



Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan

特別非営利活動法人 日本国際平和構築協会

Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum 2025

Summary Report

*“80th Anniversary of the United Nations:
Challenges and Future Prospects”*

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JICA Ichigaya Global Square
Shinjuku City, Tokyo 162-0845, Japan

Opening Remarks

Mr. Yasushi Akashi
GPAJ Honorary President

In his opening remarks, Mr. Akashi Yasushi, Honorary President, reflected on the deeper significance of the Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum 2025 by situating it within the long arc of the United Nations' history and his own professional experience spanning more than six decades.

He recalled that his first engagement with the United Nations Secretariat, upon joining as a young political affairs officer in 1957, involved contributing to the Secretary-General's report on the Soviet invasion of Hungary. He noted that the invasion occurred not once, but twice over a two-year period, leaving a lasting impression of the limits and moral challenges faced by the United Nations in responding to the use of force by major powers. This early experience, he suggested, shaped his understanding of both the necessity of multilateral institutions and the political constraints under which they inevitably operate.

Mr. Akashi went on to recall a later phase of his career, when he was directly involved in efforts to establish peace and democracy on the ground in Cambodia between 1991 and 1993. That experience demonstrated to him the United Nations' capacity, under certain conditions, to play a decisive and positive role in post-conflict transition. At the same time, he emphasized that these achievements had to be viewed alongside subsequent setbacks, most notably in the Former Yugoslavia, which underscored the uneven and often fragile nature of peacebuilding efforts.

In this regard, he referred specifically to the establishment of so-called "safe areas" in Yugoslavia by the Security Council. While these measures reflected the Council's intentions, he noted that they were not matched by the necessary troop deployments and political backing required to ensure real protection on the ground. He observed that, during that period, the Security Council adopted nearly 200 resolutions, yet remained unable to translate repeated decisions into sustained improvements for affected populations. Nevertheless, he stressed that those involved in UN operations at the time could still take pride in what was achieved under extremely difficult circumstances.

Turning to more recent experience, Mr. Akashi referred to the Kyoto meeting of the United Nations Associations of Japan, China, and the Republic of Korea, held earlier in the year. He described the four-day exchange as a rare and valuable opportunity for frank and honest dialogue among the three associations, during which participants openly examined the limits and possibilities of 80 years of UN history. He noted that, despite differences in perspective, participants departed Kyoto with a shared sense of satisfaction that meaningful dialogue had

been possible, and with renewed reflection on the future potential of the United Nations grounded in the mixed legacy of global multilateralism.

In conclusion, Mr. Akashi offered a forward-looking message. He emphasized that there is no reason to give up on the future of the United Nations or of global multilateralism. While acknowledging that the UN's history is, and will continue to be, a mixture of achievements and disappointments, he expressed confidence that this balance would never amount to total failure. On the contrary, he suggested that even after another 80 or 100 years, the collective outcome of multilateral efforts would be far better than one defined solely by disappointment. Based on the accumulated experiences of global multilateralism, he conveyed his conviction that the shared future of the international community can be brighter, provided that lessons are learned and commitment is sustained.

Ambassador Shinyo's Keynote Speech

What Should the United Nations Do to Prevent the Next World War?

Dr. Takahiro Shinyo

Special Advisor to the President, Kwansei Gakuin University

In delivering his keynote speech, Ambassador Shinyo said that the United Nations Charter defined three core purposes: maintaining international peace and security; promoting economic and social development; and upholding human rights and fundamental freedoms. However, he observed that in the 2024 Pact for the Future, sustainable development and development finance had been placed before international peace and security, indicating that the influence of the Global South might be shifting priorities away from security concerns. At the same time, he noted that the behavior of the Security Council's permanent members (P5) and the stalled reform efforts reflected a weakening of the UN's collective security role. Ambassador Shinyo suggested that some observers viewed these signs as a revival of the great-power politics that preceded the Second World War.

The UN's Mission and Structural Limitations

Ambassador Shinyo emphasized that a core objective of the UN's founding had been to prevent a major-power war. He pointed out that since 1945, no direct war had taken place between superpowers, thanks in part to veto power, nuclear deterrence, and the balance of power. However, he warned that the "stability-instability paradox" suggested that while nuclear deterrence might suppress large wars, it could allow smaller conventional conflicts to proliferate. He cited the ongoing wars in Ukraine and Gaza as illustrations of how traditional conflict-termination mechanisms were failing, arguing that the UN must therefore confront these structural limits.

Strengthening Peacemaking as a Core Function

The Ambassador explained that UN peace operations could be framed in four stages: prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. He noted that historically, the UN had been more active in the post-conflict phases—peacekeeping and peacebuilding—but resource and personnel constraints had significantly reduced capacity, with reported cuts of approximately 25% in personnel and 13% in the peacekeeping budget for 2026.

Following Secretary-General Guterres' 2023 report, A New Agenda for Peace, Ambassador Shinyo argued that the UN should shift its focus toward early-stage mediation and arbitration. He proposed that when the Security Council was deadlocked, the "Uniting for Peace" resolution should trigger special emergency sessions of the General Assembly. Furthermore, he

recommended that the Secretary-General should have better institutional means to mobilize neutral or willing states and deploy an "Eminent Persons Pool" for swift mediation. He emphasized that the UN's focus must move from post-conflict interventions to preventive and peacemaking missions.

Harnessing Coalitions of the Willing and Regional Powers

Ambassador Shinyo addressed the reality that in conflicts where P5 involvement or Security Council blockage made UN-led resolution difficult, ad-hoc multilateral efforts led by willing states or regional powers could act as practical complements. He provided historical examples including the 1991 Cambodia Paris Peace Agreements that had been facilitated by France and Indonesia, the Kosovo peace plan that had been developed through the G8, and recent ceasefire mediation in Gaza involving the United States, Egypt, Turkey, and Qatar. He stated that the UN should formally encourage such coalitions under Charter frameworks, specifically citing Chapter VI for peaceful settlement and Chapter VIII for regional arrangements.

US Disengagement and the Need for Inclusive Multilateralism

The Ambassador observed that since the Trump era, the United States had adopted a selective and disengaged posture toward the UN, reducing financial support and cooperation with multilateral institutions. He suggested that the UN's UN80 Initiative might reflect anticipation of a scenario involving diminished U.S. participation. Meanwhile, he noted that Russia and China were promoting non-Western, anti-American or non-U.S.-centric forms of multilateralism through BRICS and the Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO).

In this context, Ambassador Shinyo urged that Japan and European countries should lead the revival of what he termed "Inclusive Multilateralism"—not anti-American but genuinely inclusive. He highlighted the Alliance for Multilateralism, which had been led by Germany and France, and called for strong Japanese participation in this initiative to ensure that multilateral frameworks remained open and cooperative rather than exclusionary.

A Realistic Two-Stage Approach to Security Council Reform

Ambassador Shinyo stated that securing the UN's collective security system required reform of the Security Council. However, he acknowledged that despite more than 30 years of negotiations, no meaningful outcome had emerged. He argued that radical changes such as abolishing the veto or removing permanent status were politically infeasible, and therefore incremental reform represented the practical route forward.

He proposed a two-stage approach to reform. In Stage 1, to be achieved by 2030, he recommended creating six to eight semi-permanent seats with renewable four to eight-year terms, expanding regional representation among non-permanent seats, and reaching agreement

on limited use of the veto. In Stage 2, to be implemented by 2045 (the UN centenary), he suggested revisiting the structure and role of permanent membership as circumstances and political realities would allow.

The Crisis of the Rule of Law

Ambassador Shinyo strongly condemned Russia's invasion of Ukraine, stating that it clearly violated Article 2 of the UN Charter, which prohibited the use of force, and threatened the rule of law and international order. He also expressed concern about developments in the United States, noting that in September 2025, the U.S. had authorized use of the title "Department of War" for its defense ministry—a symbolic shift toward a "peace through strength" doctrine and unilateral intervention outside the UN system. He cited U.S. military strikes on Iranian nuclear sites and operations in the Caribbean as evidence of this trend.

The Ambassador called upon the international community, together with Japan, to respond through strong joint action in the General Assembly and Security Council to reaffirm rule-of-law norms and resist the erosion of the UN-based international order.

Advancing Multilateral Diplomacy for Nuclear and General Disarmament

Ambassador Shinyo stressed that preventing nuclear weapons use and major-power war must remain top UN priorities. He employed a vivid metaphor, stating that if the P5 were "wild beasts," then the Security Council was their "cage"; if that cage broke, global chaos would follow. He pointed out that in 2025, the Doomsday Clock stood at 89 seconds to midnight, the closest it had been to catastrophe since 1947.

He emphasized that the P5 must honor their special obligations under both the UN Charter and the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT). As the only country to have suffered atomic bombing twice, Ambassador Shinyo declared that Japan had a moral duty to urge nuclear-armed states toward self-restraint and to lead efforts to convene the long-overdue Fourth UN Special Session on Disarmament (SSOD IV), which had last been held in 1988. He also called for pressing implementation of NPT Article VI, which required good-faith negotiations for nuclear disarmament.

Reviving Pragmatic Multilateralism

In his conclusion, Ambassador Shinyo acknowledged that while the UN was imperfect, no viable global substitute existed. He argued that to prevent another world war, the UN must be strengthened through realistic institutional reconstruction rooted in political realism. He called upon middle powers and the Global South, along with the international community, to take specific actions.

First, he urged that the United States should be reminded of the historical lesson that withdrawal

from international cooperation had helped spark World War II and encouraged to seek its national interests within multilateral institutions rather than outside them. Second, he called upon Russia and China to adopt inclusive, rather than exclusionary, forms of multilateralism. Ambassador Shinyo concluded by asserting that to avoid repeating the scourge of world war, restoring the rule of law and multilateralism under the UN framework was humanity's common mission and represented a central challenge for Japanese diplomacy. He expressed the conviction that through pragmatic multilateralism and incremental reform, the international community could strengthen the UN's capacity to prevent future global conflicts and maintain international peace and security.

UN Peace and Security Discussion

Free Discussion - Morning Plenary Session on

the Prospect for the UN to Restore Multilateralism and Rule of Law

The morning plenary session on October 25, 2025, featured a wide-ranging discussion on the role of the United Nations in maintaining peace and security. The moderator, Professor Hasegawa, opened the discussion by allocating thirty minutes for comments and questions, requesting speakers to limit their remarks to approximately three minutes each to allow for diverse participation.

Challenges to UN Peace and Security Operations

The Priority of Peace and Security

Dr. Kihara-Hunt opened the discussion by respectfully challenging Ambassador Shinyo's assertion that peace and security constituted the UN's priority. She argued that the inability of member states to reach agreement demonstrated that peace and security was not truly prioritized, as there was no imperative forcing them to agree. She emphasized that the Security Council was not the only body failing the UN, noting that the General Assembly also bore responsibility.

Dr. Kihara-Hunt encouraged participants to consult the digital handbook on the General Assembly's past practices on peace and security, which documents a series of effective practices delivered by the General Assembly in this area. She pointed out that the Secretary-General, who had not yet been discussed in the forum, possessed significant powers that could be exercised, including issuing special reports, appointing special representatives, and establishing country presences.

The Need for Courage and Action

Referring to former Under-Secretary-General Fabrizio Hochschild, Dr. Kihara-Hunt stated that the United Nations lacked courage. She argued that in an imperfect and difficult world, the UN had to persistently attempt to fulfill its mandate. She contended that failure resulting from genuine effort provided evidence of trying, which was preferable to not attempting action at all. According to her perspective, ideas could bind states and non-state actors, as all parties were beneficiaries of peace and therefore shared responsibility for the peace and security issue.

Regarding Japan's role, Dr. Kihara-Hunt stressed the importance of Japan providing not only financial resources and personnel, but also innovative ideas that integrated approaches favorable to human rights and the rule of law. She concluded her remarks with a quote from Martin Luther

King: those who love peace must learn to organize it as effectively as those who wage war.

Self-Defense and International Law

Ambassador Inomata addressed the complex issue of self-defense and the use of force. He observed that many countries exercised power against other nations through armed forces while justifying their actions in the name of self-defense. Although the Security Council had banned the use of force except for self-defense purposes, he noted that the Council was rarely convinced by the justifications provided by aggressor governments.

Ambassador Inomata highlighted the inherently subjective nature of self-defense justifications made by states. He posed a fundamental question: beyond the stated reasons for which a country exercised force, was there any way to govern such actions through international law rather than resorting to force for self-defense? He emphasized that the international community had not yet established such a framework, and that this issue should appear in all discussions on this topic.

Proposals for UN Reform

The Challenge of Reform

Mr. Inoue presented a provocative analysis of the current state of the UN Security Council. He noted that three of the five permanent members were becoming authoritarian and committing atrocities, with the situation deteriorating. While acknowledging discussions about the possibility of reform, he questioned whether reforming the UN was actually feasible.

Using an analogy, Mr. Inoue suggested that if the roots of a tree were rotten, it eventually had to be cut down. He drew a parallel to the League of Nations, noting that the international community did not reform that organization but instead created the United Nations. He proposed that the time might come to create a new United Nations, as doing so might be easier than attempting to reform the current system.

The Role of the General Assembly and Civil Society

Mr. Inoue advocated creating a General Assembly of the People drawn from civil society worldwide, suggesting this could be the future of the UN, capable of creating new norms. However, he emphasized that the spirit of the UN Charter remained important and should not be abandoned. He argued that focus should shift from the Security Council to the role of the General Assembly, noting that one of the UN's most important roles had been norm-setting.

According to Mr. Inoue, the UN had never possessed strong enforcement power but had historically wielded significant power to create norms common to all global communities. He identified a critical problem with the General Assembly: it was an assembly of governments, and more than half of these governments were authoritarian. Consequently, the General Assembly did not represent the people's views but rather the positions of authoritarian governments. He proposed building a People's General Assembly from civil society around the world, operating in parallel to the government's General Assembly. In his view, this would enable the UN to continue creating new norms, representing the post-regional future of the organization.

Leadership, Courage, and Member State Responsibility

Professor Hasegawa, in his capacity as moderator, expressed a sense that the United Nations was stuck, and that global society was similarly paralyzed because certain leaders were pursuing their own national and personal interests while the UN appeared powerless to act. He acknowledged that many people criticized the Secretary-General for lacking courage but felt compelled to address this criticism directly.

The moderator referenced Mr. Akashi's opening statement about the General Assembly's adoption of the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution on November 3, 1950. This resolution had reflected courage exercised at that time, mainly by United States leaders, to overcome Security Council deadlock and mobilize the General Assembly. However, Professor Hasegawa noted that during the Russian invasion of Ukraine, the United States had not resorted to this mechanism, reflecting a lack of knowledge and courage to do so.

Professor Hasegawa emphasized that the lack of courage was not solely attributable to the Secretary-General, but also to member states who could invoke the Uniting for Peace resolution but chose not to do so. He then posed a question to Ambassador Shinyo regarding whether UN peace operations included peace execution in addition to prevention, peacemaking, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding. Specifically, he asked whether the UN could engage in peace execution, meaning combat operations, to deter aggression by a Security Council member.

Peacekeeping Operations and Peace Execution

Ambassador Shinyo responded that the UN could engage in peace execution if the Security Council decided to do so by adopting a resolution. He then illustrated his point by referring to the case of the United Nations Interim Force in Lebanon (UNIFIL), one of the longest-running peacekeeping operations. He explained that when there had been war previously, UNIFIL had been enhanced not by developing countries but by the most robust nations such as Italy and France.

Ambassador Shinyo discussed the subsequent invasion and the creation of the United Nations Iraq-Kuwait Observation Mission (UNIKOM) on the Iraq-Kuwait border following the ceasefire. This mission had been staffed by personnel from the five permanent Security Council members. However, he noted that these forces were now gone, demonstrating that even personnel from permanent Security Council members could not operate effectively in high-impact zones.

The Ambassador questioned how other countries could be expected to operate in such dangerous environments if even permanent members could not do so. He observed that in the case of East Timor, the United Nations and all permanent Security Council members had agreed to the formation of a new country. However, when Russia and China objected to such actions, nothing could be accomplished. He clarified the distinction between peace execution, which occurred when the Security Council decided, and peace implementation, which took place when the General Assembly decided.

The Kosovo Case Study

Humanitarian Intervention and Legal Ambiguity

Dr. Sopaj examined the question of why Kosovo was established under the UN. Drawing on her knowledge in humanitarian interventions, she emphasized that the intervention was conducted primarily to protect human rights, under sensitive circumstances. She noted that, in contrast, the earlier intervention in Bosnia had been considered relatively unsuccessful.

Dr. Sopaj argued that Kosovo's case was strategically significant, particularly in relation to the United States' involvement. Regarding the legal basis for the intervention, she highlighted that China, as a permanent member of the UN Security Council, opposed the action due to geopolitical considerations. She described Kosovo as a *sui generis* case, where the UN's relative success was facilitated by the predominance of ethnic Albanians. Furthermore, she observed that the voting processes in the 2000s, which favored independence, allowed Kosovo to benefit from UN intervention and ultimately achieve statehood.

The G8 Process

Ambassador Shinyo agreed with Dr. Sopaj's explanation of the Kosovo case and provided additional context on the G8's role in Kosovo. He explained his personal involvement in the G8 process during foreign ministers' meetings. The G8 foreign ministers, including Russia, had convened to decide how to proceed with the peace plan. During that period, it had been impossible to discuss this issue in the UN Security Council because both Russia and China had opposed it. Therefore, the G8 process had served as the only available venue.

Ambassador Shinyo described how the G8 had drafted the UN Security Council resolution, a process in which he personally participated. The G8 then passed the drafted resolution to the United Nations. Russia's inclusion in the G8 group at that time had made this process possible. He testified as a witness to these events, having participated in the meeting in Bonn, Germany, where the resolution was finalized.

The Reality of UN Peace Operations

Mr. Chatterjee observed that while his formal presentation would focus on China's role, he wished to frame the discussion within the broader context of United Nations peacekeeping. He offered a sobering assessment, suggesting that the international community has faced significant challenges in achieving its long-term objectives in many peace operations. He pointed to complex situations, such as those in the Democratic Republic of Congo and the Central African Republic, as contexts where sustained peace and stability have remained elusive.

Building on the UN Secretary-General's framework, Mr. Chatterjee emphasized the indispensable link between peace and development, noting that one cannot be sustainably achieved without the other. He expressed concern that in some operational theaters, the absence of parallel development opportunities can create vacuums for development and job opportunities. He cited the situation in Somalia as a case study that underscores the need for a more integrated and critical examination of these interconnected challenges.

Call for Enhanced Effectiveness and Practical Reform

Mr. Chatterjee expanded the scope of relevant actors beyond the Security Council, noting the influential role of groups like the G8. He then shared a candid perspective on the General Assembly, expressing a view that its deliberations have, at times, not been matched by commensurate action. He suggested that bridging this gap between dialogue and implementation is a critical priority for the organization's relevance and effectiveness.

While acknowledging the fundamental importance of ideas and discourse, Mr. Chatterjee stressed that they must be coupled with concrete action. He noted that such action has most often been realized when there is strong willingness and leadership from member states and regional bodies. He advocated for a cultural shift within the institution to more consistently translate consensus into tangible outcomes.

He argued that for the General Assembly to fully assume its responsibilities, a change in mindset is required. This includes a pragmatic understanding that the responsible use of power—including, as a last resort and in accordance with the UN Charter, security capacities—is sometimes necessary to resolve critical security questions and create the conditions for peace.

Regarding the proposal for a People's General Assembly, Mr. Chatterjee acknowledged its idealistic merit but urged for a pragmatic approach. He questioned the political feasibility of such a fundamental restructuring, given the likely positions of the permanent members of the Security Council. Instead, he proposed a focus on strengthening and improving the existing United Nations system. He referenced the adage, "If it isn't broken, don't fix it," suggesting that while the UN is not beyond repair, it requires dedicated and concerted efforts for renewal, starting with revitalizing the General Assembly.

In conclusion, Mr. Chatterjee reflected that while a profound tragedy might be the only catalyst for a radical overhaul of the system, he sincerely hoped that the international community would find the wisdom and collective will to pursue meaningful reform proactively, thereby preventing such a catastrophe.

Concluding Observations

The Importance of Mindset

Professor Hasegawa concluded the discussion session by making three main points. First, he addressed the importance of mindset, particularly the mindset of national leaders. He referenced Ambassador Klemm's earlier remarks about the mindset of Timorese leaders who had been willing to forgive Indonesians and pursue reconciliation. Regarding Japanese leaders, the moderator expressed his wish that they would embrace what others had said about the importance of middle powers and Japan's potential contributions.

Professor Hasegawa noted that Japan possessed tremendous capacity. He expressed his efforts to help change the mindset of Japanese leaders, though he acknowledged this task as very difficult. He argued that Japan should move beyond its aspiration for permanent membership in the Security Council and join countries like Finland. If Japan could transcend the G4 framework and move beyond Japan's immediate national interests to embrace global interests, it could make a real difference.

Drawing from his written works, Professor Hasegawa suggested that if the principle of the Meiji Restoration could be applied on a global scale, significant change might be achieved. The Meiji Restoration had abolished 260 feudal domains and established a central government for the national interest, and he proposed that perhaps something similar could be accomplished globally.

Regional Cooperation

Professor Hasegawa's second point emphasized that Japan, China, and Korea could accomplish

much together. He expressed strong agreement with President José Ramos-Horta, who had visited two months prior and stated that Japan could take the lead in forming partnerships not only with Korea and China, but also with Indonesia, other Asian countries, and India. According to Professor Hasegawa, if such partnerships could be formed, they could change the world in a different way.

Proposal to Relocate UN Agencies to Tokyo

For his third point, Professor Hasegawa mentioned a specific proposal he had made in response to a request by the Governor of Tokyo for his ideas about moving some UN agencies to Tokyo. In response, he had submitted an eleven-page plan for moving the United Nations Development Programme (UNDP) and the UN Peacebuilding Fund to Tokyo, not merely as offices but as substantial operations.

Professor Hasegawa clarified that the idea was not simply to relocate bureaucracy, but to instill development thinking based on self-reliance. This approach emphasized human security and human development rather than traditional aid models. He acknowledged that there was less than a one percent chance of this happening but suggested that participants might hear about this proposal in the future.

Professor Hasegawa thanked all participants for their attendance and turned the proceedings over to Secretary Yang for final announcements.

Session 1A

Establishment of a Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations

Organizer: Mr. Sukehiro Hasegawa

GPAJ President

The session started with keynote speech by Mr. Andreas Bummel, Executive Director for Democracy without Borders, that includes the explanation of:

- A proposed parliamentary assembly;
- Its history;
- Rationale; and
- How could it be established.

For its realization, there are two ways to make it happen.

- 1) Based on Article 22, the parliamentary assembly could be established as a subsidiary body of UNGA
- 2) Based on Article 108 and 109, it could be created as a main body, but it requires UN Charter reform

Additionally, the Uniting for Peace resolution 377A adopted by the General Assembly in November 1950 could be used by UNGA to create a subsidiary body for the parliamentary assembly.

First panelist, namely Professor Uemura, pointed out following for points:

1. Necessity of the World Parliament, given a malfunction of the United Nations.
2. Assembly or parliament should have three chambers: the first one is to represent national interests under the “one country, one vote” system, the second chamber is to represent global public interest by elected representatives, and the third is to represent various specialists and sectors to reflect a variety of voices of people of the world, namely achieving global democracy.
3. Combining global tax and global basic income to get funded and eradication of poverty
4. Logic that realization of global tax leads to establishing a world parliament was explained.

Second panelist, Ambassador Eiji Yamamoto, demonstrated two ways to make a parliamentary assembly real.

1. Building on the existing organization, in other words, International Parliamentary Union
2. Based on Article 22, Third or Sixth Committee of the UN could request International Legal Committee to design a parliamentary assembly.

The third panelist, Mr. Chatterjee, mentioned it's good time to discuss how to realize a

parliamentary assembly, given dynamic change of geo-political environment, suggesting two critical points.

1. Political courage
2. Action

If a group of countries seriously put it forward, it could happen.

After that, there were a number of questions and comments, including:

- The naming, parliamentary assembly should be changed to people's assembly or World Assembly
- Sharing the facts that more than 100 Japanese diet members signed United Nations People's Assembly campaign

Discussions were made around:

1. Which is better, Chinese way of strong administration or democratic parliamentary assembly to the UN?
2. Was the development project in Africa was good for Africa or it's just another colonial policy made by Chinese empire?

Last not the least, it was announced that Mr. Bummel's book, "A World Parliament: Democracy towards 21st Century" was translated into Japanese this year.

Overall, it was a great session that everyone could learn a great deal about various aspects on a parliamentary assembly. And chair, Mr. Hasegawa concluded with the sentence, "A UN Parliamentary Assembly may be a dream. But, a dream is needed to make a great leap forward."

Session 1B

Flexibility Designed into UN Operations

Organizer: Ms. Ai Kihara-Hunt

Professor at the University of Tokyo

Sponsored by Hitachi Digital Observatory Research Institute

The panel provided ideas on the flexibility designed into UN Field Operations from four different perspectives. The first one is flexibility in financing field operations, the second one is in regard to the Secretary-General's initiatives, the third one is flexibility in the field in delivering mandates, and the fourth one is flexibility from the perspective of Japan as a country sending personnel.

First, Mr. Eugene Chen discussed three aspects of how financing affects the flexibility of UN field operations. First, he explained how measures put in place since 2019 have provided peacekeeping operations with greater flexibility for managing volatile circumstances and addressing liquidity challenges. These measures, however, are not sufficient to deal with non-payment of contributions by the United States, which forced the UN to begin implementing severe expenditure reductions in October. Second, he explained that the networked multidimensional operation concept proposed by the Secretary-General as part of the UN80 initiative can allow the UN to use funding to drive greater coherence between missions and UN country teams. Finally, he explained how the different approaches used by peacekeeping operations and special political missions present the primary obstacle towards allowing the UN to move away from existing templated approaches towards being able to more flexibly draw upon the full spectrum of peace operations. This would allow the UN to be able to better plan, design, and adapt missions based on the actual requirements for each context.

Second, Mr. Kiyotaka Kawabata discussed the Secretary-General's powers in peacemaking, especially in relation to Special Political Missions. He explained the case of UN Special Mission to Afghanistan from his experience, emphasizing the UNSMA's role in mediating peace between warring parties. Different approaches were used in different phases of UNSMA. Under the 'Uniting for Peace' resolution, the mission was created without the obstacle of veto, with relatively low cost. In each phase, the Secretary-General has exercised a wide range of discretion, including by creating new mechanisms, new situation, actors to cooperate with, and changing activity, even though there are prerequisites for such initiatives to work, the biggest one being political support.

Third, Ms. Hiroko Hirahara spoke on the flexibility in the field in delivering mandates. As the director of Civil Affairs Division in UN Mission in South Sudan, she introduced how different actors work in the area of protection of civilians (POC), human rights, creation of conducive

environment for betterment of humanitarian situations, and support to peace agreement. The mission's civilian component works with military and police components, who have different ways of working. With the mission being very grass-root oriented, the mission works with local actors and civil society, often by finding creative way of working together. In response to a question, she also discussed that the mission cooperates with the African Union.

Fourth, Col. Kuniyasu Watanabe discussed how Japanese Self Defence Force has been contributing to UN field operations. He discussed that Japan has been making not only financial, personnel and training contributions, but also intellectual ones. He expressed his view that flexibility, which is partly seen in the recent modular approach in the UN peace operations, is beneficial for personnel-sending countries like Japan. Those who were sent to UN missions from Japan included units and officers, and when they are in the mission, they gain institutional knowledge and develop their capacity, and bring back knowledge and experience to the country. Participation in flexible missions strengthen leadership, personnel's capacity and multinational cooperation skills. Shared experience builds trust and enables supportive, problem-solving cultures across contingents.

Session 2A

How to Protect Humanitarian Principles under the Current Disordered Global Society?

Organizer: Mr. Koji Sakane

GPAJ Director

In this session, we recognized that the humanitarian principles were not protected in the world, especially in the Middle East and Africa, and discussed how we could restore and uphold it in the international society.

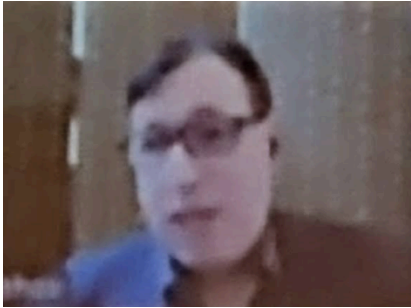


Ms. Hanzawa, ICRC Japan Head of Delegation, started her presentation with the changing nature of war, especially with the introduction of modern technologies. While the number of armed conflicts has increased, she reiterated that the International Humanitarian Law (IHL) is still relevant and humanitarian principles still matter. The ICRC has facilitated the safe return of hostages and detainees in Israel and occupied territories, visited places of detention in Myanmar, and supported the repatriation of fallen soldiers in Russia and Ukraine. Political Commitment is critically important to uphold IHL. In order to galvanize political commitment, the ICRC has organized global political consultations with over 130 states

have participating. The prevention of armed conflict is needed and the investment to uphold IHL is necessary to protect humanity.

Dr. Yumiko Takashima, UNHCR Iran Representative, explained humanitarian operation became a political tool, and was conducted in double standard. Global society was moving toward “State Centric”, such as “America First” and “Japan First”, which caused difficult situation in conducting humanitarian operations. One of the problems was ‘accessibility’. UNHCR had to negotiate with non-state actors, but it also became politicized. Another issue was ‘sanction’. Under sanction, even if humanitarian operation was exempted, private sector were not allowed to trade goods and limit its operations. Many UN reforms had conducted until now, but this time it was very serious. Global challenges, such as climate change, still existed. Japan could take unique position and hadd a role to play, such as in case of disaster management. I hope young generation could take such roles.





Mr. Haoues Taguia, Head of Gulf and International Research, Al Jazeera Center for Studies, presented his views from the Middle East, especially from the perspective of Arab lead media. Human rights situation was seriously deteriorated in an unprecedented manner. But South Africa and some Western countries, such as Spain, took action to formulate consolidated stance. Al Jazeera made a leading role to broadcast real situation in Palestine and support to formulate public opinions in the world. However, it was conducted by huge cost of victims within Al Jazeera.



Moderated by Prof Koji Sakane, Shimane University, discussions were made with participants, Many questions were raised, such as issues of HDP Nexus, sanction, and impact of Gaza War within Al Jazeera etc.

Ms. Takashima explained sanction attacked most vulnerable people in the community. Iran was large refugee hosting country, but due the relation with West, Iran couldn't be a model. Takashima also mentioned importance of speaking-up, and raise initiative, as now SNS gained ground. She mentioned roles of Japan and role ofv the youth to change the situation.

Regarding impact of Gaza war in Al Jazeera, Mr. Taguia explained that many Al Jazeera staff voluntarily wanted to go to Gaza to cover the war. In case of Gaza operation, now it was conducted by the 5th Generation group.

As concluding messages, all speakers reiterated the importance of upholding the humanitarian principles and taking action for upholding.

Session 2B

No Border on the “Spaceship Earth”

- UN Roles for Space Cooperation for the Benefit of All Human Beings, and Reconceptualization of Nationality and Sovereignty Based on the Latest Space Activities

Organizer: Ms. Motoko Mizuno

Former Member of the House of Councilors, National Diet of Japan

No border on the “Spaceship Earth”

– UN Roles for Space Cooperation for the Benefit of All Human Beings, and Reconceptualization of Nationality and Sovereignty Based on the Latest Space Activities.

① History and today’s issues for outer space activities at UN

Dr. Yasushi HORIKAWA,

Former Chair of UNCOPUOS, Former Director of JAXA

② Japanese space cooperation in collaboration with UN

Mr. Tetsuhito FUSE,

Associate Professor, Kyushu Institute of Technology

③ Impact of space activities for the evolution of International Law

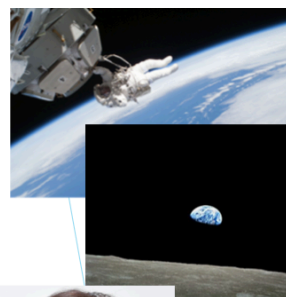
Honorary Prof. Dr. Kunihiko TATSUZAWA

Ritsumeikan Univ.

④ Visual presentation “No Border”

Mr. Satoshi TAKAMATSU

Artist, Founder and Astronaut of WE



Moderator

Ms. Motoko MIZUNO

Former Member of the House of Councilors
Former JAXA manager,
ACUNS Tokyo Program Advisor

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Panel 2-B is a unique session planned and moderated by Ms. Motoko Mizuno, former member of the house of councilors with long working experience in Japanese space agency, to challenge reconceptualization of Nationality and Sovereignty in traditional international law from the perspective of evolution of society based on the development of technology. Space activities such as international space station or international cooperation for moon exploration and habitation is something to show the gap between today’s global society and traditional international law which is to extend nationality and jurisdiction outside of the country even to the outer space. With a view from outer space, we realize our beautiful blue planet Earth is a “spaceship earth” without boarder. Now we human beings should wonder why states pursue war to protect the border even though losing valuable lives of citizens because there are another measure other than the war to solve international conflicts such as diplomatic coordination under UN or legal solution under ICJ and ICC. In order to reform and strengthen these international instruments, Japan should take strong leadership with peaceful vision based on its unique historical background in 20th century.

Following the opening of the session by Mizuno, Dr. Yasushi Horikawa, Former Chair of the

Committee on the Peaceful Uses of Outer Space (COPUOS) and Former Member of the Board of Directors of Japan Aerospace Exploration Agency (JAXA), briefly shared the history of the “space race” between US and former USSR which lead to the establishment of UNCOPUS, together with recent issues being discussed at UNCOPUOS such as international guidelines of space debris mitigation for the sustainability of space activities.

Mr. Tetsuhito FUSE, Associate Professor of Kyushu Institute of Technology (KYUTEC), introduced unique activities of KYUTEC under collaboration with UN Office of Outer Space Activities (UNOOSA) to help developing countries by giving opportunities for outer space activities by technical support and capacity building, which enables whole human beings equal access to the outer space in the long run.

Dr. Kunihiro Tatsuzawa, Honorary Professor, Ritsumeikan University, showed actual gaps between today’s globalized society with the technology and traditional international law, and argued necessity of its reconceptualization.

As a closing, Mr. Satoshi Takamatsu, Artist, Founder of WE, presented beautiful pictures of the Earth without boarder, realizing importance of keeping precious peaceful and beautiful “spaceship earth”.

Session 3A

Any Possibility for Asia-Pacific Countries Involvement in European Conflict Resolutions

Organizer: Ms. Arbenita Sopaj

GPAJ Director

The afternoon plenary, titled *Asian-Pacific Democracies and Their Contribution to EU Peacemaking*, was moderated by Dr. Arbenita Sopaj, who highlighted the relevance of the topic in today's interconnected world. She emphasized that while Europe and the Asia-Pacific face distinct security and political challenges, lessons from Asian democracies' experiences in conflict resolution and peacebuilding could offer valuable insights for European contexts.

Professor Neophytos Loizides

The panel opened with an insightful presentation by Professor Neophytos Loizides, who examined the application of advanced social science methodologies to analyze public opinion and peace settlement preferences, with a particular focus on Cyprus and Bosnia and Herzegovina (BiH). Drawing on ongoing research projects, Professor Loizides emphasized the value of empirical and diagnostic tools for assessing societal readiness to accept peace agreements. Using conjoint analysis, a method widely applied in marketing and psychology, the USIP//INCLUSIVEPEACE-funded team designed experiments presenting respondents with two hypothetical peace settlement "packages" differing in attributes such as governance structures, security guarantees, power-sharing arrangements, and mediation frameworks. These studies provided a nuanced understanding of how the involvement of various international actors, including NATO, the EU, and Asia-Pacific democracies, could shape public support for peace initiatives.

Professor Loizides explained that one of the most promising findings emerged when settlements incorporated Asian-Pacific democracies as neutral security guarantors specifically Japan, Australia and Canada. This option, inspired by earlier joint work with Professor Yuji Uesugi from Waseda University, appeared acceptable to both Greek and Turkish Cypriots, reflecting a potential new avenue for inclusive peace mediation. The Inclusive Peace Project, under which this research was conducted, has also developed tools to assess mediation preferences identifying which nationalities and mediation styles are perceived as most legitimate and effective by local populations. A similar study in Bosnia, for example, examined attitudes toward international facilitators and arbitration styles focusing on the post of the Office of High Representative in Bosnia.

In conclusion, Professor Loizides emphasized that assessing public opinion is crucial for the success of any peace operation. He noted the complexities in Cyprus, where EU engagement is hindered by limited Turkish trust and NATO faces skepticism from Greek Cypriots, particularly

on the political left. By contrast, Asia-Pacific democracies could serve as credible, impartial peace guarantors. Such an arrangement, he suggested, could strengthen regional stability in the Eastern Mediterranean while aligning Japanese and Asia-Pacific security interests with those of the EU and the United States. Loizides focused on the advantages for Japan in leading EU peacemaking emphasizing that a Cyprus mission will act as a ‘strategic insurance’ for Japan’s future as it faces reciprocal security challenges that require EU commitments.

Professor Yuji Uesugi

Following this, Professor Yuji Uesugi responded to Loizides’s proposals with a mix of constructive critique and encouragement. He began by acknowledging the idea of expanding Asian-European cooperation in peacebuilding but noted the current democratic backsliding in Asia. Citing recent riots and social unrest in Nepal, Indonesia, the Philippines, and Myanmar, often driven by Generation Z, Uesugi expressed concern over growing frustration among youth and civil society. Although Japan now has its first female prime minister, he reflected pessimistically on the limitations of Japan’s democratic structure, emphasizing the need for Asia and Europe to work together to strengthen democratic resilience.

Professor Anna Ohanyan

Building on the discussion, Professor Ana Ohanyan highlighted Japan’s potential strategic and normative role in Eurasian conflict management, drawing attention to the largely untapped opportunities for Japan-EU cooperation in promoting regional stability. She argued that Japan, as a middle power and economic superpower, has a unique capacity to serve as a bridge-builder, combining its expertise in regional connectivity and infrastructure development with Europe’s experience in negotiation-based, liberal conflict resolution. According to Ohanyan, closer coordination between Japan and Europe could enhance peacebuilding in fragile regions, offering a model for how global powers can project stability while upholding liberal values in areas affected by unresolved conflicts.

Professor Ohanyan further noted the rise of illiberal approaches to conflict management in Eurasia, contrasting them with the inclusive, participatory processes characteristic of the 1990s. Coercive, top-down, state-centered methods, she explained, risk generating fragile peace outcomes, eroding institutions, and legitimizing violence, as evidenced by the fall of Nagorno-Karabakh and persistent tensions in Georgia. Integrating Japan’s infrastructural and diplomatic expertise with Europe’s institutional and negotiation-focused approaches, she suggested, could help reshape regions such as the South Caucasus, fostering conditions for sustainable negotiated settlements and reinforcing the broader liberal global order.

Professor Taro Komatsu

Building on the preceding discussion, Professor Komatsu offered insights into Japan’s contribution to grassroots peacebuilding, drawing on his experience as a UN education officer in Kosovo. He highlighted Japan’s reputation as a neutral and trusted actor shaped by its

non-involvement in the Balkan conflicts, post-war pacifism, economic success, cultural engagement, and humanitarian assistance which enabled him to foster dialogue and bridge divides among ethnic communities. Professor Komatsu emphasized that meaningful peacebuilding depends on facilitation rather than intervention, allowing local actors to lead reconciliation efforts while external partners sustain credibility through impartial support.

He also underscored the importance of inspiring younger generations to participate in international peace initiatives. Many young people, he noted, are eager to contribute but lack visible role models. By promoting figures such as Sadako Ogata, Japan can encourage youth to envision their own roles in global peacebuilding, reinforcing the country's long-term capacity to support international reconciliation and cooperation.

Mr. Michiel Sakai

Mr. Michiel Sakai shared insights from his deployment to Cyprus in 2010 as a UNDP Peacebuilding Officer, highlighting Japan's geographic neutrality and its positive influence on peacebuilding efforts. Because Japan has no political or historical conflicts with Cyprus, he was able to build trust and collaborate effectively with both Greek Cypriot and Turkish Cypriot communities. He illustrated this with a project documenting the Technical Committee on Environment, where his neutral outsider status allowed him to gain access and support for a sensitive initiative, ultimately resulting in international recognition for the documentary.

Mr. Sakai also emphasized the value of fresh perspectives and the UN volunteer framework. His presence brought new energy to long-term peacebuilding efforts, offering encouragement and reminding local actors of their achievements. The UN volunteer status allowed him to communicate openly with practitioners, gaining unique grassroots insights. He concluded that Japan's neutrality, combined with its support for UN volunteer initiatives, provides both access and legitimacy in international peacebuilding, even when Japanese public awareness of distant conflicts remains limited.

Expanding on this discussion, the Q&A and comment session examined Japan's role in international peacebuilding, its potential for defense collaboration, and its strategic positioning in Europe and beyond.

Dr. Sukehiro Hasegawa

Dr. Hasegawa emphasized the critical role of trust and neutrality in successful conflict resolution. Drawing on examples such as the Finnish former president's mediation in the ASEAN conflict and Japan's peacebuilding efforts in East Timor, he highlighted that external actors are most effective when they are trusted by all parties and when the conflicting sides genuinely desire resolution. He also noted the limits of external intervention: in cases where national leaders use conflicts to advance personal agendas rather than seek real solutions as he observed in parts of the Middle East or in East Asia outside involvement may be ineffective. Dr. Hasegawa stressed that understanding the genuine willingness of parties to settle disputes is essential before

committing to mediation, and without it, even well-intentioned efforts from neutral actors like Japan may fail.

Mr. Ken Inoue

Mr. Inoue highlighted the need to link Japan's international engagements with domestic priorities, noting opportunities in EU defense initiatives and UK-Japan arms collaborations. He emphasized that contributing to allies' security enhances Japan's own strategic leverage and allows for effective action with fewer resources. In a follow-up comment, Inoue raised an abstract but important question about how global problems are identified within international networks and how relationships may deteriorate, stressing the need for proactive monitoring by the Japanese government.

In conclusion, the panel highlighted the potential for Asia-Pacific countries, particularly Japan, to contribute to European conflict resolution through neutrality, trust, and legitimacy in peacebuilding. Empirical research and field experiences demonstrated that Japan could serve as a credible security guarantor and bridge-builder, complementing European and multilateral efforts. At the same time, speakers emphasized challenges such as democratic backsliding, illiberal approaches, and domestic constraints, underscoring the need for coordinated engagement, careful assessment of local readiness, and alignment between normative commitments and strategic capacities. Together, these insights suggest that Asia-Pacific involvement can enhance sustainable peace outcomes while supporting broader regional and global security interests.

Session 3B

Youth Voices for Peace at the 80th Anniversary of the United Nations

Organizers:

Ms. Elizabeth Gamarra

GPAJ Director

Nathaniel TOK

Gaku NIIYAMA

Graduate Student at Kwansei Gakuin University

This report is on the topic of what Session 3 B, titled "Youth Voices for Peace at the 80th Anniversary of the United Nations", accomplished at the Global Peacebuilding Association in Japan's Tokyo Peacebuilding Forum 2025 on the 25th of October, 2025. The report will cover the topics each speaker addressed in their speeches, as well as their responses to some of the questions from the floor, and include biographies of each speaker.

The significance of hearing the youth's voice lies in the fact that today's youths will one day become policymakers, workers in related fields, and bearers of the responsibility to create peace. To build peace, one must overcome boundaries such as borders, race, or religion to engage in constructive conversations. One of the most adverse and yet often forgotten divides exists between generations. The youths blame the seniors for being unable to address today's problems, such as climate change. In contrast, the seniors blame the youths for neglecting the maintenance of systems like democracy. However, the goals of people of all generations are, in reality, not divergent. We convened this Panel with the aim of fostering respect and humility in the multipolar and multigenerational world we inhabit today.

The author of the report is Ryo Inoue, an undergraduate student at International Christian University. He is expected to earn a Bachelor of Liberal Arts in 2026. He was the moderator of the panel discussion. The session began with a keynote address from John Ueki, also an undergraduate student at International Christian University, expected to graduate in 2026, and an intern at the National Diet of Japan for the World Federalist Movement Parliamentary Committee. The two focal points of his speech were an alarming status quo and the need for optimism in maintaining hope and effort. In discussing the apparently eroding security situation and the norms that kept the world together, John reflected on his grandfather, who as a child survived the nuclear detonation in Hiroshima 80 years ago. His grandfather survived the blast thanks to a concrete wall nearby, but endured severe burns and injuries. He tied his grandfather's

desire never to let any more children experience such pain again to today's efforts for the youth. We had the privilege of hearing from three outstanding youth panellists, who are exceptional in their respective fields. There was one absentee in the Panel. Sean Schrader, a graduate of the University of South Florida with a Master of Business Administration, unfortunately, was unable to attend. The holding of this session was only possible thanks to our three organisers, Gaku Niyama, Elizabeth Gamarra and Nathan Tok.

Yuki Kusanagi was the first to speak. She holds a Master of Science degree from the University of Oxford. She is a recipient of the ITO Foundation Scholarship. She works with the UN World Food Programme (WFP) in Libya, where she focuses on reporting for the Sudanese refugee response plan and environmental sustainability initiatives. Previously, Yuki served as the Youth Delegate of the Government of Japan to the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women held at UN Headquarters in New York, and as a UNDP Student Ambassador promoting youth engagement in multilateral processes. Her work examines political polarisation, global migration, and the optimisation of education infrastructure for children with developmental disabilities. Her research combines qualitative and quantitative methodologies, grounded in field research conducted across the United Kingdom, Japan, Malaysia, Canada, Indonesia, and Timor-Leste. She informed us about the current lack of a psychological perspective in addressing anti-immigrant narratives. She rightfully pointed out that although we hear from policymakers how xenophobia is "morally impermissible", without an in-depth understanding of the psychology of those who commit hate speech, and what drives them to such acts, governments cannot take concrete steps. Thus, a gap exists between academia and policy, and a proactive effort to bridge this gap is much needed today.

Chioma Joan Chukwuka was the second speaker. She is a Nigerian researcher, gender advocate, and MEXT scholar with a Bachelor of Science in Political Science from Delta State University, Nigeria and a Master of Arts in International Relations from the International University of Japan. She bridges the gap between policy and practice in the areas of gender, education, and youth empowerment. As Co-founder and Board Chair of the NGO Himawari, she fosters cross-cultural collaboration for sustainable development, while her NGOs empower vulnerable youth in Nigeria. She was the "Leader of Tomorrow" at the 2025 St. Gallen Symposium. She is also a member of the UN Youth Association of Nigeria and an alumnus of a JICA-supported development studies program in Japan. She champions inclusive multilateralism and the representation of youth in global decision-making. She highlighted the need for flexibility by citing an analogous episode involving Nigerian football players. Without the assurance of data and numbers and the odds in their favour, people were unwilling to take a chance and make a change. Then she pointed out to the participants, the majority of whom were from the so-called Global North, to be mindful of the privileges and subconscious biases they might hold when looking at the world.

Benjamin Orth was the third speaker. He joined the Panel online via Zoom and shared with us

his academic journey, which had its roots in his heritage. He served as a Youth Ambassador to the USA Pavilion at Expo 2025 Osaka. Originally from Portland, Oregon, Benjamin has built his academic and personal journey around exploring cultural diversity and fostering intercultural understanding. He earned a Bachelor of Arts degree from International Christian University in 2025, majoring in Anthropology. Benjamin focused his studies on preserving indigenous folk traditions in the Balkans. Driven by his passion for cross-cultural dialogue, he has also participated in various international programs, including the 2020 Kizuna Across Cultures Global Classmates Summit in Washington, D.C., and the National Security Language Initiative for Youth (NSLI-Y) scholarship, which the U.S. Department of State funds. Being a Ukrainian American, he heard songs from his grandparents that spoke of his roots, which were different from those of others around him. He also saw in Bosnia how social pressure and political schemes silenced or censored the lyrics of these cultural folksongs. He pointed out the significance of efforts by institutions like UNESCO to discover and revitalise these authentic heritages that create the youth of today.

We also experienced a fantastic level of engagement with the audience, comprising both young and old from multiple nationalities, including Singaporean, Russian and Japanese. Two specific inputs that are deserving of highlighting are those from Ambassador Inomata and Ambassador Yamamoto. Ambassador Inomata encouraged the youth participants to challenge the establishment. Not conforming to pressure and norms gives the youth a chance to rebuild and enhance the society that we all share. In response to the panellists' call for senior members of our society to heed the needs of the young, Ambassador Yamamoto asked the room, 'What exactly do the youths want?' The reply came from the Panel, the keynote speaker and the participants. Some issues escape scrutiny because they fall outside the sight of those in power. Policy makers may cater to specific industries rather than to their constituents, including the youth. To break away from this, what is needed is intergenerational dialogue. There is not one Earth for seniors and another for youths. We live in one world. To prevent our goals from diverging in division, a dialogue that promotes respect between generations and fosters humility to hear each other out may be the key to building a better future. On that note, the session concluded with my closing remarks.