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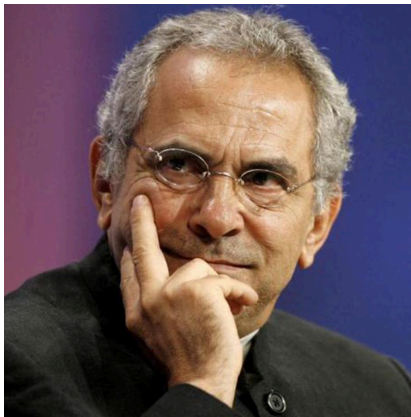
**Online Discussion Meeting on**

**The World in Need of a New Paradigm for  
the Future of Global Governance**

**12 January 2024**

**Report compiled by Maciej Witek**

**Part I Opening Message**



**José Ramos-Horta**

**President of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste**

Mr. Ramos-Horta started his message by expressing his regret for not being able to join in person in Tokyo and shared his reflection on the topic of a new paradigm for future governance. He noted that the world is confronted with new challenges almost every other day, whether it is the ongoing crisis in Myanmar to which the UN pays little attention or the international community pays even less. We do not notice demonstrations in Indonesia, Thailand, and the Philippines, with hundreds and thousands of people demonstrating in sympathy and solidarity with the youth, the women, and the children of Myanmar. And if that was not enough, we have the war in Ukraine and now the catastrophic situation in Gaza. Timor-Leste is a full-fledged democracy and has zero political violence. 98% of people are Catholic, but there are no religious or ethnic-based tensions. The country is rated very highly by freedom, and the economy is one of the best-performing democracies in the world. In terms of press freedom, Timor-Leste is number 10 out of more than 100 countries. But what are the solutions, or how can we remedy the current multilateral peace and security architecture? The UN Security Council and the Permanent Members failed miserably regarding Ukraine,

Myanmar, and now Gaza. We partially attribute this problem to the collective failure or the inadequacy of the global security architecture that has been enacted and perfected since the end of World War II. However, it has not been able to adapt to the increasing new challenges that the world faces, including transnational terrorism. Israel denied Palestinians their legitimate right to statehood. Israel is a homeland for Jews, but without guarantee, the Palestinians do not have a homeland, and they will not have security either. In terms of solutions, if we get rid of the Security Council and create a World Federalist system, it will suffer the same problems as the current one. Failure to solve the problem in Ukraine, failure to prevent the Russian invasion, failure of dialogue, and just waiting instead. Mr. Ramos-Horta stated that he does not have a clear solution for reforming the Security Council, but the simplest Challenge posed to Humanity by Artificial Intelligence what we could do is to expand the numbers of non-permanent and permanent members because we cannot continue only with the five who are the legacy of the Cold War. How can we understand that India with 1.4 billion people does not have a seat as a permanent member, or Indonesia, the largest Muslim majority in the world? Also, Latin America is completely underrepresented in the Security Council. We should bring in Indonesia, India, Japan, also representation from Africa. This itself will bring more legitimacy, and more representation from other countries but it will not going to resolve the problems of the Security Council in preventing and mediating conflicts. The problem is deeper than that.

## **Part II Panel Comments**

### **Mr. Takahiro Shinyo**



Mr. Shinyo shared his opinion that the world is becoming more and more disordered. This situation might have started in 2020 when a pandemic occurred, killed so many people, and also the two wars in Ukraine and Gaza. We are now entering the age of war; international war is possible, so we should be prepared. The United Nations Security Council cannot solve this at all or at least cannot solve it effectively. Mr. Shinyo noted that keeping the balance of power among big nations is very important, and he hopes that this traditional way of keeping the world in balance will function. Hopefully, in the future, depending on the situation, economic dependence will also help the balance of power to function. We must celebrate the 100th anniversary of the United Nations and exert every effort to maintain the kind of stability that is the key to making dialogue possible among the major powers. But at the same time, Mr. Shinyo noted that the reform of the Security Council should be realizable. We should not envision with illusion ; we should not hope that great things will happen. We have already had more than 30 years of history of the reform process, and there is no reform at all. The reason is that we have hoped a bit too ambitiously, and after having seen the malicious situation in the world, we have to conclude that the enlargement of the permanent members should not be the

case anymore. We should either abolish the permanent membership or reduce the number of those members. And we should try to find solutions that make everyone win but not punish anybody; this is the key to success. We should create a new forum for cooperation not only between the Great Powers but also between the so-called global or middle-power countries and the Global South. This must be very effective and crucial to the creation of a new type of multilateralism. Mr. Shinyo also stated that we should avoid any confrontation of the values between democracies and non-democracies . We have nowadays lots of non-democratic countries; that is the reality. And we should come to terms with those instead of just criticizing and excluding them. The fundamental values of human rights and fundamental freedoms are the only two things written in the Charter of the United Nations. Democracy does not appear in the Charter. There are different types of countries, and everybody has the right to decide their future of political system, whether it be democratic or non-democratic. We should also avoid the attitude of so-called “binary bias” to compel us to choose either A or B. The world is not that simple.

#### **Mr. David Chikvaidze**



Mr. Chikvaidze noted that it was ironic that at the end of the first quarter of the twenty-first century, the world found itself facing increasingly complex, interlocking challenges: a vicious war in the middle of the European continent, the Middle East on the brink of a number of local wars, a climate crisis wreaking havoc around the world, over 50 armed conflicts threatening millions, dire poverty in large parts of the world, record refugee flows, rampant inequality both among and within countries, sky-high debt, threats to the rule of law, the methodical and deliberate dismantling of disarmament commitments, attacks on the media and civil society, and much more. It could be argued that since the disappearance of the so-called bipolar world, the international community had not yet managed to define what arrangement would provide to the world the strategic stability that it sorely lacked. This was most evident at the ‘top’: the relationships within the triangle of the most powerful nations were deeply dysfunctional and unstable, which in and of itself was enough to engender instability throughout the world. Add to that several medium powers that were becoming unpredictable regional players, increasingly willing to use force to further their own interests. Geopolitically, the world was witnessing a landscape of great asymmetries and fragmentation at all levels – political, economic and security. This was a pivotal moment in human history, which only occurred maybe every other century. A new social and economic paradigm was emerging. In the absence of any visible effort on the part of the nation-states to moderate their narrow-interest-based policies and actions, the UN Secretary-General kept coming up with wide-ranging, comprehensive, and far-reaching proposals, reports, and initiatives to stimulate multilateralism. The latest such initiatives were the ‘Our Common Agenda’, and the ‘New Agenda for Peace’, leading into the Summit of the Future

next September. Mr. Chikvaide noted that the original 1992 Agenda for Peace was an upbeat document presented at an optimistic, albeit brief, moment in history by the then-Secretary-General. The New Agenda for Peace was being presented at a very difficult moment in human history, when past achievements in practically every area of the peace and security agenda were being dismantled, or at best disregarded. This multi-faceted crisis was in dire need of long overdue measures, primary among them – governance reform. At the turn of the twentieth century the need for a new form of governance emerged, that of governance outside and among the nation-states. And the international community had been struggling to come up with the right formula for over a century. The default intellectual approach was to look at global institutions like the United Nations and the Bretton Woods System and propose significant reforms, with the stated objective of adapting them to today's world and future challenges. Among the key areas for reform most prominently mentioned, were more equitable representation in decision-making, particularly in the UN Security Council and international financial bodies like the IMF and World Bank, to reflect the changing global economic landscape and give more influence to emerging economies. Fair enough. Yet, the international community did not have the luxury of viewing the global institutions as entities unto themselves that exist in some 'third dimension', whose reform alone would fix the problem. In reality, they were all run and financed and were serving the member states that had created them. So, in reforming governance, the international community needed to do so in a holistic manner. If, as the saying goes, charity begins at home, well, so does reform. Mr. Chikvaide summarized by emphasizing three issues: there was an abundance of politicians in all countries, but an absence of leaders in the world today, leaders whose actions would provide grounds to call them statesmen/women. He also stressed that an underestimated, but devastating factor was pervasive corruption at every level in many nation-states. If there were politicians who broke financial laws, they would break other, political laws, as well. Finally, Mr. Chikvaide stressed that Artificial Intelligence (AI) increasingly needed to be not only factored in but managed and regulated by Human Intelligence (HI), which was the one that had created and was perfecting it. But this had to be done while constantly keeping in mind another concept: HN – Human Nature, which had not and would not change and which was at the core of many problems. Lastly, Mr. Chikvaide addressed an issue raised by previous speakers, that of the dysfunctionality of the Security Council. He expressed support for the need to reform the Council, however, the mere increase of the permanent membership wielding the power of the veto did not seem a practical solution: if the current five permanent members wielding veto power consistently failed to agree, how realistic was it to hope that 10 members would be more successful in finding common ground? Mr. Chikvaide suggested that a major restructuring could be the answer. One proposal was to consider making the membership of the G20 plus the African Union, the permanent members of the Security Council, but without the veto, and another 14 rotating members for a total of 35, which would be a manageable figure and representative of the world. The G20 included many of the countries that were mentioned in different proposals for permanent membership. Of course, the proposal would need much fine-tuning. It was currently considered unrealistic, given its breadth, but how

many unrealistic ideas had humankind implemented when it considered them useful. The other criticism was that without the veto, the Security Council would have no teeth. But the power of the veto existed today, yet, even with these perceived ‘teeth,’ the body was ineffective on the most contentious issues. So, the key, in Mr. Chikvaidze’s mind, was to return diplomacy to the center of the Security Council’s work, in search of a majority of votes, whether a straight majority or two-thirds majority, and make that the binding decision, necessary for the implementation of any Security Council resolution.

### **Mr. Ueki Yasuhiro**



Mr. Yasuhiro UEKI stated that it has been kind of a scary discussion as to whether a Secretary General should be more secretary or more general in the history of the UN. As Kofi Annan in particular, to a certain extent tried to be general as much as possible within his limited powers. And this current Secretary General was relatively quiet. In all the crises emerging and have emerged tried to be on top of the kind of moral leadership, but the current political struggle, the re-emergence of geopolitical power struggle has really limited power to stand in between. Secretary General criticized not just the Hamas killing of civilians, but also Israel, but then Israel responded and demanded that he should resign. So this is a very delicate position.

And he tried to be as much a moral leader as, a defender of international norms and values. We should not over-expect the role even though we would like to see a more active role in the Secretary-General. We have to resolve the fundamental differences in this day and age-old political power struggle above politics. The moment that is jeopardizing international norms and values and the rule of law is of course war in Ukraine, a lot is happening in the Middle East, and there are many other conflicts. We have to do everything possible to deal with those and hopefully resolve them somehow. It will not be an easy, quick fix, but we have to start resolving those conflicts one by one, so that in the end, we can recreate kind of a more harmonious relationship, particularly between major powers, but also taking into account the emergence of provisional other major columns.

### **Mr. Georgios Kostakos**



Mr. Kostakos noted that he was with two Secretaries General in their office, Kofi Annan and Ban Ki-moon, and witnessed when Kofi Annan said that the war in Iraq was illegal as the US invasion of Iraq in 2003. They had their computers confiscated by the special commission, and there was nothing serious to be found, but



the UN was tormented for two years about fame and popularity. Then there are overreactions to some powers and influence. Mr. Kostakos thinks that it is a problem when you have senators writing to the Secretary-General and demanding an immediate response because they will stop paying for the Secretariat for peacekeeping, and stop approving the US regular budget and the peacekeeping budget. We have one foundation which is an American creation and plays such a big role in our common agenda. Smaller and medium powers, Japan or Germany can decide where they belong. Still, Mr. Kostakos wishes they belong to the medium powers if they choose to play that majority of the General Assembly of the Security Council to impose somehow on the big powers the respect of the basic principles. It is not democracy and liberal democracy as a way of running the UN but it is the UN Charter and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights. That is the universal constitution. So if we started being more serious about this, we see some action now. For example, in South Africa, they valiantly took Israel to the ICJ at the National Court of Justice. Mr. Kostakos hopes the court responds as quickly as it did for Russia, and the invasion of Ukraine, and issues an order to stop the proceedings until it can pronounce on the genocide charges. If that happens what Israel and the US will do? Somebody has to start respecting the rules and we had way too much of that to talk. We do not need more permanent members, there is no leadership, only impaired leaders who can prioritize based on the ethical part of it. What we see now is that the Secretary General's priorities are about getting reelected for the next term to be relatable. How to stay in power if you are in a more group authoritarian state? Mr. Kostakos mentioned that one thing that can be discussed is the establishment of the Global Resilience Council. Not everything should be securitized and we should not expect the Security Council to solve all problems. We can start with another Council focused on human security. Let's do that under the General Assembly with smaller bodies. And another subsidiary body we can call the Public Resilience Council. Let the majority of the small and middle powers figure out how should it work, or have semi-permanent members, but no new permanent members in the leadership roles.

### **Mr. Stephen Kinloch-Pichat**



Mr. Pichat noted that If we agree that the international architecture as it exists today is somewhat obsolete, it will certainly have to be replaced at some point. We can only hope that these will not emerge from global conflict, like the League of Nations or the United Nations collapse before the new organization came together. The first practical challenge Mr. Pichat sees would be to balance interdependence and sovereignty, which has been an issue for the United Nations and which will even more so be an issue for a new organization, whether facing climate change, migration and economic issues, or collective security issues. It will require strengthening cooperation in the fields of technology science and finances to deal with both collective security as such, but also

solutions for the future of the planet. And certainly for that, and without getting into the details of decision-making representation and new forms of consultation. The latest developments bring new ethical challenges to humanism and artificial intelligence. And this potentially, is a form of progress but also a request for democracy for equality, as well as for basic human rights. And for that, as President Ramos-Horta hinted by giving the example of his country, it will require think tanks to look at those ethical issues, and best practices, and reward best behaviors internationally, as well as global leadership. So those practical and philosophical issues will be the key for any future organization that will succeed the United Nations and hopefully in the most peaceful manner possible.

### **Part III Open Discussion**

Mr. Takahiro Shinyo noted that everybody has hope for the future. Immediately after the end of the Cold War, everybody was so ambitious. In that situation it might have been possible for Kofi Annan or his predecessor Boutros Boutros-Ghali, to make bold proposals. Mr. Shinyo thinks the Agenda for Peace was a very thoughtful document, that tried to make very constructive ideas, and everybody thought that it would be possible if we exerted efforts. But actually, it was not the case. He thinks it is not such a simple compact comparison between two or three post-cold war Secretary Generals. What Mr. Annan did was, of course, very conducive. He proposed his idea of the Security Council reform based on Wiseman's group, its decision or proposal. To draw the attention of the Security Council was one of the tools that the Secretary-General has, by Article 99. But Mr. Guterres did not use this up until quite recently. He should have taken the initiative much earlier. This is the difference, but we should be very clear that the situation in which Secretary Generals were was very different from now.

Mr. David Chikvaide commented that the times were different, but that did not necessarily mean that the current times were more difficult than the previous ones. A Secretary-General had two terms and in the second term, there could be more leeway for bolder action, as there was no danger of blocking a second term by the P5. In the context of the power wielded by the P5 over the position of Secretary-General, Mr. Chikvaide recounted an anecdote of an exchange that had apparently taken place at one of the monthly luncheons the Secretary-General has with the P5 ambassadors in New York. Into six months of his first term, Kofi Annan was having his monthly luncheon at which one of the ambassadors said “Kofi, it's really strange. You've been there for six months, and there are not many results we see. You know, God created the world in six days!” After a brief pause, Kofi Annan replied that yes, God had created the world in six days. But he was working alone, and I have to work with you.

Mr. Ramesh Kumar stated that as we have this term, the use of our experts in this discussion, as we are very well known about this fact that for the progress and development of a new society, leadership is considered a very important factor. The more dynamic articulate and farsighted the

leadership is, the more progress of this system or organization is considered. Today, we are fine-tuning that very issue of purity for the well-being of all in the prevailing circumstances, as far as governance is concerned. His viewpoint is that we should empower the United Nations Security Council in the larger interests and image of the organization as well as societal concerns. We should explore the Nexus which is prevailing in the global scenario, in the larger interest of the societal concern.

Mr. Ashaq Malik asked how can we develop the strategy with an integrated approach to reform the global coordinates starting from the UN. The Assembly is the right body, there is no problem. The problem is how we can empower the UN and how we can build a sense of accountability and responsibility among the member states, especially those who have more power. We can tell them that in a war, for example, 911, 3500 people were killed. We took revenge and killed one million. In Gaza to take revenge for 1500 people, we killed around 100,000 people. So what were the metrics that must be told to the leaders who are making the biggest economic performance basis? Secondly, there should be accountability for economic crashes. How much because of economic laws they have passed, they should be accountable, and they must pay the fine. Likewise, biodiversity and environmental losses must be held accountable. Finally, the representation should be there. Rather than global citizenship, how we can change the mindset of the leadership, at least at a top level, in terms of how they can treat others? For example, the G20 his this year team delivered such a beautiful message, our world is one family. The same philosophies in Africa, Ubuntu is there and likewise, we have great philosophies in Europe and America. They could be applied in the peacebuilding efforts so that we can change the minds of the people and they should learn to live as brothers, not as enemies. The war mathematics must be told to them how much economic loss they are causing to take revenge for a hundred they are killing thousands.

Ms. Miki Sugimura noted that the United Nations, especially UNESCO has been discussing the function of youth development or the youth leaders. The current situation in the political system is very difficult, but we must look for the next generation of youth empowerment, and maybe future-oriented practices. Educational exchange might be one of the possibilities. Education is a little far from political negotiation or global governance, but Ms. Sugimura is currently researching how the international education network can be developed. This kind of leadership is creating global governance. Now there are a lot of educational networks in the world, especially in the higher education sectors. So if we can look for the possibility of creating a new platform where people can discuss might be very one of the points to be considered.

Mr. Ken Inoue agreed it is possible to increase the long-term permanent members, however, the current P5 will never give up the veto. And as long as they keep the veto, not much will change. His view is that it is time to create a new organization. Not now, but probably towards 2045. If we create the new UN, then most of the members will move to the new organization



automatically. The fundamental problem is that some of the powers use their military power to change the structures. Mr. Inoue thinks it is time to change from military power to the people's power. It is very difficult for the big country like Russia or China. To do so properly under the new structure, the new UN, we should form the United Nations force as the current UN Charter emphasizes. Mr. Inoue still believes that democracy should be the fundamental value of the new global governance. However, the most ironic thing is North Korea's name is the middle Democratic People's Republic of Korea. They claim they are a democratic country. That is why we have to clearly define the meaning of democracy and aim at building a democracy based on human rights, political freedom, and also the rule of law, and of course, people's sovereignty. Based on these values. I think we can create a new global governance.

Mr. Muhammad Rahman referred to previous speakers suggesting that the main challenges for doing any effective reform in the P5 are to take away the veto power, remove the permanence, and balance out the powers of the P5. Mr. Rahman is wondering how that can be done. None of them will be willing to give away that power. It could be done through other middle power or the lesser power countries, grouping. Diplomacy could create some sort of balancing act, instead of creating another organization like the UN. We can create a pressure group. That may help create enough pressure on the big powers to come to a consensus that the UN should undergo a reform. A diplomatic approach through interaction could help achieve that.

Mr. Takahiro Shinyo stated that there is no clear-cut answer to how to balance power because it is not something that you can create as a result of the unequal situation of power distribution. The balance of power will be functioning, but it needs of course, the willingness of the larger power, the willingness to cooperate and establish a more stable situation. In the history of mankind, it was only possible with the collective willingness to make the situation more stable. It was the time after the Napoleonic War, there was a Vienna Congress and that was the system of the balance of power that kept the world stable for 100 years after the Napoleonic War. It is almost impossible for us to change the world to have a new type of United Nations or second United Nations. Do we need one more war to change the UN ?, No, we do not want to have any war. Mr. Shinyo thinks there will be a different situation in 10 years, or 15 years. Then many people would adapt to the new situation. France and the UK are not using vetoes anymore. Immediately after the demise of the Cold War, they discontinued the use of veto. The P5 has to come to know that the veto is ridiculous.

Mr. Stephen Kinloch Pichat noted that global leadership requires global leaders but those global leaders will have to be nation-states. And somehow, if there is a critical mass of countries that do the right thing and abide by ethical and democratic standards or human rights, then it is possible to reward those countries. It is possible to use them as models and examples. And it is possible to sort of bring positive change as well as opposed to negative change.

Mr. Georgios Kostakos stated that have to come back to standards that are there but are not used anymore. We have to go back to go forward. One way is to have this new body, the Global Resilience Council, focused on the big global issues of the day like climate change, disease, and inequalities, and try to do something with them in a different atmosphere than when it goes to zero-sum strategic interests. If we do that, ethics will come back. Regarding veto, now the General Assembly also has this process that if you cast the veto, you have to go and explain to the General Assembly of the Liechtenstein Initiative. Or before we have the United for Peace resolution, the General Assembly response to COVID or the Korean War, because the Security Council could not reach an agreement. There are ways of showing the big powers if the other side is united, they can go around them also. So it is ethics, but we need leadership and determination for ethics. It cannot be too soft.