Gakuin University

Mr. Shinyo presented a slightly different view to Mr. Yabunaka. He thinks that wars in Ukraine and Gaza have intensified the division between democracy and authoritarianism. We must change the mindset that the post-Cold War days, lasting more than three decades, have already come to an end. We should be prepared for the new age of war. Diplomacy should, of course, come first, but the world is kind of in a state of anarchy. The Washington Post issued an article saying that the US is not leading, the EU is overwhelmed with its own issues, China is acting selfish, the UN is not only dysfunctional but not fulfilling its purpose, and G7 and G20 are not serving their purpose. The Ukraine and Gaza demonstrated this anarchic state of the world. We should start with this as a reality. In this era of new wars, the Security Council, particularly P5, is dysfunctional; they are not meeting the requirements of Article 1 of the UN Charter to harmonize the actions of nations, marking the dark age of multilateralism, which Mr. Shinyo laments very much. The responsibility of the founding members is significant to save the UN, and there is currently no international organization to replace it. Ensuring the survival of the UN is the essential mission of all members. UN, G7, and G20 are failing to respond effectively, which leads to anxiety among the states. Emerging and developing countries in the southern hemisphere found a group called the Global South, which is acting as a third force, aligning neither with the US nor with Russia. India is at the forefront, embracing Nehruvianism and claiming the role of the leader. The US and Mr. Biden emphasize democracy too much. We should not create any division centering around values as if we are going to have another clash of civilizations. We must make it very clear, and we should know that in the Charter of the UN, no word appears about democracy. The Charter only refers to fundamental freedom and human rights in Article 1. Mr. Shinyo thinks it is such a sensitive word for non-democratic countries that it was carefully avoided. We should stick to the principles of the UN Charter and not stick too much to the cardinal principle of democracy. How to strengthen the multilateralism? Lessons have been learned, and we should perhaps evoke a new policy of the Security Council reform. We should change policy, including the Japanese government, and not stick to the enlargement of permanent members. We have already seen the opposition towards new members having new privileges. We should urge the Japanese government to change its policy for the creation of a longer-term or semi-permanent member status. This should be the common ground for all the members. We should attain the longer-term objectives of the Security Council reform, namely the change of the permanents discussing the issues due 100th anniversary, 2045. We must start with the quick fix by creating longer-term non-permanent members.



Mr. Tadamichi Yamamoto

Former UN Secretary-General's Special Representative and Head of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)

Mr. Yamamoto stated that one of the problems that this post-Cold War international order has experienced is the fact that the order that many of the countries tried to establish, based on liberal democracy, perhaps was the objective right one, but the process need to be more carefully explored. The fact that societies have been living for centuries with certain ways of

life is not going to be washed away overnight. People need to understand that diversity and respect for different values is really important. It enriches human life and is a source of creation for humankind. We talk about it all the time, yet when we came to creating an international order, we might have overlooked the need to respect diversity, not to exclude people because of their way of living. How can the international order be founded on accepting the fact that human beings in different parts of the world live with different values and histories that have governed them through the centuries and ensured happiness? The transition, if too rapid could create some confusion. What happened in Ukraine is probably also an example of that fact.



Mr. Yoshifumi Okumura

Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Japan to the Organization for Economic Co-operation and Development (OECD)

Mr. Okumura noted that whenever he visits the post-conflict areas, there is one thing in common. There is a big expectation for Japan's diplomacy to play a role in conflict resolution. Today, the discussion is over Southeast Asia, but beyond that, there is a strong expectation for Japan to play a role in the peace process. Mr. Okumura found one reason. They are looking for a new approach, something different in respect for values, human dignity, and respect for nature, rather than just talking about human rights and democracy. Japan is quite an influential country for that, and maybe Japan should play a more important role.



Mr. Ken Inoue

Vice President of the Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan, Representative of the Institute of Personal Governance, and Advisor to the UN Institute for Training and Research (UNITAR) on Peace Operations

Mr. Inoue noted that PM Kishida's policy is to increase the defense budget to 2%. If Japan continues this, it will be a so-called military expansion race. It does not work forever; there is a limitation. It is important to overcome this race, so what is the policy beyond that? The important point is confidence building, and it is more important not only on the level of government, private sector, academia, and civil societies. How can we promote this?



Mr. Yuuji Suzuki

Former President of the Peace Studies Association in Japan and president of the World Federation of UNESCO Clubs and Associations

Mr. Suzuki stated that he observed one presidential case when Japan proposed a regional agreement on the Cooperation Agreement to combat piracy in the Malaka Strait. This agreement was proposed by Japan first and reached many countries, US also took part in it. It provided very important tools for regional nations, particularly Indonesia, Malaysia, and Singapore, in a sense not controlling piracy at all, sometimes utilizing it. It became a very important political issue, by this agreement caused it to the extent that piracy started to be covered by newspapers, and people started to recognize

it. The region changed and strengthened non-military capabilities, asking Japan and other countries to help coast guard capabilities. This is a very interesting suggestion: peacebuilding as an action for settlement.



Ms. Kae Yanagisawa

Former Ambassador to Malawi, and former Vice President of JICA

Ms. Yanagisawa stated that the world is very good at responding to present issues like Ukraine, and Gaza, but forgetting about past issues like Afghanistan, Sudan, Myanmar, and Syria, that have not been solved. Because of the decreasing interest, those engaged are unchecked, and the humanitarian crisis is growing. In that context, what kind of role can Japan's diplomacy play to remind the world of the importance of the overall peace and security issues? What is the base of Japanese diplomacy, and how Japan can be independent in its own diplomacy?

Japan is still in the US-Japan alliance, and Japan's interest is not always the same as the US or G7, or the value is not always the same as other Western countries. How can Japan develop its own capacity to promote peace?



Mr. Yabunaka responded to comments and questions, underlining first that he loves democracy and wishes all countries were democratic. But when it comes to diplomacy, we have to live with countries that do not share the same values and have different political institutions. Nonetheless, his belief is that we have to also get along with them. The key point for Japanese diplomacy here is national interest. Foreign ministries or diplomacies' responsibility is to ensure peace in the region and that people in Japan can live peacefully. And each country has that sort of obligation and responsibility to make sure their citizens live in prosperity. Shared interests and of course, different values, variety of views, how to make sure that we can get

along? Despite political systems and values, one thing we have to make clear about living on this Earth is respect for international law. Whether you live in a democratic country or not, we have to make sure to respect international law to harmonize our relations. But in the end, international organizations should be based on this simple fact. I do understand the people in Ukraine; there are very serious concerns that Russia might come back. What can Japan do to make a difference in the countries around the world? In 2008, the US asked Japan why it did not send helicopters to Afghanistan. And his simple answer was that they cannot really do that. But instead, Japan redoubled its efforts to work with people in Afghanistan, building schools and clinics, sending teachers, etc. The US appreciates that effort. Japan can invest and provide Official Development Assistance. Some people will say that it is a waste of money, but it is our sort of responsibility to live on this Earth. 0.7% of GDP should be spent on ODA. In the long run, it is our security, making friends in other parts of the world. In terms of confidence building, it is very difficult to be engaged in this type of thing. Psychology is very important. What Mr. Yabunaka says to Japanese people is that there is some kind of view that Japan is superior to China. That kind of sentiment is still there. Now China has surpassed Japan, and what should be done with the sentiment? That is quite difficult. Chinese people do not understand that they are a big country. Both sides have to learn from history and overcome this sentiment if we go back to the VII century when Japan sent an emissary to the Sui dynasty. All of a sudden, we were faced with a situation where the big country emerged. The Japanese emperor sent a letter to the sunseting emperor showing respect to China. In terms of size and economy, China is surpassing Japan. And yet Japan is proud of this kind of high-quality country in many

ways, in terms of diplomacy and human rights. Japan might work with China and be a good neighbor. There is a provisional agreement in terms of the demarcation of water, but agreement is agreement, and we have to ensure peace in the East China Sea. We also have to take care of people living in each region; we cannot forget that. We are living in a very dangerous age, but we still have to care about people. You have to talk to people and positively influence the world. Mr. Yabunaka hopes that Japan will be courageous enough to stand out, and even if the efforts are small, they will still count for the future of the world. In terms of DPRK, the shortcoming is that there is no diplomacy. Japan has to make sure of the denuclearization of North Korea. We have to redouble our efforts.

Mr. Hasegawa summarized the discussion by underlining the complexity of the global situation in which we have to be open-minded, confident, inclusive, and respectful of different values and international law itself. Shared interest is, in fact, not only in values but also in resources. There is a need to revamp the international system. But we should do so not only with the military but with the confidence building and soft approach. In the new globalized world, international law should not be the one built by the former colonial powers or certain segments of society. Mr. Hasegawa, at the end, introduced John Rawls's book, *the Law of the Peoples*. He applies this doctrine of democratic governance from Immanuel Kant, and that is the doctrine of the UN to democratize all countries, but now he goes one step further. How can we, in fact, realize a society in which not only democratic governments exist?

Session 1-A: Authoritarian regime and international order: current challenges in Sudan and its democratic transition process following the Military Clash in April 2023



Moderator: NAKAYAMA Akio (Former Country Director, IOM Myanmar)

Speakers: SAKANE Koji (Former Chief Representative, JICA Sudan Sudan); ISHIKAWA Naoki (Senior Mission Planning Officer / Officer in Charge of the Office of the Chief of Staff United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission in Sudan (UNITAMS))

Discussants: KUBOTA Tomoko (Head of Office, Kadugli, United Nations Integrated Transition Assistance Mission Sudan (UNITAMS)); and NAKAYA Sumie (Assistant

Professor, Center for Global Online Education, Hitotsubashi University (on special leave from the UN Department of Peace Operations) Operations))

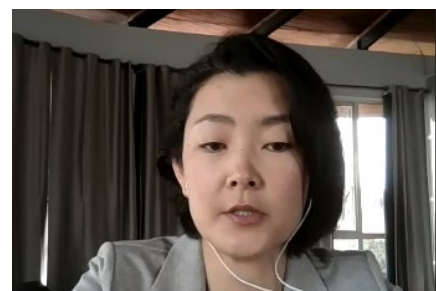
This session discussed on “Authoritarian Regime and International Order” in the context of Sudan’s situation after the Military Clash in April 2023, moderated by Mr. Akio Nakayama.

Mr. Koji Sakane explained the background of the Military Clash and the current situation of battles and human sufferings. He further explained its implication in Sudan, Africa and Middle East and global context at large. He mentioned political instability in Sudan and the Sahal reinforces each other, causing authoritarian regime on the rise and democratic system in decline. While international attention to Sudan is in decline under the high attention being paid to the Gaza-Israel conflict, he reiterated the importance of drawing attention to Sudan and the Sahel, to change the current unprecedented inhumane situation.



Mr. Naoki Ishikawa, acting Chief of Staff of UNITAMS, offered updates on the UN response to the April crisis and shared his observations, including on the root causes and strategic impact of the current crisis. He emphasized potential roles that the United Nations could continue to play even under the current context such as good offices to achieve a coherent international and regional mediation efforts to end the conflict and to support local conflict prevention and management efforts to prevent proliferation and ethnicization of the conflict. He also inquired how to alleviate human suffering under a fragile political situation and what would be a peacebuilding approach that is more resilient and sustainable facing the recurrence of conflict.

Ms. Tomoko Kubota, Head of Kadugli Office of UNITAMS, described on-going peacemaking processes facilitated by different international actors. She also highlighted the importance of grass-roots peacebuilding initiatives even in time of crisis and pointed to the need to appreciate divergent views held by local actors on democratization process.





Ms. Sumie Nakaya commented on misalignment between (1) conflict analysis and UN action (e.g., mission design devoid of risk analysis, failure of transition from peacekeeping in the peripheries to democratic support in the capital, and funding constraints), and (2) the UN emphasis on formal processes and the informal nature of the political economy of violence.

Several comments were raised by participants in the floor, such as on applicability of democratization in Africa and Middle East, and issues of countries under political instability (Libya, Syria), and importance of local solution (Africa's issue to be solved by African countries).

Session 1-B Reflections on the Cambodia Peace Process and its aftermath



Moderator: MIZUNO Takaaki (Professor at Kanda University of International Studies Studies)
Panelists: KUMAOKA Michiya (Professor Emeritus at Japan Institute of Moving Image Image) ;
YAMAMOTO Tadamichi (Former UN Secretary-General's Special Representative and
Head of the UN Assistance Mission in Afghanistan (UNAMA)); and NOGUCHI Motoo
(Attorney (Special Counsel) at Iwata Godo Attorneys and Counsellors at Law Law)

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Mr. Michiya Kumaoka, former representative of the Japanese Volunteer Center, one of the first NGOs for refugees, gave us the perspective from the civil society to Cambodian peace process. It was a Cambodia refugee humanitarian crisis in 1979~80 that triggered a big wave of rescue movements in Japan. Ms. Sadako Ogata led a Japanese government mission to Thai border camps. With this background, the Japanese Volunteer Center was established by volunteers in Bangkok.



In addition to the rescue operations in the Thai-Cambodian border camps, the JVC also started vocational training programs inside Cambodia even during the civil war. That was an advantage of non-government activities which could operate on humanitarian base regardless of official government foreign policy. When the peace process started and refugees repatriated to Cambodia, these trainees of the JVC program could facilitate the refugee transportation by the repaired trucks to their home villages.



Former diplomat, Ambassador Tadashi Yamamoto was one of key architects of the Cambodia peace process. He emphasized the role of diplomacy both in the Peace-making stage and in its implementation. Despite the fact they were party to the Paris peace accord, the Khmer Rouge tried sabotage to implement it repeatedly. Japanese and Thai governments jointly tried to persuade the KR patiently by conducting series of face-to face meetings under the political support of the UN Security Council. Still, the KR remained defiant and refused to comply. Because of these painful diplomatic efforts, however, there was an international determination for UNTAC to proceed the general election without the KR participation, regardless of their bloody sabotages.

After the UNTAC election finished, the last but the most complicated issue remained; How to strike a balance between the “rule of law” principle and the social reconciliation in the post-conflict Cambodia: What to do with those KR leaders who had committed such a grave crimes ageist humanity?

Ambassador Motoo Noguchi was an international judge of the Extraordinary Chambers in the Courts of Cambodia. This court was indeed “extraordinary.” It was not the International Tribunals like the case for Rwanda nor the Former Yugoslavia. Both the United Nations and Cambodia government jointly set up and manage this court in Phnom Penh, not in Europe. With this dual management and location, this court was always under political pressure, and it took as long as 16 years to proceed and finish the judicial process. But he emphasized the significance of unprecedented local participation to this court. Because the whole judicial



process was open in Phnom Penh, the victims and its families could stand up, raise their voices, and even get compensation through legal process in the official court.



Finally, we all appreciated MR. YASUSHI AKASHI, the top of UNTAC, joined this session and gave his precious comments. He emphasized the significance of Cambodian “local ownership” like establishing their own constitution in 1993 after the UN led peace process. We all agree that after 30 years have passed, we still have to learn a lot from “the shining example” of Cambodian Peace process.

Session 2-A (English): The United Nations system as a catalyst in uniting for universal peace - Towards an inclusive solution of the global issues that emerged from the conflict in Ukraine

Moderator: OKAMURA Yoshifumi (Former Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Japan to the OECD)

Panelists: Sabri KICMARI (Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary of the Republic of Kosovo Kosovo); and INOMATA Tadanori (Former Ambassador of Japan in Costa Rica and Independent Inspector of the Joint Inspection Unit of the United Nations System;

Discussants: HADZIALIC Hideko (Director, UNDP Representation Office in Tokyo; and KONDO Tetsuo (Specially appointed professor at Kyoto University Graduate School and visiting professor/part-time lecturer at other universities, Former Director, UNDP Representation Office in Tokyo Tokyo)

This session recognized the progress of globalization, which has transcended borders and deepened unprecedented interdependence at the governmental and non-governmental levels since the end of the Cold War. We explored how we could build global governance to settle disputes without use of force and end war. At a time when the United Nations system has become a catalyst for inclusive governance for sustainable development and peace based on empathy and solidarity through its efforts to tackle the COVID-19 pandemic, there have risen challenges of further global issues such as those in Ukraine and Gaza. Much attention was paid to these challenges including the threat of eventual nuclear war as well as the future international order that should govern them. The outline of the discussion is as follows.



At the outset, moderator Ambassador Okamura stated that this session would not focus on the Ukraine conflict itself but would discuss how global governance should address systemic global issues that have emerged from the conflict. He proposed to approach them from the following three practical perspectives.

- What is hindering conflict resolution?
- How have conflicts been ended or resolved in the past?
- What kind of international order should we aim for after a conflict?

The moderator also stated that, based on the common values of humanity, the United Nations has boldly tackled many global challenges such as saving lives from disasters, controlling the coronavirus pandemic, overcoming the climate crisis, achieving the SDGs, and reducing the digital divide. It is certain that the United Nations has achieved results, and he pointed out that the public's disappointment with the United Nations, which has been powerless to end major wars in recent years, should rather be interpreted as a desire by the public to strengthen the United Nations.

I. What is hindering conflict resolution?

Based on the panelists' reports, there was consensus on the following points.

1. Russian aggression in Ukraine has generated an unprecedented humanitarian catastrophe and the risk of nuclear war, threatening not only the global security system but also people's lives and livelihoods in economic, social, and environmental dimensions, thus, leading humanity and the planet into ecological collapse.
2. The collective security system advocated by the United Nations Charter is malfunctioning due to defects in the permanent membership system of the Security Council, and the emergency special session of the United Nations

General Assembly on Uniting for Peace that should have complemented has failed. There is no sign of a ceasefire in sight, and the conflict continues. If this continues for a long time, humanity will be exposed to the threat of nuclear war, divisions will continue, and there will be no hope for international cooperation. Unfortunately, the creation of inclusive global governance that can resolve international conflicts without the use of force and build sustainable peace remains a long way off.

3. The reason for this situation is simply the double standards perpetrated by each of the Member States' governments. For example,
- Trade-off between the permanent membership system of the Security Council and the rule of law
 - The self-protection of leaders of each country, the division of society, and the deterioration of inclusive conflict resolution processes at the community level.
 - Alienation of the role of civil society, including women.
 - The existence of classes and groups that structurally benefit from the division of society and the continuation of war.
 - Endless strategic and geopolitical justification for the right of self-defence and the use of force
 - Loss of "respectful feelings" [note: Mencius' words, pity, and compassion for others] and disregard for the principle of humanitarian assistance.
 - Neglecting multilateralism.

II. How have conflicts been ended or resolved in the past?



The impetus for the end of the Kosovo conflict was what NATO called a special air operation under the guise of humanitarian intervention, i.e. Operation Plan (OPLAN) 10601 — ALLIED FORCE (1999). This is like Putin calling the invasion of Ukraine a special military operation rather than a war. Panelist Tadanori Inomata noted that although the operation was an illegal use of force without Security Council authorization, NATO called it a legitimate armed intervention. Panelist Ambassador Sabri Kicmari said the intervention was a form of so-called R2P, without which further loss of life would have been inevitable. Ambassador

Kicmari emphasized that although the use of force should not be taken lightly, but by revealing the possibility of using force and the associated risks in a timely manner, Serbia could have sufficiently been deterred from committing further humanitarian violations. The ambassador pointed out that instead of so-called R2P, that is, humanitarian intervention using armed force, another type of R2P, that is, Responsibility to Prevent, should be adopted as a future method of conflict resolution. Panelist Tadanori Inomata said that the Rambouillet Agreement had assured Serbia's territorial integrity and that the United Nations in Security Council resolution 1244 (1999) had mandated the United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo (UNMIK) to take provisional control of Kosovo. These fostered trust in the United Nations on the Serbian side, which greatly contributed to the end of the Kosovo conflict.



Discussant Hideko Hajirić (Director, UNDP Representative Office in Japan) was of the view that the root causes of conflicts were not simply antagonism between armed groups but were diverse situations such as poverty, discrimination, and social inequality among people as well as the attendant violence. She mentioned the need to help the people at the



community level overcome such situations. She added: For this reason, as has been achieved by the UNMIK¹, building public infrastructure including administrative capacity building as well as DDR (Disarmament, Demobilization, Reintegration of soldiers) at the end of a conflict was effective for preventing the resumption of conflict and building a sustainable peace and development in the future. In this regard, Ambassador Kiçmari highly praised UNDP’s human development projects relating to DDR and support for IDPs that were undertaken under the UNMIK in partnership with the self-help activities by the Kosovo population during the reconstruction process of Kosovo.

Mr. Satoshi Hoshino, Representative Coordinator of Ikoma City's citizen public interest organization "Peace to Ukraine Ikoma," reported that the organization had collected 6,891 signatures as of September of this year and delivered them to the United Nations Headquarters. Mr. Hoshino spoke not only of the need to strengthen UN education in civil society, but also to strengthen, at the grassroots level, solidarity, and cooperation among civil societies in the world aspiring for peace rooted in human empathy. He also emphasized the importance of appealing to the United Nations for a new "Uniting for Peace" in order to achieve peacebuilding in accordance with the UN Charter.



III. What kind of international order should we aim for after a conflict?

Ambassador Kiçmari pointed out that the EU is becoming balkanized. If Ukraine is added to the current six countries² in the Western Balkans, including Kosovo, the number of new candidate countries for EU membership will rise to seven. If they were all admitted, with Greece and Bulgaria, which are already members, the influence of this region within the EU could hardly be ignored. Given Putin's desire to restore the empire, the fact that many of these countries still cannot shake off their authoritarian traditions may turn out to be the focus of an emerging counterattack against the West's eastward expansion. In this respect, Ambassador Kiçmari invited us to pay close attention to whether Western countries would take a realist response to defend traditional values or accept the diversity of Member States to forge an inclusive new order.



Panelist Tetsuo Kondo (Former Director, UNDP Representative Office in Japan) argued that the international order that should be pursued in the future must not be a dichotomy between liberalism and authoritarianism but must be one that reflects the structural changes in international society. In this regard, he considered that achieving steady progress in the solution of individual conflicts on the regional basis, such as the dispatch of the African Union's hybrid peacekeeping forces to regional conflicts in Africa, was worthy of praise. He went to express that, given their expanding economic shares, BRICS and the Global South could meaningfully contribute to strengthening regional security if they could achieve social stability through fair and sustainable development in cooperation with the United Nations system.

¹ United Nations Interim Administration Mission in Kosovo

² Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Montenegro, North Macedonia, Serbia, and Kosovo

Ambassador Okamura asserted, from his experience in dealing with his embassy attacks by rebel forces while stationed in Côte d'Ivoire and his experience working in Africa, that conflicts are often caused by social forces that make a living out of fighting and confrontation rather than serving a greater cause. These forces have disrupted rule of law of the community and state society and made it impossible for residents to form a will for inclusive conflict resolution. The Ambassador also pointed out that similar trends could be seen in the governance by national leaders and governments even in the developed countries and, as pointed out so during the session, particularly in the double standards they employ when they engage in geostrategic responses to international conflicts.

Finally, in response to questions from several participants, the speakers unanimously emphasized the following although in varying tones: The impact of conflicts affects the safety and livelihood of each and every citizen on a daily basis, and the future world order will not be built by politicians but by the empowerment of people. What is needed now is for each member of civil society around the world to spread public opinion based on solidarity and empathy, and on disarmament in our hearts regardless of national interests, and to unite for a new peace at the United Nations. The goal is to achieve a humanitarian ceasefire even a day earlier and to make the abolition of nuclear war irreversible.

Session 2-B (Japanese): Universality and Diverse Practices of the Responsibility to Protect (R2P): Where we are and to go?



Moderator: NISHIKAI Hiroshi (Associate Professor, Seigakuin University)

Panelists: NISHIKAI Hiroshi “Re-considering the meaning of R2P: Responsibility and Ethics as its foundation”; CHIJIWA Masatsugu (Associate Professor, Miyazaki Sangyo-keiei University)

"Canada's R2P Policy and Its Challenges: From 'Midwife' to 'Reformist Practitioner'"; and

KOMATSU Shiro (Associate Professor, University of Yamanashi) “The British Approach to the Responsibility to Protect: The Repercussions of Regime Change by Force on International Politics”

Discussant: SHIMURA Mayumi (Adjunct Lecturer, Ritsumeikan University)

The moderator was Hiroshi Nishikai, Associate Professor at Seigakuin University, the presenters were Masatsugu Chijiwa, Associate Professor at Miyazaki Sangyo-keiei University, and Shiro Komatsu, Associate Professor at University of Yamanashi, and the discussant was Mayumi Shimura, Adjunct Lecturer at Ritsumeikan University.

The moderator, in the beginning, explained the purpose of the session and presented the issues to discuss. The purpose was (1) to introduce a book *The Responsibility to Protect from Regional Perspectives: Diverse Implementation of Universal Principle* co-edited by Nishikai, Komatsu, and others in 2023, and (2) to review the significance of R2P. Firstly, he introduced the book which is a case study of how R2P is understood and applied in each region. Secondly, he argued while disappointment over R2P is deepening and spreading due to the situations in Libya, Myanmar and elsewhere, the UN resolutions referring to R2P are increasing. Moreover, Myanmar citizens appealed to the international community for R2P right after the 2021 coup. Considering this convoluted situation, he suggested a need to reconsider the significance of R2P once again.

Mr. Chijiwa gave a report on "Canada's relationship with R2P," focusing on the relationship between the various Canadian administrations and the R2P concept from the 1990s to the present. He reported that the Chrétien and Martin administrations played a major role in establishing R2P norms internationally, while the Harper administration from 2006 was passive, and the current Trudeau administration has actively re-engaged with the R2P concept. It was then argued that the Trudeau administration's reformist R2P policies, including the Vancouver Principles, the Elsie Initiative, and refugee asylum, demonstrate the potential for “soft” R2P practices in times when military intervention is no longer a viable option.



Mr. Komatsu reported on the "Relationship between the UK and R2P," focusing on the issue of the UK's exceptional stance on R2P. He pointed out that the UK government has officially used the term "humanitarian intervention" and been proactive in the use of force. Based on the cases of Syria and Libya, he argued that the UK's "obsession with humanitarian intervention" and "willingness to cause regime change in authoritarian countries" deviate from R2P. Expanding on this point, he argued that, partly because of such a hardline stance of the UK, authoritarian countries (especially China and Russia) have come to regard democratic countries as "a group that deviates from international rules and tries to overthrow our regimes".

After the presentations, the discussant asked questions including If the responsibility to prevent is prioritised and assistance to states (governments) causing humanitarian crises is provided instead of coercive intervention, would this support governments conflicting with democratizing actors and result in harming the purpose of R2P? The reverse may also be true: If capacity-building assistance is provided to democratizing actors, it may be a coercive intervention by ignoring the will of the governments. Other questions from participants of the session included "Japan's stance on R2P" and "difference in influence between human security and the R2P". The session was an important opportunity to exchange views.



Sessom 3 3-A (English): Young Researchers Panel: Global Peace from the Viewpoint of Human Rights



Moderator : KUMAGAI Naoko (Professor, Aoyama Gakuin University)

Panelists: Marcela EROSA (Waseda University) “Breaking Barriers: Redefining Masculinity for Inclusive

and Sustainable Peacebuilding Peacebuilding”; SUGINO Wakaba (Aoyama Gakuin University)

“Business and Human Rights in Japan: Comparison of Human Rights Awareness and

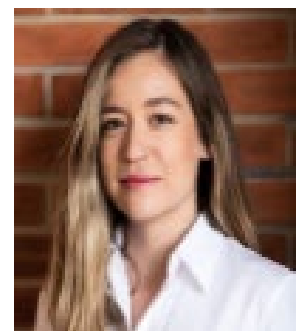
Environment Awareness in the Generation Z’s Apparel Consumption Pattern”; and Arbenita

SOPAJ (Executive Assistant, Embassy of the Republic of Kosovo) “Prison Reform and Criminal Justice in IMTFE and ITFY: Assessing the Need for Reforms in Criminal Justice Systems”

This panel discussed diverse human rights issues based on the following three presentations:

Presentation 1: “Breaking barriers: Redefining masculinities for inclusive Peacebuilding” by Marcela Erosa

The presentation focused on how gender affects peacebuilding with special focus on the gender category of masculinity. Previous research has demonstrated that the roles and experiences of men and boys affect conflict and peacebuilding. This study paid special attention to hegemonic masculinity. Hegemonic masculinity assumes that men are courageous, aggressive, competitive, hiding signs of emotion, having the power to apply violence, being part of military forces or armed groups. The case study in South Sudan demonstrates how hegemonic masculinity has hindered peace. In South Sudan, there is a strong social norm of masculinity, such as Rites to manhood and symbol of virility. Furthermore, as pastoral community, South Sudanese men need to pay in cattle for their wife. And married man have the status of masculinity. Based on the examination above, it is concluded that adoptive peacebuilding based on gender-sensitive conflict analysis, gender identities, and gender dynamics is needed.



Presentation 2: “Business and Human Rights in Japan: Comparison of Human Rights Awareness and Environmental Awareness in the Apparel Consumption Pattern of Generation Z” by Wakaba Sugino

Though the Japanese government has enhanced its initiative for better protection of human rights in business practices, the focus has been rather on the supply side, business companies. The research has focused on the demand side, particularly the apparel consumption patterns.

The research focused on the consumption patterns of young people, Generation Z, group of young people with higher awareness to social issues.

Based on the survey of 66 college students, the research has demonstrated that the respondents have relatively higher awareness to human rights than to environment issues. Furthermore, it also shows that they pay attention to the problems of low-wage and child labor in the apparel industry.

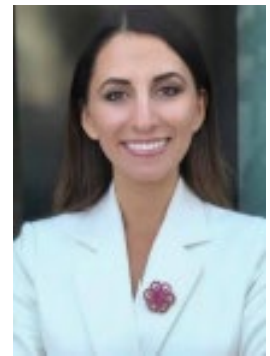
However, the survey also demonstrates that the higher level of concern is not necessarily reflected in the consumption pattern and that young people value price level more than human rights.

The survey also shows that among those with lower level of concern for human rights and environment issues, there is a

tendency to reflect their awareness in actual consumption pattern more in environmental issues than in human rights issues. The presentation concludes with the importance of policy that would lead social awareness to social conduct.

Presentation 3: “Prison Reform and Criminal Justice in IMTFE and ITFY: Assessing the Need for Reforms in Criminal Justice Systems” by Dr. Arbenita Sopaj

Dr. Sopaj addressed the International Military Tribunal for the Far East (IMTFE), the International Criminal Tribunal for the Former Yugoslavia (ICTY), and Criminal Justice Prison Reforms. Amidst global conflicts, international criminal justice is under scrutiny as an independent regulatory strategy on how to respond lawfully and appropriately conflicts. Dr. Sopaj stressed the need for criminal justice reform, particularly drawing insights from IMTFE and ITFY history. She highlighted the International Criminal Court's (ICC) legacy since 1998,



focusing on its covered crime categories. Dr. Sopaj concluded by proposing ICC reforms, suggesting the addition of a Self-Defense category, further divided into two: Self-Defense for Territorial Gains, exceeding ideology to genocide, and Self-Defense against an aggressor. Cases categorized as genocide against another country must be examined by the ICC.

Whereas, in the second category, it must be examined by the state itself. This is notably apparent in the case of the Kosovo Specialist Chambers and Specialist Prosecutor's Office (KSC & SCP), which was urged by the international community to be voted upon and established by the Kosovo parliament. Despite the opposition from the people of Kosovo, the former placed trust in the international community's request, believing it would be beneficial for the country. However, in reality, the KSC & SPO are conducting trials against former militia members whose mission was to defend the civilian population from the perpetrator.

Discussion:

There was a comment that all the presentations deal with the issue of awareness and that it is important to examine how people gain awareness about right, justice, power that might lead to social-conscious actions or violence.

As the second comment, with regard to the consumption pattern of young people, it is pointed out that stronger initiatives on human rights protection in business on the part of business corporations would lead young people to learn better the importance of human rights through the process of recruitment.

Lastly, there was a comment on the importance of examining the issue of youth bulges with consideration that young male are weaker sex.
