

Japan Commission on Global Governance

1-7-2 Nagatacho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100-0014

House of Councillors Annex Building, Parliamentary Committee of the Diet for
World Federalist Movement

<http://www.jcgg.org>

The Parliamentary Committee of the Diet for World Federalist Movement receives the report of the Japan Commission on Global Governance on May 12, 2020.



Mandated by the Parliamentary Committee for World Federalist Movement, the Global Governance Commission deliberated for one year and concluded that now is the time for Japan to take a new approach, contribute to world peace and sustainable development through multilateral cooperation centered on the United Nations, and strive to gain an "honored position" in the international community, as stated in the Constitution of Japan. Please check here for the full report of the Japan Commission on Global Governance which recommended Japan should continue to engage in multilateralism cooperation centered around the United Nations.

The Role of Japan in Global Governance in the Era of Post-COVID 19

The Parliamentary Committee of the Diet of Japan for the
World Federalist Movement

Japan Commission on Global Governance

The Parliamentary Committee of the Japanese Diet for World Federalist Movement mandated the Japan Commission on Global Governance (JCGG) to address global issues and crises such as security, disarmament, global environment, public health, development and poverty eradication, human rights and the rule of law and make recommendations regarding the role Japan should play in global governance in the post-COVID-19 era. The JCGG held a series of meetings for nearly one year with the participation of diplomats, scholars and experts. The JCGG concluded that now is the time for Japan to take a new approach, contribute to world peace and sustainable development through multilateral cooperation centered around the United Nations, and strive to gain an "honored position" in the international community, as stated in the Constitution of

May 12, 2020

The Japan Commission on Global Governance
The House of Councillors Annex Building
1-7-1 Nagata-cho, Chiyoda-ku, Tokyo 100-0014

This is an unofficial translation of the report produced by Ms. Mariko Yamauchi.

CONTENTS

Part I

Complimentary Remarks	4
Bunmei IBUKI, Former Speaker of the House of Representatives	
Seishiro ETO, Chair of the Japanese Parliamentary Committee for the World Federalist Movement, Member of the Liberal Democratic Party	
Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Former Minister of Education, Science and Sports, Member of the Democratic Party for the People	
Tetsuro FUKUYAMA, Secretary-General of the Constitutional Democratic Party of Japan	
Yoshihisa INOUE, Vice President of the Komeito	
Yuichiro TAMAKI, President of the Democratic Party for the People	
Nobuyuki BABA, Secretary-General, Nippon Ishin no Kai	
Akira SAKAI, Chair of Policy Committee, Communist Party of Japan	
Mizuho FUKUSHIMA, President of the Social Democratic Party of Japan	

Part II

The Role of Japan in Global Governance in Addressing Global Challenges	9
Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Chair, Commission on Global Governance	

Part III

Deliberations and Recommendations of the Working Committees	
Chapter 1	12
United Nations Reform	
Chair Takahiro SHINYO, Professor, Kwansei Gakuin University and former Ambassador to the United Nations	
Chapter 2	39
Climate Change and Other Global Environmental Issues	
Taikan OKI, Senior Vice Rector, United Nations University and Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Advisor, Alexandria Library	
Chapter 3	57
Disarmament	
Ambassador Nobuyasu ABE, Ambassador Yoshiki MINE and Ambassador Yasuyoshi KOMIZO	
Chapter 4	72

Parliamentary Diplomacy	
Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Former Special Representative of the Secretary-General	
Chapter 5	89
International Solidarity Tax (Innovative Fund Generation Mechanism)	
Takehiko UEMURA, Chair, Professor of Yokohama City University	
Chapter 6	96
Rule of Law	
Yasunobu SATO, Professor of Tokyo University Graduate School	
Ken INOUE, JICA Senior Advisor (Assistance for Governance/Democratization)	
Part IV	100
The International Community in the post-COVID-19 era and the Role of Japan	
The Parliamentary Committee of the Diet of Japan for World Federalist Movement	
Content of discussion at the Assembly on May 12, 2020	

Part I

Complementary Remarks

Mr. Bunmei IBUKI, the former Speaker of the House of Representatives, reflected on the situation prevailing in 1949 when the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement was established and recalled the difficult environment. He lived daily life helping out each other within his family during the turmoil after the Second World War. Mr. IBUKI pointed out that while the Japanese politicians decided to aim at establishing the World Federation as an ideal goal reflecting on what Japan had done, he pointed out that the world situation had since become volatile and fluid where the European Union (EU), which was founded with the same philosophy as the World Federation, was facing problems while the United States, led by a particular kind of leader, was losing its relative power. Mr. IBUKI declared that the unstable world order had caused the world's most serious crisis where the power of international organizations was made extremely weak and in a critical state. While expecting a hint from Mr. HASEGAWA on how to regain the authority of international organizations, Mr. IBUKI recognized that many leaders often walked back and forth between the reality and their ideals. Mr. IBUKI expressed a hope that political leaders not only in the United States and China but also in the world community at large would regain the spirit that this world is one in which we should not lose sight of the ideal in facing the reality.



Mr. Bunmei IBUKI
Former Speaker of the House of Representatives

Mr. Seishiro ETO, the Chair of the Parliamentary Committee of the Japanese Diet for the World Federalist Movement, explained how world-renowned scholars and scientists

decided to strengthen the United Nations as an ideal institution after World War II and eventually establish a stronger world federal government to eliminate war from the world. In Japan, Diet members who shared the same awareness founded the Japanese Diet Committee for the World Federalist Movement in 1949. Now the Committee had about 120 bipartisan members and its resolutions have been adopted both at the House of Representatives and the House of Councillors.



On August 2, 2005, at the 60th anniversary of the atomic bombing and at the sixty years of the foundation of the United Nations, the House of Representatives paid its tribute to its efforts to maintain and create international peace. Then, pledged to contribute to the further international peacebuilding, the Japanese Government, as the only nation in the world to be bombed with atomic weapons and under the principle of permanent peace in its Constitution, resolved to make every effort to pave the way for a sustainable human coexistence, through working with all the people of the world to abolish nuclear weapons, prevent all wars and explore the path to the realization of the World Federation. It was explained that on May 25, 2016, the 60th anniversary of Japan's accession to the United Nations, the House of Councillors adopted a resolution pledged to contribute to the further international peacebuilding. It acknowledged that there are many issues that need to be addressed by an international community as a whole, transcending national frameworks and eliminating weapons of mass destruction and missile technology, addressing refugee and poverty issues as well as natural disasters due to global warming, spread of diseases including infectious diseases, while conflicts and terrorism continue around the world such as simultaneous terrorist attacks in Paris. In honor of the United Nations' contributions to the maintenance of international peace for many years since its creation, it was explained that Japan had vowed to take the lead in striving for the peace and mutual help among nations and human beings. Mr. ETO went on to stress that Japan, based on the ideal of permanent peace as stated in its Constitution, has been aiming to strengthen the reform of international organizations, striving to find a way to realize the World Federation through development of international law, promotion of disarmament diplomacy such as the abolition of nuclear weapons, and realization of human security, while clarifying that maximum efforts should be made to ensure a peaceful future. Furthermore Mr. ETO expressed his intention to serve

as a Chairperson of the Japanese Diet Committee for the World Federalist Movement towards this high ideal.



Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Secretary-General, stated that while there are many global issues, it is now getting impossible to turn away from the issue of "immigration", whether it is the problem of securing a short-term labor force or the problem of maintaining the long-term population of Japanese society. Thus, it is important to find ways to realize a multicultural society regarding major issues such as labor, education, law and rights, and racism with a view to long-term and short-term history. Mr. NAKAGAWA expressed his appreciation to the Global Governance Promotion Committee for proposing meaningful recommendations on UN reform, global environment and disarmament issues.



Mr. Yoshihisa INOUE, Vice President of the KOMEITO Party, thanked the Commission on Global Governance for having deliberated the global issues over a year and come up with its report. Mr. INOUE noted it was significant for the Commission to have made concrete suggestions in six areas such as UN reform, global environment, and disarmament. Mr. INOUE also proposed on parliamentary diplomacy and mentioned that it is certain that something needs to be done such as the establishment of the Parliamentary Assembly of the United Nations. Mr. INOUE mentioned that while we are facing global issues such as environmental issues which had long-term implications, COVID-19 was an urgent issue that needed to be addressed immediately. It is a different kind of issues from other global issues in a sense that all nations and peoples are parties and that hundreds of thousands of people are dying in the world. He recognized that effective global governance must be established.

Mr. Tetsuro FUKUYAMA, Secretary-General of the Constitutional Democratic Party, said that he would like to sincerely accept the commendable recommendations of the Commission on Global Governance. Mr. FUKUYAMA



expressed his intention to cooperate with the ruling and opposition parties to apply the recommendation. He mentioned that nationalism is emerging as globalization progresses, touching upon his paper for the graduate school entrance examination which focused on globalization and unification. Mr. FUKUYAMA expressed his will to consider what role Japan should play in an unstable and chaotic world.



Mr. Yuichiro TAMAKI, the President of Democratic Party for the People, mentioned that the world now was at the crossroads to decide on which directions to move forward. He argued that it was important for the world to unite towards a big goal, but there had been a tendency that countries just close borders and become fragmented and isolated. Infectious diseases spreading across borders require the world to work together to resolve them, and it was the political responsibility to ensure that the citizens of countries around the world unite and move in the same direction. To that end, Mr. TAMAKI emphasized that global governance should be promoted.



Mr. Nobuyuki BABA, Secretary-General on the Nihon Ishin no Kai, or the Japan Restoration Party acknowledged the efforts being made to promote the World Federation under the principle of liberal democracy. He mentioned that although the COVID-19 pandemic is a fatal event in the course of globalization, an infectious disease issue is not a new phenomenon and has threatened humanity in the past such as Spain cold and cholera. It is expected that the international community will collaborate and work together to ensure the safety of world citizens across national borders through cooperation with the international community. Therefore, Mr. BABA welcomed the promotion of this World Federation.

Mr. Akira KASAI, the Policy Chairperson of the Communist Party of Japan, commended the proposals in the reports compiled by the Global Governance Promotion Committee over a year which pointed to the need for political leaders and citizens to work together on global issues such as global environment and disarmament and the need for an international contribution by respecting the spirit of the Constitution of



Japan. Mr. KASAI pointed out that the report emphasized the role of Japan at its 75th anniversary this year as a bombed nation, and the need for bipartisan collaboration to deal with transnational issues in order to build a sustainable society based on Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. Mr. KASAI advised that the Japanese Diet Committee for the World Federalist Movement should accept the recommendations by the six subcommittees of the Global Governance Promotion Board, and as Mr. IBUKI pointed out, all countries in the world should work in a solidarity despite the midst of the conflict between the United States and China to deal with the worst post-war pandemic by COVID-19 and the deepening disparities.

Ms. Mizuho FUKUSHIMA, President of the Social Democratic Party, mentioned that as the Japanese Diet Committee for the World Federalist Movement addresses transnational issues such as international peace, global environment, conflict resolution, and COVID-19, the views of Jacques Attali, French economist and thinker and Yuval Noah Harari, the world-class historian and philosopher, deserve attention. Ms.



FUKUSHIMA argued that a rational solution requires maintaining the spirit of Altruism, which abstains from thinking only of one's own interests, and the solid cooperation is necessary to realize a world where "no one is left behind", which is the core purpose of the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

Part II

The Role of Japan in Global Governance in Addressing Global Challenges

The spread of the new coronavirus (COVID-19) has already caused a great deal of sufferings and deaths not only in East Asia but also in Europe and the United States within four to five months after its emergence in the beginning of the year. Experts are now predicting that it would spread to the developing countries with poor medical facilities causing tens of millions of infections and millions of deaths as it happened with the "Spanish flu" a century ago. The Commission on Global Governance which was established in May 2019 was tasked to advise how Japan improved the structure and functions of the United Nations system and could deal with such global problems and issues as climate change and resumption of armed expansion.

The crisis caused by the new coronavirus revealed lack of leadership at the global level to prevent its spread in a consorted and unified manner exposing the vulnerability of the global governance. When COVID-19 spread from China first to neighboring Asian countries and then to Europe and the United States, member states of the United Nations were supposed to take a united action under the coordinating leadership of the World Health Organization (WHO). Instead, many governments were able only to close their borders and try to prevent the introduction of viruses from abroad. As noted in a statement issued on June 25 by the Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan, global collaboration, solidarity and the restoration of multilateralism are essential, and consensus building based on scientific grounds and new global governance must be forged to enable inclusive and human-oriented governance.

Along with the COVID-19 pandemic, global threats to humanity are on the rise, which include global environmental destruction, climate change, expansion of armaments, and cyber-attacks. The accelerating economic activities of humankind has been destroying the global ecosystem. Human desires and prejudices are causing conflicts and disparities in domestic and international societies, and artificial intelligence (AI) begun to bring about not only immeasurable benefits but also unintended consequences. The Japan Commission on Global Governance has discussed these issues for a year and defined the role Japan can play in this turbulent world.

Rapid globalization is accelerating in all fields and political interaction should also evolve to a higher level of integration. It is obvious that the Westphalia system of state sovereignty can no longer cope with global challenges and crises. It has become necessary for leaders and citizens of all regions and societies of the Earth to act together in order to protect the interests of the entire international community across borders and preserve the safety and dignity of all citizens of the

world. The time has come for the countries of the world to build one global governance system based on free and democratic principles that can deal with global issues while recognizing each other's identity and dignity. The Japanese people, who had learned a hard lesson from the Second World War, can take a lead in establishing a system of global governance based on the principles of universal democracy as they had done through the Meiji Restoration for entire Japan.

It is a well-known fact that the Tokugawa Shogunate closed the country to prevent foreigners with new ideas and religious beliefs from entering Japan and destroying the cohesion of Japanese society for two and half centuries. During the same period, the Western world went through the industrial revolution, developed their economy, and colonized most of the world. The Western powers, notably France, Russia, the United Kingdom and the United States, approached Japan to open up the country and complete the colonization of the world. Facing the threats from the “Black Ships” the Edo Shogunate opened its ports ending the closure of Japan for two and half centuries. The Satsuma-Choshu alliance, instead of replacing the Tokugawa shogunate, built a centralized state through the “Meiji Restoration” by dismantling about 260 “hans” or feudal independent domains that existed. What Japan accomplished was not just a restoration of the imperial system but a revolution of the governance structure of the country. After building a powerful modern nation, Japan started to engage wrongly in the colonization of neighboring countries as did the Western powers. It was an act that countered against the tide of history. The hard lesson the Japanese people learned was reflected in the Constitution of Japan enacted after the Second World War that has since kept Japan out of military conflicts with other nations for more than 70 years.

After World War II, Japan vowed to maintain the core principles embodied in its new Constitution to respect human freedom and dignity of the Japanese people and aspire for lasting peace. The Constitution also explicitly indicated Japan’s strong desire to gain an “honorable position” in the international community through its international cooperation based on mutual trust. Having engaged in international cooperation, Japan received overwhelming compassion and support from the international community during the Great East Japan Earthquake of 2011. It is time that we recognize and protect not only the safety and well-being of our own people but also the lives of all peoples in the world. It is time for the Japanese to take the leadership in opening the future of human coexistence and in making the ideal of international peace enunciated in the UN Charter.

The Japanese people are known for their willingness to respect the interest of community over their individual interest. They have maintained also the ethical value of protecting the welfare of society as a whole. There is no plundering of supermarkets and department stores when they are faced with natural disasters or conflicts. The lesson the Japanese have learned is to break free from

self-centeredness and achieve mutual interdependence by moving from competition to cooperation.

In order to address effectively new coronavirus pandemic, global warming and world conflicts, we should endeavor to strengthen international cooperation and global governance. We should indeed enhance global governance that is anchored in the principles of universal democracy that respects human rights and rule of law.

May 5, 2020

Sukehiro HASEGAWA

Chair

Japan Commission on Global Governance

The Parliamentary Committee for World Federalist Movement

Part III

Proposals and Delivery of the Subcommittees

It is important for political leaders to act with the recognition that the Westphalia system of nation-state sovereignty system is becoming unable to cope effectively with global crisis and challenges such as COVID-19 whose infection has been currently expanding, environmental pollution, climate change, restart of arms race, conflict and terrorism, widening gap between rich and poor, and financial and energy problems. And in today's international society where rapid globalization is advancing in all fields, it is necessary to work together with community leaders and citizens to protect the interests of the entire international community across borders and the safety and dignity of all citizens around the world.

Under the constitution, the Japanese people are wishing for permanent peace, deeply aware of the noble ideal that governs human relationships, and has pledged to strive to ensure that all people in the world are equally free from fear and want and can secure their safety and survival. And in order to realize the equity and justice in the international community, it is time to open up the future of sustainable human symbiosis and proceed with the citizens of the world with a vision based on a new worldview. This will help achieving the noble ideals and purposes of mankind by protecting not only the safety and well-being of citizens of one's own country, but also of the lives of all people of the international community in accordance with universal laws of political morals.

Chapter 1

United Nations Reform

**Chair, Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, Professor, Kwansei Gakuin University and
Former Ambassador to the United Nations and Germany**

In regards to the international situation in the 21st century with new divisions progressing, the following recommendations are presented to aim for the transformation of the United Nations system into a more effective and efficient system by 2045, which marks its 100th anniversary. These recommendations are based on urgent challenges regarding UN reform which are: (1) dealing with the current imminent crisis and problems, (2) improving the governance of UN organizations, and (3) strengthening relations with non-state actors such as civil society. Now is the time to return to Article 109 of the UN Charter and promote UN reform.

Recommendation 1.

The structural changes in international affairs has been challenging the approach of multilateralism centered around the United Nations and the ideological foundations of the UN Charter, such as freedom, democracy, human rights and the rule of law. In order to protect multilateralism and the principles of United Nations, Japan should more actively get involved in the Alliance for Multilateralism, which has been promoted mainly by Europe and Canada. Japan should work with other like-minded countries to strengthen global governance based on the rule of law under the oversight of the United Nations and other international organizations. Global governance is essential for sustainable development and the resolution of global issues. In particular, the management and decisions of international organizations involved in crisis management and dispute settlements, which are related to human life, must be impartial and fair based on unbiased and objective knowledge. For this reason, the head of the United Nations system should adopt the Global Compact at the level of the Chief Executives Board for Coordination of the UN System (CEB).

Recommendation 2.

Since the United Nations was founded by the principle embodied in “We, the peoples” as stated in the preamble of the Charter, the voices of truly diverse global civil society should be reflected and the role of the UN General Assembly should be strengthened. For that purpose, the UN General Assembly should establish the “Global People's Congress”. It should be composed of representatives of civil society, and its resolutions should not be limited to be recommendations to the United Nations General Assembly, but should also be voluntarily implemented by civil society of each country as an autonomous norm of the global society, thus influencing the government actions. In order to strengthen the role of the UN General Assembly regarding the appointment of the UN Secretary-General, the Security Council should recommend multiple candidates to the General Assembly, and the General Assembly should take into account the opinions of the “Global People's Congress” when deciding on candidates.

Recommendation 3.

The Security Council, which is based on the state of prevailing powers immediately after World War II, should reflect the universal values and the current structure of the international community which have changed since then. In particular, it should be decided by UN General Assembly resolution as a member states' collective intention that the Permanent Member states of the Security Council should not exercise veto with regard to genocide and crimes against humanity. Security Council reforms cannot be postponed any longer, and 15-year discussions and 10-year barren negotiations should be settled now toward feasible reforms. Specifically, it should aim to create 6 seats for a new category of Security Council members (special-term permanent members) whose term can be longer than 4

years and is renewable and add 2 more seats to the existing non-permanent membership. UN member states from the same region can jointly run for candidacy for the 6 special-term Security Council memberships (Asia 2, Africa 2, Europe 1, Latin America 1). Two additional seats for non-permanent membership will be allocated to African and Eastern European states. Regarding the seats of the Permanent membership, appropriate reforms should be implemented by either increasing or decreasing the number of seats, based on the situation analysis regarding the Permanent Membership 10 to 15 years after the realization of the above reforms.

Recommendation 4.

The Peacebuilding Commission should further strengthen the collaboration not only with the UN Security Council but also with the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Human Rights Council. To that end, the Peacebuilding Commission should be upgraded to the “Peacebuilding Council” by the resolutions of the Security Council and the General Assembly. The Security Council shall deal with mainly peaceful resolution of conflicts and traditional security issues that involve the use of force such as, threats to the peace, breach of the peace, or act of aggression, as well as “Responsibility to Protect” (R2P). On the other hand, the Peacebuilding Council shall be responsible for Peacebuilding, Human Security and R2P mandates which do not resort to force, including measures for conflict prevention, post-conflict state reconstruction, climate change, natural disasters and human rights abuses.

Recommendation 5.

In order to vitalize the UN General Assembly, the High-level Week held at the beginning of the General Assembly should be turned into a High-level Dialogue Forum with global and regional organizations other than the United Nations, such as the G20 and the EU to strengthen collaboration on global governance. In addition, as the 7th Committee of the General Assembly equivalent to the 1st to 6th Committees, the “UN Parliamentary Committee” composed of representatives from the central and local legislative bodies from each country of the world, should be established and opinions from the legislative perspective should be reflected in the UN General Assembly consisting of the governments of member states.

Recommendation 6.

In order to promote peace, development, environment and human rights of the global society as shown in the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) set forth by the United Nations for 2030, it is essential to introduce the concept an Official Peace and Development Assistance (OPDA) that integrates ODA and to incorporate an innovative financing system that includes effective use of human and economic resources by disarmament as stipulated in Article 26 of the UN Charter and

utilization of private funds. By advancing the Monterrey Consensus, the UN Secretary-General should formulate strategies and mechanism for fund financing, operation, auditing and evaluation to tackle these issues in an integral manner based on discussion with relevant countries and organizations. A high-level and special UN General Assembly should be held on this issue.

Recommendation 7.

The UN Budget is in constant shortfall due to nonpayment of assessed contributions in addition to the complexity and duplication of activities. The UN Secretariat needs to build a coherent strategic plan both at the field and headquarters levels that avoids duplications across UN activities based on a scrap-and-build principle and presents the plan to the Member States. Member States should confirm at the UN General Assembly that they will act in good faith, without arrears or unpaid contributions, from the perspective of stakeholders, not of shareholder.

Contents of discussions in the subcommittee held on July 23, 2019

The subcommittee on UN Reform held its first discussion session on July 23, 2019. The keynote speech was made by Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, Professor and Dean of the Integrated Center for United Nations and Foreign Affairs of Kwansei Gakuin University, and former Ambassador of Japan to the United Nations. Mr. Kiyotaka KAWABATA, Professor at Fukuoka Women's Gakuin University and Ms. Chikako TACASE, former Director of the United Nations Center for Regional Development, participated in this meeting and expressed their views as panelists.



【Opening remarks】

At the beginning of the session, Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, Secretary General of the Commission on Global Governance, explained that the purpose of the subcommittees was to make recommendations through discussions and exchange of opinions by experts on the following issues: ① UN reform, ② environmental issues, ③ disarmament, ④ parliamentary diplomacy, ⑤ international solidarity tax, and ⑥ rule of law. The Commission was to compile a report by the end of fiscal year 2019 (March 2020).

【Outline of Keynote Speech】

The key points made by Professor Takahiro SHINYO were as follows.

The increasing awareness of the Japanese regarding the peace and security issues were (1) the expansion of China's influence, (2) the rollback of the liberal and democratic order that had underpinned the UN Charter, and (3) the diminishing sense of Japan's presence at the United Nations. Against this background, in order to propose a realistic UN reform plan and implement it, it is relevant to look ahead the next 30 years and set the goal of 2045, which is the UN's 100th anniversary. And it is important to put together a proposal based on all perspectives. Since the preconditions for UN policy issues have also been formed based on new divisions such as the "difference between rich and poor" and the "modality of sovereignty (dictatorship/authority/free democracy)", the proposals on UN reform should be developed from a new perspective rather than from the existing views. It is also desirable to re-examine some of the forgotten proposals which have been advocated since the 1970s.

The following four areas are proposed for reform, namely (1) peace and security, (2) economic and social development, (3) human rights and freedom, and (4) global environment and conservation. The outline of his personal recommendation regarding these areas is as follows. (1) In the field of peace and security, Japan should leave G4 to aim for a swift reform of the Security Council from a different perspective. Also, as part of Japan's initiative for disarmament, the initiatives that Japan can take include revitalizing the Military Staff Committee, strengthening regulations of armaments including nuclear weapons, and proposing abolishment of the Geneva Conference on Disarmament to create a new Disarmament Council. Furthermore, Japan's role is to propose to reinforce peaceful settlement of conflicts (Peace Making Activities: PMO) based on Chapter 6 of the UN Charter, with a view to conflict prevention as well. (2) In the field of economic and social development, it will be proposed to halve the number of the current member states of the Economic and Social Council ("ECOSOC"), making it an independent decision-making body (not legally binding but politically binding) to be reviewed every 10 years. (3) In the field of human rights and freedom, since the Human Rights Council has not fulfilled its expected functions, and there is a need to request the United States to reactivate its membership, it is proposed to bring back the human rights and freedom issues to the center of the UN agenda such as through the election of the permanent

members of Human Rights Council from the members of ECOSOC. (4) In the fields of global environment and planet conservation, the abolishment of the Trusteeship Council and establishment of a Global Environment Council in Nairobi is proposed to enable the implementation of drastic reforms.

【Panel discussion】



Mr. Kiyotaka KAWABATA, Professor at Fukuoka Women's Gakuin University, made the following statements based on his 25 years of work experience at the United Nations.

- While Professor KAWABATA agrees with the heightening Japan's problem awareness to the expanding China's influence at UN, he emphasized that Japan should pay more attention to China's strength that it has a clear purpose for establishing its leadership through UN and it implements a strategy for increasing its influence on UN policy by sending Chinese staff to UN.
- Regarding the Security Council reform, whose progress has been absent or delayed, it is necessary to reconsider what kind of changes will lead to substantial reform. Regarding the regional representation proposed by G4, there was a confrontation over the addition of two African countries, while among the consensus group, Italy has been raising objection to the idea of G4.
- Based on the above, Japan should speculate on its national interest in relation to the UN, that is, scrutinize the direction of Japan's position to maintain its permanent status at the Security Council, and develop a strategy that would satisfy Japan's interest at the UN.
- Based on the above, the proposal should be the first reform plan which Japan suggests from an all-Japan standpoint.

Ms. Chikako TAKASE, former director of the United Nations Center for Regional Development, made the following statements based on her 34 years of work experience at the United Nations.

- With the adoption of 2030 AGENDA (SDGs), ECOSOC has restructured all the development issues based on sustainable development, and development issues are increasingly referred to as “Sustainable Development” within the organization.
- Around 1984, when she started to work at the United Nations, the Bretton Woods institutions were carrying out economic analysis, not at the UN, but today the UN has become a platform that enables consultation on a wide range of fields including financial flows, such as financing for development.
- Unlike MDGs that were not discussed at the UN for their formulation and adoption, the SDGs were proposed by middle-income countries, and developed and formulated through the UN process with the participation of all the member states as well as wide-ranging stakeholders. The status of the implementation of SDGs has been discussed at annual High-level Political Forums under ECOSOC, and at the summit level under the General Assembly every four years, first one taking place in 2019..
- Ms. TAKASE predicted that creating the opportunity to review the discussion modality at the High-level Political Forum and establishing crisis management mechanism would become future challenges. However, she now acknowledges that ECOSOC had in its function to hold a special session, which can be used for crisis management, as it has done to deal with severe food crisis in Africa and provided financial support to three food related agencies in Rome.

【Exchange of opinions by participants (in the order they spoke)】

Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Chair of the Commission on Global Governance, suggested three elements that the post-reform UN should cover, assuming a new system that the UN reform should achieve.

1. The United Nations which can contribute to democratization of the entire international community: To achieve "Agenda for Democratization" that Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali put out along with "Agenda for Peace" and "Agenda for Development", it is important that the UN strives to promote global governance. In other words, in order for the international community to achieve and maintain peace, it is necessary that the entire international community achieve not only development but also democratization of the international community as a whole. Japan is a good model; it abolished feudal domains which were independent during the Meiji Restoration, the warrior system, and the hierarchy class system in the Edo society consisting of warriors, farmers, artisans and tradesmen. And by

enfranchising the citizens, Japan established a central government based on human democracy, which brought stability and peace to the society. The international social system should also move in this direction.

2. UN Economic and Financial System Reforms: Immediately after the global financial crisis in 2008, Joseph Stiglitz, the Nobel laureate in economics, launched a committee of experts at the request of the then General Assembly Chairman. Professor SAKAKIBARA from Japan participated in this committee to analyze the causes of the financial crisis and pointed out the need for increased role of governments and other public institutions that limit short-term market profit and the need for major financial system reform to make it more transparent and accountable. And as a new world economic governance, the Bretton Woods system established after World War II should be reformed so that developing countries, which have become more and more influential in the world economy, are given appropriate allocations of representation and voting rights. It should be acknowledged that the G20 group, which was formed immediately after the financial crisis, more realistically reflects the power and diversity in the world than in the United Nations Security Council and the Economic and Social Council (ECOSOC), and it was desirable to accord "legitimacy" by instituting the G20 group into the UN framework.
3. The United Nations` ultimate goal of realizing "omnilateralism": While multilateralism means a framework in which multiple sovereign nations work together on a particular issue, "omnilateralism" means broader participation of all members from the communities and achieving the wellbeing of everyone. For this purpose, it is necessary not only to strengthen cooperation among nations and institutions of the UN system, but also non-governmental organizations (NGOs), civil society in general and most importantly "People" as stated in the UN Charter that can contribute to the peace and prosperity of humankind. European Union legislators have already proposed the establishment of the UN Parliamentary Assembly. It is significant to promote "omnilateralism" which encourages building a political and social system based on the concept of the world community that includes all members of the international society, by respecting the diverse cultural and social systems and customs constituting the world.



Former Ambassador Tadanori INOMATA



Mr. Sumihiro KUYAMA, former Assistant Secretary-General
of the United Nations

Following the proposal by Chairman SHINYO, Ambassador INOMATA briefly proposed the following directions for the United Nations reform.

1. The condition for the UN to contribute to global governance is that it can set common goals in overcoming various global challenges facing each country and can present a strategic planning framework for achieving the goals. Such a framework should cover not only SDGs but also the field of peace and security. However, such a framework has not been established yet. Therefore, UN reform should start by forming such a framework.

2. For that goal, it is necessary to consider the following.

-Recently, Secretary-General Guterres has advocated a conflict prevention initiative to eliminate root causes of conflicts by achieving the SDGs, in response to the resolutions of the UN General Assembly and the Security Council which requested the development of a peace-sustaining approach. This will become a clue for the UN to identify an approach to all areas of global governance in that it regards "human security" through sustainable development as one side of the same coin as collective security as a means of conflict prevention.

-In the implementation of global governance by UN, its member states should further strengthen cooperation and synergies with recognized groups such as civil society, private companies and academia.

-In order to "visualize" each country's situation and measures regarding global common issues at HLPF, an inclusive system for information collection and sharing should be established for all SDGs.

Mr. KUYAMA, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations, made the following statements regarding the principles of the UN Charter.

“In today’s extremely chaotic world, the fundamentally important reform of the UN in fulfilling its expected role is to establish a system (e.g. "Peoples Assembly") in the spirit of the UN Charter that allows "PEOPLES" to systematically participate in the UN decision making process. “PEOPLES” is stipulated in “first 7 words” of the Charter’s preamble, "WE THE PEOPLES OF THE UNITED NATIONS". That kind of reform, I believe, will make the United Nations i) more “legitimate”, ii) more “accountable” and iii) more effective.”



Mr. Ken INOUE, JICA Senior Advisor



Professor Satoru KUROSAWA, Kyoritsu Women's University

Mr. Ken INOUE, JICA Senior Advisor, stated as follows:

“When considering the UN reform toward its 100th anniversary in 26 years, it is important to grasp future international trends. At least, what we can say is that the framework of national sovereignty will become extremely loose, even if not disappearing, while civil society organizations and corporate activities transcending national frameworks will become increasingly active that will become the actors who create the trends of the world. Therefore, it is essential for the United Nations to cooperate with civil society organizations and corporations as well as the nations to promote international peace and security, sustainable development, and human rights protection. Civil society organizations and companies should play a particularly important role in the fields of freedom and

human rights, and they should play a central role in creating and disseminating the norms of the future global society. Even though the norms promoted by transnational civil society and enterprises will have no legal force on sovereign states, they will have a great impact on the fields of peace and security, economic and social development, global environment and space conservation. Specifically, based on Chapter 9 of the UN Charter (International Economic and Social Cooperation), the Civil Rights Council, the Corporate Social Responsibility Council, or Citizens and Corporations Council combining both should be established. The Councils shall be composed of about 20 civil society organizations and corporations as members (replacement after every fixed term), where the norms are adopted regarding what the nations, civil society and corporations should do to achieve the purpose of the UN Charter, and the progress status of each norm is monitored regularly."

Mr. Satoru KUROSAWA, Professor at Kyoritsu Women's University stated, "I want refugee issues included in the unsettled questions raised by Chairman SHINYO. The UN was unable to respond adequately to the inflow of Central American migrant caravans and Syrian refugees to Europe. UNHCR has been supporting refugees, but its mission is mainly refugee protection on site and it has not been of much help for resolution of root causes. The influence of the UN is also limited where regional organizations such as AU and EU are operating. How to collaborate with these institutions in the future is also a challenge."

Mr. Yoshinobu YONEKAWA, a former staff member of United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA) (1978–2010) and currently a Shingon priest, pointed out three points.

1. (Integration vs. decentralization) The functions of the United Nations are broadly categorized into three types; policy formation through conferences, research surveys, and operations. The operations are related either to the economic and social fields or to the security field. Regarding the operation in the economic and social fields, the "unification" of international organizations centered on the UN was promoted from the 1950s to the 1970s. The network of foundations within the UN such as UNDP and its field offices were the main focus of the integration. As the voice of recipient countries got stronger, the international organizations such as ILO, UNESCO, FAO, and DESA that were operating as implementing agencies were discarded. This prompted "decentralization" in the UN development system, and prompted disjoined activities among UN-related organizations. After that, the problems derived from decentralization came to be re-recognized, and country-level coordination among international agencies has started to take place centering around the UNDP country offices. Currently, there is such common policy goals as SDGs, but the efficiency of the system as a whole is poor in the current decentralized state. Japan needs to clarify its position either to exert its leadership toward the integration of the UN development system, or to make an effort to gain a competitive advantage in each

international organization by promoting the decentralization. Mr. YONEKAWA thinks that in the long run, the UN system should move toward integration, but it would be a different issue on how to situate Japan's national interests in that context.

2. (Participation of local governments) The UN primarily consists of national governments. However, many other various types of organizations have been engaged in its operation including NGOs, civic groups, research institutes, foundations, and religious organizations. These organizations are collectively referred to as "domestic organizations" in the UN Charter. Among them, the participation of local governments is not very active. Considering the fact that UN activities cover all aspects of human activities, further participation of local governments is expected. Tokyo co-sponsored an international conference with DESA in 1994 regarding metropolis management. It was the first project conducted by a Japanese local government in collaboration with the UN. Further participation of local governments is desirable for the sake of revitalization of UN organization and the development of local governments. As a part of UN reform, it would be good if a concrete framework for that purpose was included in the recommendations for UN reform.

3. (Reform of domestic law for SDF participation in PKO)

If Japanese organizations advocate UN reform, Japan needs to prepare and strengthen its domestic system so that it can actively get engaged in UN activities. The existing International Peace Cooperation Law and International Peace Assistance Law stipulate that SDF personnel participating in PKO should not harm people unless it is for a self-defense or emergency evacuation. In the first place, it is impossible to assume that such a system would secure the life and safety of the SDF personnel participating in PKO. The dispatch of SDF to PKO missions would require an amendment of the above rules to ensure the life and safety of SDF personnel. Furthermore, if the SDF is to be dispatched to PKO missions under the current legal framework, it is necessary at the very least that the Diet members who are involved in the decision making about the deployment, check with their own eyes whether the planned deployment sites are actually safe.

Ms. Momoyo ISE, President of the Association of Former International Civil Servants (AFICS) of Japan, Mr. Tatsuro KUNUGI, member of the board of directors of the United Nations Association, and Mr. Junichiro MORI, Assistant Director of Alliance Forum Foundation, also participated in the discussion.



Ms. Momoyo Ise, President of the Association of Former International Civil Servants (AFICS) of Japan



Mr. Yoshinobu YONEKAWA, a former staff member of United Nations Department of Economic and Social Affairs (DESA)



Mr. Junichiro Mori, Assistant Director of Alliance Forum Foundation



Mr. Tatsuro KUNUGI, Member of the board of directors of the United Nations

【Summary of key points discussed】

Lastly, the key points of the discussion were summarized by Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, Chairman of the UN Reform Subcommittee of the Global Governance Advisory Committee as follows.

"When considering the UN reform, it is necessary to think about the "face" of the United Nations in the first place. Its first face is as an organization that maintains impartiality. The second face is as an organization that consists of sovereign member states. Based on these two faces, the challenges of UN reform need to be considered separately for each face. For example, regarding the fields of social and economic development, it seems possible to respond to some extent by strengthening the existing organizations based on the former "face". On the other hand, with regard to the latter "face", it involves the question of how long the UN can survive, and a multilateral approach will play an

increasingly important role in the future to prevent the United Nations from collapsing. Although the challenge of Security Council reform is linked to the latter "face", some of the feasible SC reforms are essential to make the UN better for the future. Furthermore, the relationship between the UN and Japan needs to be discussed more in depth in the future. More strategic discussions should be developed over the benefits Japan has been gaining from its membership in the UN and the goals Japan aims for through its involvement in the UN."

Second meeting of the Subcommittee on "UN Reform", September 24, 2019

The second Council of the Subcommittee on UN Reform of the Global Governance Promotion Committee was attended by three Diet members including Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, Mr. Masahiko SHIBAYAMA, who served as Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology after being appointed as a Special Assistant to the Prime Minister regarding UN peace operations, and Mr. Akira SATO, Former Deputy Minister of the Cabinet Office and Former Deputy Minister of Defense. Along with Dr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Principal of the Global Governance Advisory Committee, the Council was attended by Mr. Yasuhiro UEKI, a former United Nations spokesman and currently a Professor at Sophia University, Mr. Vesselin POPOVSKI, an international expert on UN reform, and a Professor of Faculty of Law at O.P. Jindal Global University, India.



Mr. Akira SATO, Former Deputy Minister of the Cabinet Office and Former Deputy Minister of



Mr. Masahiko Shibayama, Former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

To start the discussion, Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, the Secretary-General of Global Governance Promotion Committee, explained the proceedings of the Council. It was followed by the presentations by three experts on UN reform; Professor Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Former

U.N. secretary-general's special representative, Professor Yasuhiro UEKI, Faculty of Global Studies of Sophia University and Professor Vesselin POPOVSKI, Faculty of Law of O.P. Jindal Global University, India. Professor POPOVSKI's "One-Page Summary Note on UN Reform" in English and Professor HASEGAWA's paper entitled "UN Secretary General António Guterres' Proposal for UN Reform" were distributed to the Council attendees.



Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology

At the beginning of this session, Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology, who is a long-time member of the House of Representatives of Japan and currently Executive Secretary of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement, made a greeting remark and stated that UN reform will play an important role in determining future orientation of the world peace. As the UN is currently influencing the world view of peace, it is important that this Working Group engage in in-depth discussions and it is expected that it would identify future challenges and issues to be explored and addressed in relation to UN reform.



Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, Former UN Ambassador, explained that the purpose of this second meeting was to review the UN reform proposal that focuses on the theory and practice of the UN system based on proposals and comments made by Principal HASEGAWA and Professor UEKI. And while introducing some issues, Professor SHINYO pointed out that UN reform should consider functions of a particular organization, and for example, the functions and roles of the Department of Economic and Social Affairs need to be reassessed. Also, reinforcement of civic participation should be realized, and for example, some structure consisting of the representatives of civil society should be established at the UN General Assembly. Mr. SHINYO stated that UN reform needs to address today's most pressing issues such as refugees and other humanitarian crises.

Session I

1. Presentation by Principal Sukehiro HASEGAWA

In his presentation, Mr. HASEGAWA raised three key areas that need to be addressed in relation to UN reform; (1) Reorganization of internal decision-making process to improve the mandate decision process as a unified United Nations system; (2) Integration of the activities of UN Coordinators for Field Development Assistance and those of Coordinators for Humanitarian Assistance under the UN Secretary-General; and (3) More fundamental changes needed in the UN structure to promote global governance.

First, Mr. HASEGAWA explained that regarding the United Nations system, Mr. António Guterres, appointed as Secretary-General in 2017, has taken the lead in the UN reforms, which focus on the following three main areas more effectively and comprehensively, that had been previously addressed individually; that is, (1) peace and security, (2) development and personnel affairs, and (3) UN operations and management. The main purpose of the Secretary-General's reform was to enable conflict prevention and efficient and effective response to conflicts in case they break out. He also sought to make the administration of UN organizations more “agile” and easier by minimizing bureaucratic practices. Mr. Guterres' focus was on the importance of putting decisions into actions. As a former UN High Commissioner for Refugees, Mr. Guterres focused on "actually implementing” the UNHCR reform by delegating more authorities to field staff. And his focus was effective use of the given resources.

And Mr. HASEGAWA explained how Secretary-General Guterres has carried out UN reform.

Mr. Guterres aimed for collaborative operations at least in theory between the Department of Political Affairs and the Department of Peacekeeping Operations, which are the major departments in the so-called silo-isolated area of peace and security. In order to monitor activities in 4 geographic regions including Africa, Asia, Europe, and Latin America, Mr.

Guterres appointed four heads as the Assistant Secretary-General (ASG). Regarding the UN Resident Coordinator System, while UNDP had been appointing Resident Coordinators, Mr. Guterres accorded the appointment

authority to the Deputy Secretary-General in January 2019. Its impact was significant. While former Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon were unwilling to interfere with UNDP, UNICEF, other foundations and specialized institutions and left them alone completely, Secretary General Guterres



forcibly implemented a reform plan that integrates all field activities of the UN organizations by placing Resident Coordinators under his control.

Secretary-General Guterres' reform plan aims to make UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding missions more efficient and cost-effective. Mr. HASEGAWA stressed that considering that UN peacekeeping operations rely on funding allocated by the Security Council and development and humanitarian activities have been funded by voluntary contributions, the new system is a great improvement based on his own experience of serving as a coordinator and a special representative for development assistance and humanitarian activities in the field. And based on the experience in Rwanda in 1995-96, where the UN Development Humanitarian Assistance Agency was separated and independent from the special representative who was a head of peacekeeping operations, Mr. HASEGAWA expressed the view that the new system will make the implementation of UN activities more effective based on the principle of “providing assistance collectively and comprehensively”. That is, one program, one leader and team, one budget framework, and one office will make the role of the UN Resident Coordinator more important in budget coordination and allocation.

As the cases are increasing where donors are “designating” the use of Official Development Assistance (ODA) funds, over 50% of ODA’s intended use is currently designated. He pointed out that the capacity of UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF) needs to be strengthened to allocate and coordinate aid funds more effectively.

Mr. HASEGAWA further pointed out three challenges facing the UN system in strengthening the connectivity as a means of effective global governance. First of all, Secretary-General Guterres' UN reform is limited to improving efficiency and effectiveness through readjustment of functions of each organizational unit, and no structural changes or additions are envisioned. Second, Secretary-General Guterres' reform package does not envisage any structural change in key agencies of the UN system, such as the Security Council and the General Assembly. Third, Mr. HASEGAWA stressed the necessity of bringing back major powers to the UN to deal with the imminent global crisis. To meet these requirements, he also proposed that the G20 Group should be included in a new Security Council. Mr. HASEGAWA proposed that it is important to accord legitimacy to G20 and to reflect in the Security Council the power of the 20 major countries that maintain more than three-quarters of the world's gross production value and military power. Mr. HASEGAWA also suggested that the Security Council should consist not only of states but also of regional organizations such as the European Union, the African Union and ASEAN.

2. Mr. Yasuhiro UEKI, Professor, Graduate School of Sophia University

In his presentation, Professor UEKI analyzed the trends and situations over time that have led to the



transformation of the United Nations, including the Security Council, the General Assembly, the Economic and Social Council, and the Secretariat. He pointed out that UN reform had been debated in the midst of major changes in the international political structure.

Following the end of the Cold War, the security governance was challenged and the Security Council reform had been debated without producing concrete results until now. The Security Council has effectively become the UN's main decision-making

body and has gradually expanded its authority beyond the traditional confines of its own authority in the maintenance of international peace and security, even by taking up such health and hygiene issues as HIV AIDS which should normally be deliberated by the General Assembly and the Economic and Social Council.

Professor UEKI explained that the General Assembly and other main UN organs had also made efforts at the same time to improve their authority and efficiency through reforms. For example, when the successor to the Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon was elected in 2016, the General Assembly organized a public interview with all the candidates for the Secretary-General. That was an unprecedented and pre-emptive action by the General Assembly to strengthen its role in the election of the Secretary-General before the traditional procedure set in motion in which the General Assembly appoints the Secretary-General on the recommendation of the Security Council. Through this public interview, civil society was also given the opportunity to participate in the UN Secretary-General's interview process.

Professor UEKI explained that the Economic and Social Council had also worked on a wide range of reforms for itself. As a result, the Economic and Social Council today is a very different organ than it was ten years ago. Its annual meeting, previously held in New York and Geneva, is now held only in New York and has become the main coordinating body for the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs). As a result, its role and functions have been advanced. Professor UEKI stated that the Economic and Social Council consists of 54 states, and has been a major driving force for addressing and achieving SDGs as an UN effort.

Professor UEKI also mentioned the Secretariat reform as part of the UN reform efforts. The UN Secretary-General is the Chief Administrative Officer of the Organization. It is thus within his power to reform the Secretariat according to the needs of the time. For example, Secretary-General Boutros

Boutros-Ghali, in his "Agenda for Peace" report, reflected upon the concept of UN peace operations covering conflict prevention, mediation, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding, and reorganized the UN Secretariat accordingly. In addition, Secretary-General Boutros-Ghali has built a centralized system by concentrating power in his own hands. Mr. Boutros-Ghali's successor, Secretary-General Kofi Annan, transitioned to a decentralized system by establishing four executive committees on development, peace and security, humanitarian issues, and economic and social issues, and created a system where draft policies were elaborated and recommended to the Secretary-General for final decision making. Secretary-General Ban Ki-moon basically took over the approach of Secretary-General Annan, but in order to make policy decisions more effective, he established a policy committee under the Secretary-General. The current Secretary-General, António Guterres, has formed a standing committee that made the policy committee more cross-cutting and applied a more integrated approach to the policy-making process.

Professor UEKI added that Secretary-General Guterres reformed the UN Secretariat by delegating authority to the heads of departments and to those who represented the United Nations in the field. Mr. Guterres had implemented this reform model when he was the UN High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR), a position he held before becoming the UN Secretary-General. Professor UEKI pointed out the necessity to continue to monitor this reform to see if it would work effectively in the UN which has a global mandate while UNHCR had a narrower mandate to assist refugees and internally displaced persons. And its operations are based in the field. On the basis of his experience as UN Spokesperson and a member of the UN Country Team in Pakistan and Zimbabwe, Professor UEKI stated that while the idea of transferring the appointment authority of the UN Resident Coordinator from UNDP to the UN was fine, it would become necessary in the future to examine whether this would in fact have strengthened the actual authority and effectiveness to the Resident Coordinators and improved the mode of coordination between local governments and the functions of the Resident Coordinators who must play much broader and comprehensive roles in the areas of politics and human rights in addition to development assistance. Professor UEKI expressed his view that the success of such a field-based system would depend on the actual capacity of Resident Coordinators and how they coordinate the different interests of the UN agencies in the planning and implementation of the UN Development Assistance Framework (UNDAF), especially in the procurement and allocation of funds.

Opinions and questions from participants

Mr. Yoshinobu YONEKAWA, a former staff member of DESA and Buddhist monk in the Shingon Buzan sect, referring to Principal HASEGAWA's presentation, pointed out that the Secretary-General's reform program is aiming to promote "unification" of the entire UN system. He

stated that the financial aspect of Secretary General's Reform Program, especially the aspect of development assistance, has been questioned because the reform program is not ready to procure enough funds to maintain the Resident Coordinators' activities. Mr. YONEKAWA then stated about the history of reforms in the field of development assistance.

In the history of the UN Development System, a fundamental reform of the United Nations Development Program (UNDP) began in 1970 based on a report prepared by Sir Robert Jackson. Through the UNDP reform, the framework of "IPF (Indicative Planning Figure)" was adopted. The framework shows the amount of UNDP funds allocation to each recipient country during the program period over several years. Another mechanism introduced for UNDP reform was a "country program" which is supposed to be prepared individually for each recipient country. Development projects are formulated according to priority areas identified in the country program, and UN specialized agencies and other relevant international organizations get involved in these UNDP-funded projects according to their disciplines. This scheme has been implemented vigorously, and it is evaluated that the "integration" of UN development agencies has been promoted in this way for many years.

First of all, through such a reform approach by UNDP, a solid global network of Resident Coordinators was established. Second, Resident Coordinators are given the authority at the national level to manage the project allocation of UNDP funds. The framework of IPF and country program contributed to ensuring increased voluntary contributions to UNDP from donors. Third, UNDP has secured qualified and motivated staff for its activities. It can be said that the UN development system centered on UNDP has succeeded by these three factors.

In response to strong requests from recipient countries, such a framework has shifted toward the direction in which the recipient countries themselves implement development assistance activities. The implementing international agencies for UNDP program lost the chance to participate in UNDP funded projects and has inevitably shifted their focus to their own development programs and projects. It can be said that the Secretary-General has decided to reform the United Nations Development System under these circumstances.

Among the above three elements that made the UNDP reform by Secretary-General Guterres successful, only the network of Resident Coordinators was transferred to under the Secretary-General's control, and Resident Coordinators have not been given access to adequate funding. Unless Resident Coordinators are equipped with sufficient resources under their control that they can use according to their own program priorities, it is not realistic to expect them to be able to lead national level development activities, involving various international organizations. In other words, in order to effectively activate and maintain the network of Resident Coordinators, which is a valuable legacy of the UNDP system, innovative creation of a new financial base is needed based on

the Secretary-General's reform program that has already begun. Mr. YONEKAWA expressed his interest in hearing Principal HASEGAWA's opinions on this point based on his experience serving as Resident Coordinator in the field.



Mr. Yoshinobu YONEKAWA, a former staff member of DESA



Mr. Sumihiro KUYAMA, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations

In response to Mr. YONEKAWA's views and questions, Principal HASEGAWA acknowledged that the UNDP reforms have brought about a historic change in ownership of aid resource management. However, Mr. HASEGAWA noted the unexpected consequences that this reform seemed to have caused and referred to the case of India's utilization of UNDP fund. India wanted to use UNDP funding to acquire advanced technology to enable rocket launches. On the other hand, UNDP headquarters staff and donors held the view that improved health and education should have been needed in India. Regarding the current efforts for region-based approach proposed by Secretary-General Guterres, Mr. HASEGAWA expects that African countries will have more power and responsibility to maintain peace and security on the continent by themselves. Japan has been providing technical support through African Rapid Deployment of Engineering Capabilities (ARDEC) to strengthen African capacity to deploy peacekeeping personnel. Rather than SDF personnel actually engaged in peacekeeping operations and operating under the unstable situations of the conflict-prone African countries, it would be a preferred approach to assist Africans by providing technical know-how on troop placement. Mr. HASEGAWA also elaborated on his views on the effectiveness of resource utilization.

Regarding the UN reform proposal by Secretary-General Guterres presented by Principal HASEGAWA, Mr. Sumihiro KUYAMA, former Deputy Secretary General of UN HABITAT, pointed out that there is one major problem resulting from the "reconfiguration of the UN Development System," symbolized by the reconfiguration of UN Resident Coordinators under the

Deputy Secretary-General. Mr. KUYAMA stated that it is a problem of fund distribution and it is questionable if there is anything to be learned from IPF system (linked to the country programming system). Mr. KUYAMA's comment based on his experience of being involved in the construction process of IPF system is that even if it worked well in the past, and even if the appointment authority of Resident Coordinators is transferred to the UN as proposed by Secretary-General Guterres, the lack of funds to distribute would be a problem.

Mr. INOUE stated that, from the perspective of reviewing the UN reform toward the 100th anniversary of its establishment, its original purpose should be reexamined the issues to be overcome for achieving the purpose should be presented. The UN Charter stipulates that peace and security, development and human rights are the purpose of establishing the UN. However, the UN is still facing major challenges in achieving these goals. Mr. INOUE pointed out that although World War



III has not broken out, regional conflicts have been prevalent all over the world. Currently, the humanitarian assistance to refugees, IDPs and PKOs is the major UN activity. Economic development has progressed to some extent, but economic inequality has widened and the global environment has been destroyed. Regarding human rights, despite the establishment of the Human Rights Council, its authority has been very limited and there are still many authoritarian regimes in the world. People around the world are hoping for a safe, prosperous and liberated life, but conflicts never end, economic disparities are widening, global environments are deteriorating and human rights are being violated. What should the United Nations do? We should return to its original thinking. The UN was founded by "we, the people of the Allies," but in reality, "we, the governments of the United Nations" run the UN, and many governments do not reflect the views of various people. In order to recuperate the voice of the people around the world, it is necessary to create a People's Council (Citizens' Council) represented by people/citizens across borders. Along with the UN General Assembly and Security Council represented by the governments, Peoples (Citizens) Council is composed of representatives of civil society organizations and groups of private companies in various fields. Geographic and gender balance are taken into account, but membership selection is not based on nationality. This Council does not have enforcement power, but aims to develop common global norms and standards based on high morals. The Council's membership consists of about 30 different categories including women's groups, youth groups, disability groups, minority groups, scientist groups, academic groups, media associations, trade unions and employer groups. Members do not have veto powers or power of

decision, and decisions are to be made by a majority. The groups in each category may send different representatives to the board, but the categories themselves and the total number of memberships are reviewed regularly. The Peoples (Citizens) Council is a new UN agency representing various non-governmental organizations around the world, and puts influence on governments through the promotion of civil movements pursuing international peace and security, sustainable development and democratic governance to protect democracy and human rights.

In regards to Mr. INOUE's point about UN's failure to properly address human rights issues, Professor UEKI explained that the Human Rights Council holds three sessions each year, appoints a special rapporteur, and conducts Universal Periodic Review.

Session II

4. Presentation by Professor Vesselin POPOVSKI



The final presentation at the second Council of the Subcommittee on UN Reform was made by Professor Vesselin POPOVSKI, who is a former Bulgarian diplomat, senior EU legal expert, senior academic officer at UNU Tokyo, and a current associate dean of Faculty of Law at O.P. Jindal Global University, India.

Before addressing the possibility of UN reform, Dr. POPOVSKI reminded the Subcommittee of the provisions of Article 109 of the UN Charter. By doing so, Dr.

POPOVSKI pointed out that the static nature of the UN Charter was not its drafters' intention but the review 10 years after its adoption was the original plan. Therefore, the call for UN reform is not only modern, but historical, dating back to the 1945 vision. In addition, Dr. POPOVSKI made comments on four key proposals: the establishment of World Parliament, General Assembly (GA), Security Council (SC), and Peacebuilding Commission.

Dr. POPOVSKI stated that the first two proposals are intertwined. Although the General Assembly is the UN's main deliberative body, it still shows a lack of democracy and legitimacy. It represents people, not the states. To this end, Dr. POPOVSKI proposed the establishment of a World Parliamentary Network consisting of representatives elected from national and regional legislative bodies, which could include representatives of stateless persons such as refugees, nomads and indigenous peoples. This is a historical proposal dating back to the late 18th century, which is realized by modern organizations such as the Pan-African Parliament and the European Parliament. Furthermore, Dr. POPOVSKI did not deny the important role of GA and proposed five measures to

activate it. These measures were proposed as a mechanism which complements GA as a form of ethics assessment offices, scientific advisory boards, regular or occasional high-level panels, certain thematic panels, and civil society meetings. Although some of these mechanisms have begun to be considered by the General Assembly, Dr. POPOVSKI proposed a robust and complete implementation, in combination with all other mechanisms he has proposed, in order to maximize the impact.

Professor POPOVSKI's third and fourth proposals address new global concerns regarding the composition of the Security Council. The current system which accords veto power to P5 has reduced SC from the strongest institutions of global governance to a mere geopolitical safety net. In this regard, Dr. POPOVSKI proposed the SC 8+8+8 model. This model will consist of eight permanent seats (AU, EU, US, Japan, India, Brazil, China and Russia), eight semi-permanent seats with the possibility of re-election and eight non-permanent seats. This model will benefit all large, medium and small countries. Compared to the status quo and other proposed models, this model is expected to make it possible for all countries to increase their representatives and get opportunities in their own seats within the Security Council. It will also promote the objective of AU and EU to integrate common foreign and peace policies. Furthermore, this model will provide room for adaptation to the ever-changing geopolitical global conditions, and will not impose the burden by according the authority permanently to a few selected African countries, for instance. However, Dr. POPOVSKI did not limit his suggestion just to changing the configuration within the SC, but also announced a proposal to ensure full transparency in the election of non-members of SC, which is currently lacking. He referred to such initiatives as "Rally for Peace", French/Mexico initiative and the ACT Code of Conduct by which the GA could influence the current status of the SC. Lastly, Dr. POPOVSKI proposed establishing a performance evaluation mechanism to improve the current opaque accountability of the Security Council.

Professor POPOVSKI's fourth and final proposal was as creative as his previous proposals. He recommended upgrading the Peacebuilding Commission (PBC), officially or informally, to the Peacebuilding Council. PBC does not accord the power to the five permanent members to unilaterally block important resolutions, and ensures more equal terms. This idea can be applied to shift soft security issues such as climate change and human rights to the PBC, while allowing SC to focus solely on hard security issues. Second, this upgraded PBC may enable the UN to institutionalize its function of preventing disasters in the first place in addition to responding to such disasters.

Based on these four categories of proposals, Professor POPOVSKI gave a comprehensively studied presentation along with appropriate and effective UN reform proposals. Since his proposal was so

different from other proposals that have been discussed, Council participants assessed its legitimacy, achievability and impact and had extensive and stimulating discussions.

【Comments and questions from participants】



At the beginning, Ambassador INOMATA raised two points. First, he pointed out that it should be recognized that the reform proposal by Secretary-General Guterres is extensive covering all three areas: peace and security, human rights and development. Therefore, it is different from traditional sectoral reform measures. It is in line with two resolutions adopted by the General Assembly and the Security Council in April 2016 regarding a review of the UN peacebuilding architecture. It is aiming at a systematic construction of collective security that relies on human security, not on national security. Underlying the reform proposal is the advocacy of preventive initiatives to address root causes of conflicts, especially correcting inter-state and internal disparities by achieving SDGs, which is the key to human security. It can be said that the Secretary-General advocates a new collective security focusing on non-traditional security.

Second, the Secretary-General presents a wide range of institutional and administrative reforms that mobilize agencies from the entire UN system in an integrated manner according to a certain strategic planning. These include (i) Cross-disciplinary institutional reform that links political security and economic and social fields, (ii) Nexus between security, development and humanitarian assistance, (iii) Partnership and coordination between peacekeeping operations and development activities which are related to peacekeeping activities within UNDG such as DRR and policing, (iv) Financing to maintain peace and administrative and financial reform of the UN system. Mr. INOMATA proposed that the Sub-Committee discuss these reforms in detail in the next session.

Ambassador INOMATA pointed out five points regarding the Security Council reform and Japan. First, the resolution adopted in December 2006 and the statement of the Security Council S/PRST/2018/20 have already defined clear relationships and coordination methods between the Security Council and UN system organizations involved in peace operations centered around peacebuilding activities. For the time being, it is necessary to monitor the operation of such modalities.

Second, because conflicts frequently break out in Africa, it is necessary to raise the voice of Africa in the UN decision-making in order to promote the maintenance of peace. At TICAD 7 in August

2019, Prime Minister ABE advocated Japan's active contribution to peace. And the Prime Minister accredited to power and five non-permanent seats to African states in relation to the Security Council reform. Third, stable and sustainable finances and human resources of member states are necessary to maintain peace. However, the UN system is on the brink of dysfunction as the United States ignores multilateralism and defies contributions to international organizations. Fourth, although Japan's contribution to the UN budget is still high, now it is the third largest contributor following China. Japan's contributions and ODA assistance also have been facing the wall of fiscal consolidation and have been lagging behind major Western countries such as Germany, France and the UK. Also, Japanese SDF personnel have not been dispatched to PKO units since SDF withdrew from the United Nations Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) in 2017. Fifth, an urgent issue facing Japan is how to increase its contribution and innovative support for strengthening capacity building which are necessary for maintaining peace in developing countries.

In response to Professor POPOVSKI's proposal, Mr. Yoshinobu YONEKAWA stated that it would be difficult to foresee that countries accorded with veto power as a result of World War II will abandon it unless our world faces as serious and immense crisis as that during the World War II. Such a tragic situation may not be limited to war. Mr. YONEKAWA asked for Dr. POPOVSKI's view on the potential of international dynamism and mechanisms that may prompt any of the five major states with veto powers to abandon it.

Regarding Dr. POPOVSKI's proposal to establish the "Civil Society Assembly" as one of the advisory mechanisms for General Assembly, Mr. Sumihiro KUYAMA stated that it would be more appropriate to establish a People's Assembly or a Civic Assembly. Mr. KUYAMA stressed the importance of the spirit depicted in the "First Seven Words" of the UN Charter and agreed with the proposal to upgrade the Peacebuilding Commission to the Peacebuilding Council to address conflict prevention efforts that the Secretary-General Guterres has repeatedly advocated for its consolidation as a UN priority.

Comments from Council participants



Mr. Junichiro Mori, Alliance
Forum Foundation



Ms. Akiko Taguchi, Director of
ILO Office for Japan



Ms. Sayo Oyagi, Policy Planning
Division of Foreign Policy
Bureau, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs of Japan



Mr. Takaaki MIZUNO, a former
Editorialist of the Asahi Shimbun and a
Professor of Kanda University of



Ms. Fujiko Amano,
International Lawyer



Ms. Maja Liechti, Graduate School,
Tokyo University

The third meeting of the subcommittee on UN Reform: Adoption of the Recommendation, January 21, 2020

The third meeting was held under the chairmanship of Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, from 14:00 to 17:00 on January 21, 2020, and the content of UN Reform recommendations was discussed, modified and adopted. The main points discussed are as follows.

First, the UN Reform aims at ensuring UN capacity to rapidly respond to crisis and challenges facing international community, recognizing the necessity to improve governance such as the operation of UN agencies, and encouraging the participation of non-state actors such as parliaments and civil society in addition to member states. To achieve these objectives, the possibility of amending the UN Charter based on the Article 109 was also discussed.

Second, the need for Japan's active cooperation was discussed to maintain international peace and security and to respect human rights and fundamental freedoms based on the UN-centered multilateralism and the objectives and principles set forth in Chapter 1 of the UN Charter. Attendees agreed that not only national governments but also civil society should be more actively involved in policy making and decision making by applying the philosophy of “We the Peoples of the United Nations” declared in the UN Charter.

Third, it is hoped that the reform will be realized by adding to the Security Council new special-term member states with the possibility of re-election. In addition, the Peacebuilding Commission will be upgraded to Peacebuilding Council, which will enable the Security Council to focus on traditional threats such as wars and conflicts, while the Peacebuilding Council carries out its duties in the field of peacebuilding including natural disasters and infectious diseases which require the perspectives on Human Security and Responsibility to Protect (R2P). And the possibility of further revitalizing the UN General Assembly was also examined. In order to realize the promotion of global peace, development, environment and human rights, it is hoped that the UN will strive to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) 2030. The possibility of introducing the concept of “Official Peace and Development Assistance (OPDA, tentative name)” was also discussed that integrates ODA to secure the necessary funds.

As the fourth and final point, it can be said that the UN has been facing a permanent shortage of funds due to arrears or non-payment of contributions. In this regard, the recognition was shared that in order to overcome the difficulties of the UN budget, the UN Secretariat needs to demonstrate to its member states its management capacity to avoid duplication in the overall UN activities based on the principle of scrap and build.

Chapter 2.

Climate Change and Other Global Environmental Issues

**Co-Chairs Mr. Taikan OKI, Senior Vice-Rector, United Nations University and
Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Advisor for Library of Alexandria**

Our future depends on how the illness of the modern society will be overcome, which is the

widening disparity rooted in the pursuit of selfish interests. Almost all political systems which should function well to overcome the illness have deteriorated including democratic systems, developmental authoritarianism systems, and regal government. And civil society, which was a rising star in the latter half of the 20th century, is weakening. Therefore, various environmental issues are becoming more serious in spite of many efforts. In particular, climate change and large-scale land modification caused by human activities are not only rapidly damaging biodiversity, but are also destabilizing the supply of food and water, increasing the risk of natural disasters, disturbing social order and threatening world peace and human prosperity. It would mean that the first generation of global civilization, which has developed mainly in western countries through energy- and resource-intensive lifestyles, must tackle various issues of the global environment in the pain of creating a new global civilization. The effective approach to the global environment would provide a prescriptive example of how to cure the diseases of modern society and it would announce the dawn of the second generation of earth civilization.

Therefore, actions for the global environment need to be reconsidered as efforts going beyond the existing framework on which modern society rests, to re-examine the essence of human beings once again and to construct a new world system. It seems that the idea of global governance itself, which is to rebuild the structure from the base of life to the community, and from the nation to the international community, needs to be the basic stance on various issues of the global environment. It would be required to steer the direction significantly from an international mechanism centered on administration that has been developed since the latter half of the 19th century, to a world system or structure in which citizens, local communities, and politicians representing them, or experts and cultural figures come to the fore which are supported by local and national administrations and corporations.

To realize it, it would be an important first step to aim for the direction toward (1) Global-scale solidarity of politics, administrations, companies, and education sectors from the region to the national level, (2) A radical awareness raising of all individuals, including citizens, government, and politicians, (3) Cross-ministerial and comprehensive policies in social, economic and science and technology for building a sustainable society, (4) Innovative establishment of the World Organization for Global Environment, which is open to all concerned and appropriate for the trend of a new era. Unless the global environment is healthy, humankind cannot survive, and fair social justice and sustainable economic development cannot be achieved. Based on the consensus to coordinate the preservation of the global environment and the development and survival of humankind, the Subcommittee proposes the promotion of global governance.

Recommendation 1. (Purpose) Promote global governance based on the new era of multilateralism

To enable all people in the world to live more spiritually rich, healthier, more cultural, safer,

more dignified and happier life, a better society should be realized as outlined in the “2030 AGENDA for Sustainable Development (2030 AGENDA)” agreed at the UN General Assembly in 2015. To that end, it is necessary to promote global governance based on multilateralism, which includes non-governmental organizations and is appropriate for the trend of new era.

Recommendation 2. (Necessity) Realize environmental conservation and peacekeeping through democratic global governance

Environmental conservation is one of the three aspects that support sustainable development along with social justice and economic development. It is the foundation for spiritually rich and healthy life, promotes economic development, stabilizes local communities, contributes to the maintenance of world order and peace, and thus is indispensable for human security. On the other hand, it is also necessary to have a perspective that peacekeeping is essential for achieving sustainability and environmental conservation. Global collaboration is essential for mitigation measures against global warming (reduction of greenhouse gas emission), and achieving it is premised on efforts to overcome nationalism and to correct disparities. In particular, democratic global governance is required.

Recommendation 3. (Role) Promote the synergistic effect of problem solution through comprehensive global governance

Various synergistic effects are expected among 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the 2030 AGENDA, mitigation and adaptation measures against climate change caused by global warming, and risk management for natural disaster, through eradication of poverty, reduction of vulnerability, and efficient use of resources. On the other hand, there are concerns about trade-offs by global commons such as land and investable resources. Promotion of global governance should contain these trade-offs as much as possible and should bring about many synergistic effects.

Recommendation 4. (Points to note) Promote sophisticated global governance with the participation of various stakeholders

To correct disparities and transform the society based on the 2030 AGENDA, the Subcommittee promotes consideration for gender, raising the sense of ownership and action of citizens, cultural figures, and experts, and financial mechanisms such as the Earth Solidarity Fund. Along with the promotion of global governance, the participation and courageous action of the diverse young generations who will be responsible for the next generation are essential. In that regard, efforts to promote Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), development of local human resources and information dissemination that contributes to inclusive environmental assessment are extremely important. The consideration for “just transition” is also necessary to

prevent people from being unfairly disadvantaged as a result of change. It is also essential to introduce private funds including SDGs bonds and green bonds, to procure funds domestically, to conduct evidence-based verification, auditing, and certification of the effects from these investments, and to ensure transparent access to the information systems that support these investments.

Contents of discussions at the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues

First meeting held on September 12, 2019

This meeting was held on September 12th in the 1st House of Representatives (Meeting Room 5) co-chaired by Mr. Taikan OKI (Senior Vice-Rector of United Nations University), and Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI (Advisor for Library of Alexandria). In addition, other attendees including Mr. Seishiro ETO, President of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement and other Committee members (Diet members), gave some greetings during the meeting.



Mr. Taikan OKI, Senior Vice-Rector
of United Nations University



Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Advisor for
Library of Alexandria

Purpose of this meeting

At the beginning, Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, the Secretary-General of the Global Governance Advisory Committee, explained that the purpose of this Subcommittee is to advance reviews on the environmental issues and, based on the review, make recommendations to the Commission on Global Governance as it is preparing and compiling a report toward the end of this year.

Summary of proceedings

1. Initial announcement from respective committees

Mr. Kazumi YAMAOKA, Research Coordinator of Japan International Research Center for Agricultural Sciences made remarks on Earth Environmental Governance. He stated that global public goods can be divided into three categories: ① global natural common goods, ② global artificially shared goods, and ③ global desirable conditions. Mr. YAMAOKA expressed his view that perspectives and efforts to protect the interest of whole humanity (global public goods) across national interests and generations are essential. And these perspectives and efforts should be regarded as a function of protecting these "global public goods" and distributing them all over the globe and should be regarded as "intermediate global public good" of United Nations Agencies, treaties, and international financial agencies.

While introducing ① frontier ethics, ② lifeboat ethics, and ③ spaceship earth ethics as initiatives for this global environmental governance, Mr. YAMAOKA explained that the reality is that efforts have been made to aim for ③ spaceship earth ethics as much as possible. In order to realize these ethics, "global governance consisting of diverse networks" (co-government) should be aimed for instead of creating "World Federation". Global governance establishes a mechanism which connects and complements networks in multiple layers, and can be defined as "Collection of many methods to manage and operate common problems by public and private individuals and organizations". Mr. YAMAOKA also presented a reference document that summarizes global environmental issues (9 issues), and shared the recognition that the global environmental issue is also global food problem or global agricultural problem.

Mr. Kazuhiko TAKEMOTO, Director of the UNU Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability, pointed out four points regarding the development of environmental policy in the Era of "Sustainable Development Goals" (SDGs).

- ① SDGs are universal goals that contain various values that humanity aims for, both of developed or developing countries.
- ② The SDGs set desirable goals and present a mechanism which makes it easy for companies and corporate groups to work on the goals in that each entity formulates individual measures to achieve them.
- ③ Methods for achieving the goals are interrelated and synergistic effects are expected. A comprehensive approach that brings together all the ministries and agencies is required, and it is necessary to position the SDGs as the superior goals at all administrations. Therefore, it is necessary to examine the framework, legal system, and organization that guarantees cross-cutting efforts such as the Basic Law.
- ④ Achieving SDGs requires the participation of various stakeholders and a comprehensive



approach that integrates the entire aspect of economy, society and environment.



Mr. Hironori HAMANAKA, Member of the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues, and Special Research Advisor for Institute for Global Environmental Strategies, provided the latest information on global trends concerning climate change such as the implementation status of the Paris Agreement and the IPCC "1.5 Degree C Special Report" (October 2018). In particular, Mr. HAMANAKA pointed out that it is necessary to rapidly change the socio-economic system in order to keep the

temperature rise under 1.5 degrees C, and that it is essential to accelerate technological innovation and behavior change in the future while there are both synergies and trade-offs between climate change measures and the SDGs.

Referring to the UNEP Emission Gap Report (November 2018) which showed a gap between the global goal set by the Paris Treaty and the sum total of NDC (Nationally determined contributions) submitted by each country by November in 2018, Mr. HAMANAKA shared the latest information on recent temperature rises and abnormal weather events, which has been heightening the sense of crisis and urgency for climate change worldwide. He also introduced the global stream which includes political trends in Europe such as the British and French parliaments, and the movement toward de-carbonization going underway by local governments' activity development through its global network and by the steel industry which is a typical energy-intensive industry.

Furthermore, he introduced the "UN Climate Action Summit" to be held in New York on September 23 in order to call for concrete action by world leaders, as proposed by the Secretary-General of the United Nations.

Mr. Taikan OKI, Co-Chair, presented a summary of "SDGs and Environment" as a reference material, which is related to climate change and would contribute to future discussions at the Subcommittee. Mr. OKI made following comments.

- ① Explained about IPCC "1.5 Degree C Special Report", by citing the statement by IPCC Chair, Mr. Lee, at the HLPF (High-level Political Forum) last July, "achieving to keep the temperature rise by below 1.5 degrees C is challenging."
- ② Introduced the activities of "Friday for Future" advocated by Ms. Greta from Sweden, and emphasized the importance of the role of the youth.
- ③ Regarding the IPCC "Special Report on Land Use", the mitigation potential of agriculture and forestry is high, and food loss reduction will attract attention in the context of Sustainable

Consumption and Production (SCP: SDG12) in the future.

- ④ Regarding a concern about the side effects from climate change countermeasures, the consideration for the side effects was called upon with the quote of a historical saying that "reform should be gradual" (Adam Smith), from the perspective that rapid implementation of countermeasures may cause inconvenience.

Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair, introduced that the first youth version of Davos Forum called "One Young World 2021" will be announced to be held in Japan (2021), stressed the importance of the role of youth, and pointed out the following points.

- ① The idea of global governance is important as an approach that should be pursued in the future, and the viewpoint of strengthening it should be taken into consideration.
- ② Various environmental problems have been pointed out, but "finance" is necessary as an energy source to deal with them. Mr. TAKAHASHI believes that the "Earth Solidarity Tax" is the bridge between this "finance" and global governance. Based on the idea of global governance, "Earth Solidarity Tax" should be aimed for from the perspective that each individual from each community has a global role.
- ④ "Earth Solidarity Tax" is proposed as a role of the community which is rooted in the community but has the global perspective, based on the idea of paying out of one's own pocket with the global perspective and based on the recognition that major changes will be brought about in the future.

Based on these points, the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues has compiled a report composed of the following three parts and proposed to submit it to the Global Governance Advisory Committee.

- ① Importance of global governance approach
- ② Summary of an overall picture of global knowledge on challenges and countermeasures related to global environmental issues, and
- ③ Recommendations including on Earth Solidarity Tax



Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA stated that he would like to share his views on the following points based on the issues raised by the participants of the subcommittee meetings so far.

- ① Can we reach the World Federation from global governance? In the process toward the World Federation, the issue is how to secure responsibility-sharing under global governance.

- ② In order to change the world, it is important to change the “Human Behavior” as pointed out by Mr. HAMANAKA. To do this, mind-set needs to be changed, and the solidarity tax proposed by Mr. TAKAHASHI seems to be the answer for this.
- ③ It is true that “change should be gradual”, as pointed out by Mr. OKI, which is expected to bring about “deep change”
- ④ It is necessary to solve environmental problems but at the same time the resolution should be sustainable and comprehensive, which cannot be achieved only by individual countries or regions. “Global governance,” which is a joint effort throughout the world, is essential, and addressing environmental issues can be one of the areas in which global governance is practiced and achieved.
- ⑤ Mr. HASEGAWA thought that the equivalent of a “black ship” that changed the Japanese governance system were a global environmental problem, nuclear armament, artificial intelligence, and inequality.

2. General discussion

Mr. Taikan OKI, Co-Chair, presented the direction of future discussions at the Subcommittee based on the discussions thus far as follows.

The direction of the subcommittee will be to examine how the environmental field can theoretically reinforce the promotion of global governance, and to examine the necessity of global governance in order to solve environmental problems from the perspective of synergistic effects. Furthermore, the discussion will be deepened on other potential recommendations from the perspective of global governance in addition to the “Earth Solidarity Tax”.

Based on this proposal, the members were encouraged to make further comments, and below are some of the remarks.

Regarding the evaluation of IPCC "1.5 Degree C Special Report", Mr. Hironori HAMANAKA pointed out that it is impossible to deal with only narrow environmental policies to achieve the high goal of "keeping the temperature increase by below 1.5 degree C". And the extensive and rapid transformation is essential in all socio-economic systems including energy policy, urban infrastructure policy, land use policy and industrial policy. Both society and economy need to change. Certainly, there are trade-offs, but there are more synergies. If nothing is done, it will be impossible to keep the temperature rise by even below 2 degrees C. In fact, even if summing up the NDCs that each country has been committed so far, an increase by 3 degree C is the prospect. Therefore,

comprehensive strategy is needed with economic and social perspectives, going beyond the narrow view of the environment and paying attention to synergies and co-benefits.

Mr. HAMANAKA suggested that while the proposal by Mr. TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair, seems to be considered as one of the policy measures, it may also be a good idea to examine the difference with Carbon Pricing. Mr. HAMANAKA introduced that in the U.S., the concept of Carbon Tax is being discussed in the Republican parliamentary group, which is the current ruling party. The discussion considers the possibility to redistribute the tax revenue to the citizens as dividend. Mr. HAMANAKA stated that the discussion on solidarity tax will need to deal with the issue of the taxation standard in the future.



Mr. Kazumi YAMAOKA, Research Coordinator of Japan International Research Center for Agricultural Sciences, questioned if the spirit of "solidarity" can be realized only through "tax". He presented an alternative strategy, which combines the following two approaches.

- ① Introduced a mechanism to collect tax from rich people. The tax will be mandatory based on the implication that it is an investment to secure future "global public goods".
- ② Since there is a repulsion in taxes among citizens, the approach should be promoting the sense of participation to contribute to the environment.

By combining these two approaches, a mechanism will be devised to separate individuals from companies. It is also necessary to take different approaches to developing countries and to developed countries.

Mr. Kazuhiko TAKEMOTO agreed with Mr. OKI's statement about the direction of the Subcommittee's future discussion. Regarding environmental policy, it is necessary to have a wider perspective instead of a narrower one, with a view to sustainable development. And in that sense, the importance of SDGs should be re-emphasized. Also, synergies are important and it is necessary to coordinate global governance and sustainable development. Mr. TAKEMOTO agrees that solidarity tax is positioned as one of the policy measures.

Mr. TAKEMOTO inquired if solidarity tax will be discussed in the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues as well while there has been discussion in another Subcommittee within the Global Governance Advisory Committee.



Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, the Secretary-General of the

Commission on Global Governance, answered that the idea of "Global Solidarity Tax" will be discussed at another Subcommittee. However, the "Global Solidarity Tax" currently under consideration is mainly targeting the financial field, aiming for financial stability by imposing a tax on foreign exchange transactions, and it does not target carbon tax and climate-specific items that are discussed at the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues this time. By the way, there has been a case such as in France where tax on international air tickets have been introduced, which has been joined by 13 other countries. Since it is possible to cooperate in terms of taxation, it should be appreciated if the discussion outcome in the environmental field would be shared as an input for the discussion on "Global Solidarity Tax".

Regarding how to deal with solidarity tax, Mr. HASEGAWA inquired if the concept of tax preventing environmental deterioration could be relevant and if solidarity tax could be equivalent to imposing tax against unjust energy consumption. In this regard, Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair, expressed his concern about dealing with it negatively. Mr. TAKAHASHI thought that it was important to elicit positive behaviors in everyday life of people around the world. Introducing the case where ordinary people from the world's 35 poorest countries extended their support after the 2011 earthquake, Mr. TAKAHASHI stressed the need to take notice of the latent capability human beings are naturally equipped with to deal with necessary issues. Not enough attention has been given to this fact in the international discussions. It may have important potential in connecting the world. Mr. TAKAHASHI expressed his view that it is necessary to squeeze out the wisdom to bring out the positive nature of ordinary people, rather than imposing penalty on negative behaviors.

The "Earth Solidarity Tax" can be a mechanism as the "Earth Solidarity Fund" where individuals, corporations and communities can individually devise "fund". Contributing to this fund could restructure human values and activities. Mr. TAKAHASHI believes it is possible to achieve this by addressing issues positively instead of negatively. Various negative aspects tend to attract attentions regarding the environmental field, but the recognition about its positive aspects should also be extended. It may be good to explore the modality of solidarity of human behavior from the perspective of environment. In this sense, the necessity of earth solidarity tax is emphasized again. Mr. HASEGAWA, while showing understanding about Mr. TAKAHASHI's view, explained that his previous comment was not arguing for a tax intended to punish, but was based on the concept of consumption of the environment.

Mr. Taikan OKI suggested that based on the discussions so far regarding solidarity tax, it may be good that its name integrates the components of the "world" or the "earth" and the "future". However, regarding carbon pricing, there has been a backlash from the working class as seen in the "Yellow vests movement" in France, and the caution has been raising in Europe. While stressing the

necessity to pay attention to this fact, Mr. OKI pointed out the following points.

- ① Regarding the discussion on solidarity tax, the philosophy is necessary to use the tax revenues for improving the world as a whole with the view of passing the revenues to the poor as well.
- ② The importance of multilateralism
- ③ The need for research and development that provides scientific and technological evidence that supports global governance.

Related to the "Yellow vests movement", Mr. HAMANAKA would like to introduce a big movement which has been simultaneously happening in the international community, called "Just Transition". The need for major changes in the future is being called for, but during the process of the change, some will win and others will lose. For example, in Poland where COP24 was held, losers are represented by coal miners. The necessity to pay attention to such losers should be noted. In other words, in addition to paying attention and carefully responding to the negative impacts of big changes, it should be recognized that losers are inevitably a part of such a major change and that it is essential to establish a policy system to sincerely respond to the needs and situation of the losers.

The challenge in the future is the distribution of the revenues from the Bads Taxation. The U.S. Republican's Carbon Tax proposal mentioned earlier has been considering the possibility of feeding back the revenue to residents as the form of dividend.

Mr. TAKAHASHI stressed the importance of a wide range of synergies which would yield various possibilities. He hopes to discuss at the next meeting about (1) the direction of synergies in various fields, and (2) the legitimate transition accompanied by philosophy. In that discussion, "environment" will be the central theme. It is desirable to discuss and position the possibility of "Global Solidarity Fund" with the participation of various people. Since the discussion at the Subcommittee on the two aspects of the local voluntary approach and compulsory tax has not reached a sufficient level of maturity, the discussions should continue in the next meeting. Mr. YAMAOKA has started to examine the possibility to apply the idea of pensions and insurance premiums to "Global Solidarity Fund" or "Global Solidarity Premium" as a future direction. He also emphasized the importance of "social capital" as a trust network peculiar to human society. Mr. HASEGAWA expressed his interest in how the "Just Transition" pointed out by Professor HAMANAKA will be translated into "Environmental Just Transition", since the concept of "Environmental Justice" has been evolving. Mr. HASEGAWA also expressed his interest in whether there is a difference between the Eastern and Western ways of thinking about "environmental justice."

Mr. OKI, Co-Chair, expressed his appreciation that a wide range of valuable opinions were shared, and concluded the meeting by promising to continue to deepen the discussion at the following meetings. While asking for the cooperation in scheduling for the next meeting, Mr. OKI thanked all the participants and closed the meeting.

This first Subcommittee on Environmental Issues was attended by Mr. Seishiro ETO, President of the Japanese Diet Committee for the World Federalist Movement, Ms. Kuniko INOUCHI, Member of the House of Councillors, Mr. Akira SATO, Member of House of Representatives, Ms. Yuriko YAMAKAWA, Member of House of Representatives, and Mr. Kenichiro SETO, as observers.



Mr. Seishiro ETO, President of the Japanese Diet
Committee for World Federalist Movement



Ms. Kuniko Inoguchi, Member of the House of
Councillors



Mr. Akira SATO, Member of the House of
Representatives



Ms. Yuriko Yamakawa, Member of the House
of Representatives

The second meeting of the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues held on January 16, 2020

"Subcommittee on Environmental Issues" co-chaired by Mr. Taikan OKI, Senior Vice-Rector of United Nations University and Professor Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Advisor for Alexandria Library held a meeting to review the draft proposal at the 5th conference room of the 1st House of Representatives on January 16. This time, Mr. Taikan OKI read out the proposed skeleton plan and Professor TAKAHASHI moderated the discussion.

At the beginning, Mr. Takashi SHINOHARA, Diet member, made a greeting remark.



Mr. Takashi Shinohara, Diet member

Mr. TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair, stated that he recognizes that Recommendation 1 is the purpose of global governance, Recommendation 2 is the need for global governance, Recommendation 3 is the role of global governance, and Recommendation 4 is the point to be noted regarding global governance, and these four points are sufficient.



Since peace is abstract, it is necessary to clarify what interferes with peace and to document that we are fighting against it. What impedes peace is deliberate neglect of exclusive egoism and widening disparities. Democracy and civil society are also deteriorating. Addressing environmental issues will set an example to cure diseases in modern society.

There are two essences in human nature. The first essence is self-esteem, but the second essence should be the desire to be of help to society. We need to recapture our efforts in the form of establishing a world

system which harnesses both of the two essences. There is a need for a global system in which citizens, local communities, cultural figures, and experts come to the forefront, along with the supporting structure of governments and companies.

Cultural figures, including athletes, should make a statement that "I could achieve my goal not only by my efforts, but also by the society which has given me the environment." Without a good environment, people cannot live a spiritually rich life. Mr. TAKAHASHI mentioned that it is adults' responsibility to create an environment in which young people can participate, and that there could be a strong global organization other than the United Nations which deals with global issues.



Mr. OKI, Co-Chair, stated that each country's current reduction targets are far from achieving the 1.5 degrees C target. The greenhouse gas emissions is high in areas related to dietary habit. Reducing food loss is also effective against global warming. This is a field where citizens can easily take actions. Although urban issues have not been discussed in the context of global warming, the impact of global warming on the urban issues in developing countries and their population are

huge. In this context, the relationship between urban issues and climate change has become a discussion agenda in recent years. It is becoming a mainstream to discuss climate change issues in relation to SDGs.

Mr. HASEGAWA, Chair of the Commission on Global Governance, stated that human development has the aspect of destroying the global environment. Therefore, he thought it desirable to add a phrase that reads "The recommendations are made based on the recognition that global environment conservation and human development and survival can co-exist."

The operation of the United Nations today is based on the principle of state sovereignty, but global governance requires consideration for the entire planet.



Mr. KANIE stated that since there does not seem to be an exact Japanese translation for multilateralism, it should be either translated differently, or should be written in katakana. It should be emphasized more that environmental issues have become global problems.

Since humans can live only on the earth, the earth is the basic premise for our existence before thinking about

economy and society. Mr. KANIE believes that transnational global governance is important to protect the earth. There may be controversy over the establishment of Global Environment World Organization, but it should be appropriate for the environment. The phrase of strengthening global governance may be good.

Mr. YAMAOKA, Subcommittee member, commented that the recommendations seem to remain in ideology, and the contents can be deeper.



Professor Tatsuro KUNUGI



Ms. Shinobu Yamaguchi, Director of the UNU Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability (UNU-IAS)

Mr. KUNUGI stated that humans must play a central role in changing the world. The role of local communities is drawing attention. The role of youth is important. The awareness of the young people may be lacking. It is necessary to take measures to enable young people to play an active role.

Ms. Shinobu Yamaguchi explained that based on the concept of Education for Sustainable Development (ESD) proposed by UNESCO in 2005, the UNU Institute for the Advanced Study of Sustainability (UNU-IAS) has certified 174 RCEs (Regional Centers for Expertise for ESD) around the world as a scheme for embodying ESD in the communities, and has been identifying and promoting experts in the communities. It is addressing environmental issues in the community by emphasizing on youth participation. However, since the information transmission should not be confined to the local level, it is important to do it as a part of global governance.

Shouldn't an educational institution be added to "politics/administration/company" stated in the introduction of the recommendations? This is because education is important to promote awareness

and motivation of voluntary payment of funds.

Regarding important decision makers, the gender language should be included. Not only young people, but also various people should be comprehensively included as decision makers.

Mr. INOUE stated that it is not clear what kind of global governance is aimed for. The concept of global governance includes the aspect of management of a global organization that aims to solve global issues and the organization's basic principles. What Japan is aiming for is not the authoritarian global governance that China is aiming for, but should be global governance based on democratic principles such as the protection of human rights and the rule of law. Therefore, Mr. INOUE suggested that the wording of Recommendation 1 should be clearly stated as "global governance based on multilateralism and democracy." As for Recommendation 3, Mr. INOUE indicated that the recommendation should emphasize more on what kind of adaptation measures can be taken from now on to minimize the damage caused by global warming if achieving the mitigation of global warming set forth in the Paris Agreement is difficult as a practical problem.



Former Ambassador Tadanori INOMATA



Professor Takehiko UEMURA

Mr. INOMATA pointed out that all states accepted environmental regulations in the face of ozone depletion. Global collaboration should be considered in light of such successful case in the past. No solid legal principles have been established. It is important to consider the legal framework. Voluntarily monetary contribution has been initiated, but there has been no verification mechanism to check if the contribution is used for the desired goals.

Professor UEMURA stated that there has been a discussion on private investments, but it has not been able to raise the necessary amount, and thus the idea of a solidarity tax is necessary. 300 trillion yen will be collected if all global solidarity taxes can be achieved. Governance will be different

between that of international organizations depending on contributions and that of those depending on solidarity taxes. Solidarity tax is important for establishing transparent and democratic governance. Funds are needed to solve environmental problems, and measures such as solidarity tax should be considered to cover contributions. Mr. UEMURA suggested to add financial issues as Recommendation 5.



Ambassador Yasuyoshi KOMIZO



Mr. Taro Miyakoshi

Ambassador KOMIZO stated that maintaining peace is essential for sustainable growth and environmental protection. In addition, the promotion of UN SDGs will contribute to the prevention of conflict and peacebuilding by eliminating poverty, disparity, and injustice that would cause conflict. There is an aspect of very close interrelationship among these challenges. Mr. Taro Miyakoshi, UNHCR officer, also made some comments.

In summary, Mr. TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair, pointed out that important points in environmental issues include capturing the broad issues in multilateralism, capturing environmental issues in a wide range of issues including peace, perspectives on justice and disparity, intergenerational perspective, gender perspective, reform of individual awareness and institutional innovation.

Draft Recommendations

Unless the global environment is healthy, humankind cannot survive, and fair social justice and sustainable economic development cannot be achieved. The Subcommittee proposes the promotion of global governance based on the consensus to aim for coexistence of the preservation of global environment and the development and survival of humankind.

Recommendation 1. (Purpose) Promote global governance based on multilateralism in the new era. In order to enable all people in the world to live a more spiritually rich, healthier, more cultural, safer, more dignified and happier life, a better society should be realized as outlined in the “2030

AGENDA for Sustainable Development (2030 AGENDA)” which was agreed at the UN General Assembly in 2015. To that end, it is necessary to promote global governance appropriate for the new era based on multilateralism which includes non-governmental organizations.

Recommendation 2. (Necessity) Realize environmental protection and peacekeeping through democratic global governance

Environmental conservation is one of the three aspects that support sustainable development along with social justice and economic development. It is indispensable for human security, as it is the foundation for a spiritually rich and healthy life, promotes economic development, stabilizes local communities, and contributes to the maintenance of world order and peace. On the other hand, it is also necessary to have a perspective that peacekeeping is essential for sustainability and environmental conservation. Global collaboration is essential for mitigation measures against global warming (reducing greenhouse gas emissions), and achieving this is premised on efforts to overcome nationalism and to correct disparities, and in particular, democratic global governance is required.

Recommendation 3. (Role) Promote the synergistic effect of problem solution through comprehensive global governance

Various synergistic effects are expected among the 17 Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs) in the 2030 AGENDA, mitigation and adaptation measures against climate change caused by global warming and risk management for natural disaster through poverty eradication, reduction of vulnerability, or efficient use of resources. On the other hand, there are concerns about trade-offs through global commons such as land and investable resources. Promotion of global governance should contain these trade-offs as much as possible and should bring about many synergistic effects.

Recommendation 4. (Points to note) Promote sophisticated global governance with the participation of various stakeholders

To correct disparities and transform the society based on the 2030 AGENDA, the Subcommittee promotes consideration for gender, raising the sense of ownership and action of citizens, cultural figures, and experts, and financial mechanisms such as the Earth Solidarity Fund. Along with the promotion of global governance, the participation and courageous action of the diverse young generations who will be responsible for the next generation are essential. In that regard, efforts to promote Education for Sustainable Development (ESD), development of local human resources and information dissemination that contributes to inclusive environmental assessment are essential. The consideration for “just transition” is also necessary to prevent people from being unfairly disadvantaged as a result of the change. It is also essential to introduce private funds including SDGs bonds and green bonds, to procure funds domestically, to conduct evidence-based verification,

auditing, and certification of these investment effects, and to ensure transparent access to the information systems that support these investments.

Chapter 3

Disarmament

Co-Chairs: Mr. Nobuyasu ABE, Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations,
Mr. Yoshiki MINE, Former Ambassador for Disarmament, Mr. Yasuyoshi KOMIZO,
Member of Sage Council for Substantive Progress for Nuclear Disarmament

Regarding the third issue of disarmament, the participants recognized that human beings have repeated armed conflicts while seeking for peace, and especially, the two World Wars brought unbearable tragedy to people all over the world. Based on the deep remorse, the international humanitarian law, non-belligerency pact, and the United Nations system were established. In the same background, the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) was established which promotes international peace and the common welfare of humankind through the interrelation among education, science, and culture in order to “build a fort of peace in the heart of man”. However, humankind has not yet been accustomed to the custom of resolving international and domestic conflicts without resorting to force. More than 13,000 nuclear weapons exist in such instable societies, and there is a danger that the nuclear weapons may be used unintentionally by accident or miscalculation, which would cause inhumane and unacceptable tragedies. This year, the Doomsday Clock published by Scientific American announced “100 seconds until the end of humankind”, against the backdrop of the danger of nuclear wars and climate change which is amplified by information manipulation and cyber-attacks involving AI technology, and inaction and destruction of control and resolution systems by world politicians. It is the worst crisis recognition ever exceeding the prevalent recognition at the peak of the Cold War.

Resolving the two crises of nuclear war and climate change requires cooperation of the entire international community beyond an individual state’s interest. In order to advance nuclear disarmament, the fundamental perceptual change is necessary to transform a conflicting security environment into a cooperative one to this end, the international civil society needs to bring about a trend of broad international understanding and cooperation under the leadership of the world political figures (especially the leaders of nuclear powers). While maintaining peace is essential for sustainable growth, the progress in sustainable growth that eliminates poverty and inequality mitigates causes of conflict and contributes to the maintenance of peace. It is worth noting that the United States, beginning to see the limitation in its fight against terrorism over the past years, has noticed the need in preventing conflict by correcting poverty, disparity, and social injustice which are

the root causes of terrorism and conflict. Then, the Global Fragility Act was adopted by all parties which aims to help vulnerable states with poor governance to overcome the weaknesses, and the Integrated Budget and Expenditure Act 2020 which includes the Global Fragility Act was enacted by President Trump's signature on December 20, 2019. In that sense, it should be noted that the promotion of UN SDGs will support the maintenance of peace and the progress of disarmament. Disarmament is itself a confidence-building measure and has the effect of promoting international cooperation.

Based on the above basic recognition, the following recommendations focus not only on the specific challenges of disarmament, but also on the role of civil society which is vital for the international community to foster a cooperative international security environment that enables disarmament through a new thinking. The recommendations call attention to new challenges as well that new technologies such as AI may bring to disarmament and arms control.

Recommendation 1. The Treaty on the Non-Proliferation of Nuclear Weapons (NPT) is a cornerstone of the nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation regime with 191 signatory states, but has been challenged in recent years. In particular, the fulfillment of the obligation to engage in negotiations in good-faith on nuclear disarmament as stipulated in Article 6 has been stagnant, and there is a concern for the tendency against the obligation. Japan should actively contribute to maintaining and strengthening the NPT system and promoting the obligation of the Article 6. First, Japan should make concrete recommendations for the next NPT Review Conference to contribute to the progress of nuclear disarmament.

Recommendation 2. Following the expiration of the Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty (INF), there is a fear that the US-Russia New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (New START) will not be extended after its expiration in 2021. If the US-Russia nuclear arms control system is compromised, it will have a serious impact on the global security system. Moreover, the plans for nuclear weapon modernization that all nuclear states are currently promoting are increasing the risk of intensifying nuclear arms race. Japan should encourage both the United States and Russia to secure an extension of the new START Treaty and encourage multinational disarmament negotiations by nuclear states based on new START.

Recommendation 3. It is important to promote the effectuation of CTBT (The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty) in promoting international nuclear disarmament negotiations. Japan should continue to strengthen its efforts toward this goal. In the meantime, Japan should ask for the nuclear states' self-restraint on the nuclear test and should promote the work of "international partnership for nuclear disarmament verification" in order to implement the verification measures for compliance

with the treaty which is necessary for nuclear disarmament. In addition, in parallel with nuclear disarmament, Japan should contribute to further strengthening legal norms and international cooperation for nuclear terrorism, nuclear security measures, and nuclear material control.

Recommendation 4. The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW), adopted in July 2017 with 122 votes, sets out a total ban on nuclear weapons against the backdrop of increasing international awareness of the security risks posed by the existence of nuclear weapons and the unacceptable inhumanity of the use of nuclear weapons. As the only victim nation of nuclear bombing in the world, Japan should serve as a bridge between nuclear states and non-nuclear states, promote the strengthening of the international norms to ban nuclear weapons and take initiatives to concretely promote nuclear disarmament. Japan should also participate in the TPNW Signatory States Meeting, which permits participation of observers, and should contribute to the establishment of conditions for the abolition of nuclear weapons and to the implementation of measures to verify and control the abolition of nuclear weapons in line with the expectation in the TPNW preamble which states "The ban on nuclear weapons which includes the irreversible, verifiable and transparent abolition of nuclear weapons, will be an important contribution to achieving and maintaining a world without nuclear weapons."

Recommendation 5. The testimony of the atomic bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki, and the universal and humanitarian message that "Such a tragedy should never be experienced by anyone else" have been a preventive force against the use of nuclear weapons and been an important cornerstone of the movement toward the abolition of nuclear weapons. It is necessary to continue highlighting the recognition on the inhumanity of nuclear weapons. To that end, Japan should encourage visits to Hiroshima and Nagasaki by a wide range of people including policymakers and adolescents who will lead the future societies, and should provide platforms for international conferences for promotion of nuclear disarmament and various forums for discussion for creating a peaceful world without nuclear weapons by civil society. In this context, Japan should lead an international effort to ensure that no one is exposed to radiation regardless of its source recognizing the immense and long-term damage caused by nuclear disasters such as in Fukushima and Chernobyl.

Recommendation 6. Stressing on the universal vision of the Preamble and Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan, and maintaining close dialogues with Russia, China, the Korean Peninsula, and ASEAN countries in addition with the United States, Japan should disseminate its unique ideas for developing the vision of Article 9 of its Constitution into the reality of the international community. The concrete approaches would include searching for cooperative security measures

which do not resort to force, and internationally disseminating the defense policy of the Japanese Ministry of Defense and the Self-Defense Force as an example of a disarmament model, whose principles are "Don't target potential enemies", "Adopt exclusive defense policy", "Maintain war capability by improving the organizational efficiency while reducing military force".

Recommendation 7. Realization of the abolition of nuclear weapons requires the leadership of world politicians and the collaboration from a wide range of civil society. The movement of creating and promoting common values and goals through dialogue while respecting differences in a wide range of civil societies should be supported. In order to discover and promote such global community models (including successful examples of economic development projects, youth policies, and support for the elderly by municipalities and civic groups), the bipartisan activities by the municipalities' international organization "Mayors for Peace" should be supported which emphasizes on dialogue and aims for the realization of "A world without nuclear weapons" and "A safe and vibrant city". The activities by "Faith Based Organization" should also be supported which aim for a world without nuclear weapons by going beyond creed and seeking a common ground in the global social issues from humanitarian and ethical perspectives.

Recommendation 8. In order to enable citizens to comprehensively recognize and evaluate the world's safety environment and the actual situation of armament, a system should be developed to collect, verify and disclose necessary information to establish database.

Recommendation 9. Japan should take initiatives in the following areas to eliminate mutual distrust and build trust among nations: ① Promote disarmament of conventional weapons ② Inform the people of the world of the inhumanity of nuclear weapons and make the abolition of nuclear weapons a universal norm through school education and civic education, ③ Reduce the influence of corporations on military expansion and nuclear weapons by appealing about the ESGD investment norm that adds D (disarmament) to ESG (environment, society and governance), ④ Establish a security framework in Asia, which includes all nuclear state and would lead to the World Federation, and aim to create a regional integration organization based on mutual dependence and mutual trust like the Asian Union.

Recommendation 10. In working on arms control and nuclear disarmament, the impact of the development of new technologies on weapons should be taken into consideration, including the danger of cyber-attacks on nuclear-related systems and the introduction of AI in the operation of nuclear weapons. Also, regulations and bans on new types of weapons including biological/chemical weapons, conventional weapons, small arms, and drones and space armament management should

be considered. Furthermore, the international community should recognize the potential danger that fundamental changes in payment methods accompanying the introduction of digital currencies and finance may promote opaque military expansion including illegal weapon transfers, consider it as an urgent matter and develop countermeasures.

Recommendation 11. The disarmament agenda announced by UN Secretary-General António Guterres should be supported, which touches upon the arms control on nuclear weapons and weapons of mass destruction to save humankind, the arms control on conventional weapons to save lives, the arms control on robots and AI weapons to benefit next generations and the importance of strengthening partnerships for arms control.

Contents of discussion at the Subcommittee on Disarmament

The meetings held on 18 September 2019 and 13 February 2020

Three diplomats, Mr. Nobuyasu ABE, Mr. Yoshiki MINE, and Ambassador Yasuyoshi KOMIZO, who are in charge of disarmament at the Global Governance Advisory Committee of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement, co-chaired the Subcommittee meetings. And Mr. Minoru GENDA, former major general and professor at National Defense Academy pointed out that it is urgent that Japan should play a leading role in preventing the re-expansion of the arms race.

Informal meeting at the Council in the meeting room of the 1st House of Representatives



Mr. Nobuyasu ABE, Former Under-Secretary-General of the United Nations, explaining his views to Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Secretary-General of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist



Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA,
Secretary-General of the
Japanese Diet Committee for
World Federalist Movement

At the opening remarks of the Global Governance Advisory Committee's informal meeting held at the House of Representatives on September 18, 2019, Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Secretary-General of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement and Member of the House of Representatives, mentioned that he has been exploring a bipartisan approach to achieve the ideal of World Federation. Mr. NAKAGAWA expressed his desire to further develop this parliamentary federation and establish it as one of the mainstreams and options in Japan. To that end, he emphasized the significance of gathering and consulting with the Japanese leaders. Mr. NAKAGAWA also expressed his view that the foundation for the global cooperation has collapsed due to the current economic imbalance, although climate change is supposed to be tackled globally which relates to outrageous typhoons, issues of food and crop, and changes in ocean currents, and today's challenges such as disarmament and monetary policy must be considered from a global perspective. Mr. NAKAGAWA expressed his sense of crisis regarding the global political tendency toward nationalism at a time when almost all issues are urgent for humankind and require cooperation among states around the world. Mr. NAKAGAWA has been extremely embarrassed that all the Japanese politicians advocating the middle course and global approach have also been lost in the elections and their power has been stumbling. Under these circumstances, it is hoped that this Global Governance Advisory Committee would produce recommendations which would help Japan to transmit substantial information with a view to humanity 20 to 30 years ahead. Mr. NAKAGAWA expressed his readiness to listen to both political and academic opinions from the attendees.

Among the experts who were invited as a chairman or a member of the committee, Mr. Nobuyasu ABE, former UN Under-Secretary-General, Ambassador to Switzerland, and Senior Fellow at Harvard University, made his remarks. Mr. ABE pointed out that it is an urgent task to discuss and form a consensus including China on regulation and control of medium-range missiles including China in order to prevent arms race from intensifying. And in a nod to the fact that the Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty (START) signed in 2011 will expire in February 2021, Japan should encourage the United States to stay with this treaty and recommend for its extension. And it was also noted that Japan should convince the United States not to withdraw its signature from the Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty.

Mr. ABE stressed the need for Japan to exercise moral responsibility as a country that suffered from the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and suffered from a nuclear test at Bikini Atoll. Mr. ABE's noted as follows.

- The INF Treaty (1987 Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty) between the United States and the Soviet Union is an important nuclear arms control treaty during the Cold War that prohibited the possession and deployment of ground-launched medium-range ballistic and cruise missiles with ranges of 500 to 5,500 kilometers. The U.S. withdrew from the treaty on August 2 due to Russia's breach of the treaty and the growing threat of missiles from China that are not regulated by the treaty. (Russia also takes the stance of no compliance as long as the United States does not comply.) The U.S. immediately launched and tested ground-launched Tomahawk cruise missile, and the Secretary of Defense expressed the US desire to deploy medium-range missile front. The Site of Deployment Possibility: Japan, South Korea, Taiwan, Philippines, Australia. It is urgent to discuss and form a consensus including China on regulation and control of medium-range missiles in order to prevent these movements from escalating arms.
- The New Strategic Arms Reduction Treaty 2011 (New START): Limit the number of strategic warheads deployed by the U.S. and Russia to 1,550. It will expire in February 2021. It stipulates an option for a 5-year extension. The opinion against the extension is dominant within the Trump administration. Russia has expressed its willingness for extension, but since it has to satisfy various conditions, Russian has to start the process immediately if the Treaty is to be extended; there is not much time left. Japan should recommend the U.S. to extend the treaty which remains as the only one nuclear arms control treaty in the world.
- CTBT (The Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty, open for signature in 1996) is not yet in force due to the strict enforcement requirements requiring ratification of 44 specific countries. On the other hand, the nuclear test detection network is almost complete. The Treaty requires the ratification from the remaining eight countries to enter into force, including US, China, India, Pakistan, Iran, Israel, Egypt, and North Korea. Recently, the opinion has been dominant in the U.S. that it should revoke its signature and keep the option to resume nuclear testing. The withdrawal of the influential U.S. will be a serious blow to the Treaty. Japan's voice is crucial as a country that suffered from the tragedy of Hiroshima and Nagasaki and suffered from a nuclear test at Bikini Atoll. It should voice its opinions to the U.S. (Since then, there has been a move within the U.S. government to consider restarting nuclear tests, so it is necessary to encourage the U.S. to stop it.)

After Mr. ABE, Mr. Yoshiki MINE, a former Ambassador to Yugoslavia and a deputy Director-General of the Cabinet's Foreign Affairs Unit, and a representative of the Institute for peaceful diplomacy, made a statement. The summary of his views is as follows.



Efforts have been made to heighten disarmament momentum towards the 2020 NPT Review Conference. In November 2017, the first meeting of the “Sages Conference for the Substantive Progress of Nuclear Disarmament” was held in Hiroshima. A report summarizing the discussions at the previous Sages Conferences will be compiled.

The Non-Proliferation and Disarmament Initiative (NPDI) launched in 2010 has continued its meetings, and in September 2017, the 9th meeting was held in Hiroshima.

The Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons adopted in July 2017 was lauded as a groundbreaking step to make the abolition of nuclear weapons a treaty obligation, but there are many problems with the Treaty. Especially, the significance of nuclear weapons’ inhumanity has been neglected. The text of the Convention is devoted to regulations about legal, technical and medical matters, and the reference to the inhumanity of nuclear weapons is limited to general and principle statements in the preamble.

The statement in the final report from the 2015 NPT Review Conference proposed by its Chair Taous Feroukhi should be made as one of the reference points. It states as follows; “Deep concerns about the devastating and inhumane consequences of the use of all nuclear weapons is the "key element" that should keep supporting efforts in the field of nuclear disarmament, and being aware of these consequences should give urgency to the efforts of "all nations" towards a world without nuclear weapons.” Its insight and content are advanced and a step ahead of the preamble of the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons.

In the future, Japan should host a new international conference on the nuclear weapons’ inhumanity, and its significance is as follows.

1. Direct (recover) international interest to nuclear inhumanity.
2. Inhumanity is not an issue which can be either fully understood or not understood at all, It is a matter of degree. Many people seem to understand it but not about its true inhumanity. Many people understand it only after visiting the Hiroshima Peace Memorial Museum and Nagasaki Atomic Bomb Museum.
3. It is important to examine the relationship between nuclear deterrence and inhumanity. In particular, promulgating and deepening the understanding of the inhumanity may have the deterring effect on the use of nuclear weapons.
4. Besides, drone attacks are becoming larger in scale, and there is a danger that they may get equipped with the nuclear weapons someday. Japan should internationally advocate for its regulation.



The third speaker was Mr. Yasuyoshi KOMIZO, Former Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna, secretary general's special assistant officer at IAEA and member of Sage Council for Substantive Progress for Nuclear Disarmament. Mr. KOMIZO pointed out that it is lack of political will that has hindering the abolition of nuclear weapons. Based on the experience of participating in the Mayors for Peace, Mr. KOMIZO stated that in order to abolish nuclear weapons, a dialogue is essential across different positions between those promoting TPNW and those stressing security environments, and the leadership of politicians and the collaboration among a wide range of civil society are required.

Ambassador KOMIZO's remarks are as follows.

1. Last year and this year, the Doomsday Clock has pointed to 2 minutes before midnight (world's downfall). This is the same level of crisis recognition as the threat of the US-Soviet nuclear war in 1953. The main cause is lack of leaders' response to the two global issues of threat of nuclear weapons and climate change. These two major problems are facing the common challenge which is cooperation beyond differences in nationality, culture, religion, and race. While globalization is progressing, the sense of unity of humankind that is supposed to support the globalization has been undeveloped. As a consequence, the regrettable reality is that mutual distrust, fragmentation, confrontation and conflict are flaring. While the exclusive and reclusive tendency has become stronger in recent years, there are still about 13,000 nuclear weapons in such an unstable world. And it is nothing less than "nuclear deterrence" that attempts to overcome the danger of armed conflict

with untrustworthy opponents by overwhelming threats. Nuclear weapons may unintentionally explode due to accidents or miscalculations, and it would be a threat if used by terrorists. The failure of nuclear deterrence would cause an unacceptable tragedy. In addition, the concept of nuclear deterrence is contagious which may induce the danger of nuclear weapons proliferation. Nuclear deterrence can never be the basis of a lasting peace.

2. The Mayors for Peace, based on the sense of responsibility of local government mayors "to realize a safe and vibrant city", values the urgent wishes of atomic-bomb survivors and aims to "realize a peaceful world free of nuclear weapons". It has promoted the Treaty on the Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons as an important measure for that goal because the legal ban is the starting point for a radical policy shift. In addition, the Mayors for Peace believes that for the realization of a peaceful world without nuclear weapons, it is necessary to change the thinking which sees the relationship between "us" and "them" as confrontation and thinks that "their" fate do not matter in order to protect "us", because this thinking is the cancer hiding behind the idea of nuclear deterrence. And for the abolition of nuclear weapons, it is essential to listen to the voices of the atomic bomb survivors in Hiroshima and Nagasaki who know the inhumanity of nuclear weapons through their hands-on experience. Because of the terrible experience of the atomic-bomb, the survivors have a deep humanitarian belief that nobody else should experience the same tragedy, and even as they get older, they continue to appeal for the realization of a peaceful world without nuclear weapons.

3. The failure to abolish nuclear weapons is due to the lack of political will, but there are especially important two background factors. First, the immeasurable human tragedy and "inhumanity of nuclear weapons" that occurred under the atomic cloud, and "the danger of actual use of nuclear weapons" have not become a common sense in the international community. Second, the idea of nuclear deterrence has justified nuclear possession, and a shift in nuclear deterrence policy is essential for the abolition of nuclear weapons.

4. In July 2017, despite the opposition of major powers, the Treaty on Prohibition of Nuclear Weapons (TPNW) was adopted at the negotiation meeting under the UN General Assembly because many non-nuclear states and a wide range of civil groups recognized the "inhumanity of nuclear weapons" and "the danger of its potential use" and took action. The sense of ownership by non-nuclear states regarding the nuclear disarmament negotiations was fostered by the heightened awareness of the inhumanity of nuclear weapons and dangers of its use by accidents and miscalculation, and it has been directly linked to the movement calling for prompt legal ban on nuclear weapons. TPNW is categorized in the genealogy of disarmament treaty, but more than that, it aims at the security of humankind from the perspective of human rights and humanity. That is why

the treaty does not leave only to nuclear states the issue of ban on nuclear weapons, and regards it as a global issue for the entire world to tackle. Although the TPNW gives priority to the legal declaration of the ban, it also envisages to realize provision for “verification measures” for the abolition of nuclear weapons engaging not only nuclear states but also future nuclear states in order to ensure the effectiveness of the ban (refer to its preamble, Articles 4 and 8).

5. What to do now

(1) The Mayors for Peace believes that a dialogue is essential across different positions between those promoting TPNW and those stressing security environment in order to abolish nuclear weapons. This is because a fundamental solution cannot be achieved without persistent efforts to transform mutual distrust into mutual understanding and cooperation. In addition, advancing negotiations on nuclear disarmament measures through dialogue is itself a confidence-building measure and contributes to mutual understanding and cooperation. It is hoped that as a due to find common grounds, dialogues will be initiated across various positions to share wisdom and implement viable nuclear disarmament measures, based on the principle of obligation to negotiate in good-faith on nuclear disarmament stipulated in the NPT's Article 6.

(2) The shift from "confrontational security" to "cooperative security" through the leadership of the politicians and cooperation among broad range of civil society is the most important long-term challenge. In order to overcome the issue of nuclear deterrence, efforts are necessary to transform mutual distrust into mutual understanding. The issues in North Korea and Ukraine can be concrete examples of converting "confrontational security" to "cooperative security". Responsible leaders of nuclear states would understand this fact. This is because historically the past nuclear disarmament has been realized by the political leaders who made compromises and overcame the differences in the midst of international tension (Examples are the Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty led by Kennedy and Khrushchev and INF Treaty Agreed by Reagan and Gorbachev).

6. The role Japan should play

(1) Promote dialogues among countries in different positions

- Promote the NPT Article 6 “Obligation to Negotiate in Good-Faith on Nuclear Disarmament” as the basis for discussion. (Sage Meeting deserves recognition on this)
- The bipartisan activities by the municipalities’ international organization “Mayors for Peace” should be supported which emphasizes on dialogue and aims for the realization of "A world without nuclear weapons” and “A safe and vibrant city”. The activities by "Faith Based Organization" should also be supported which aim for a world without nuclear weapons by going beyond creed and seeking a common ground in the global social issues from a humanitarian and ethical perspectives.

- The universal vision of the preamble of the Japanese Constitution and its Article 9 should be valued and some concrete political dimensions should be attached to it. Considering that Japan-US collaboration is essential for Japan's security and in order to maintain long-term stability of Japan-US friendship, it is even more important to disseminate Japan's unique ideas and recommendations internationally which enable the development of the Article 9 vision in the real politics of the international community by continuing dialogues with Russia, China, Korean Peninsula, and ASEAN countries in addition with the U.S.

(2) Implement what can be done now

- The basis for further advancement of nuclear disarmament is to promote the visit to the atomic bombed Hiroshima and Nagasaki by various people including government officials and youths who will lead the future and to help them to realize the need for a world without nuclear weapons.
- Japan should contribute to international efforts to implement verification measures for nuclear disarmament
- The model of the global community that creates and promotes common values and goals through dialogue by respecting differences is coming from below (Discover and promote successful examples of town revitalization by local governments and civic groups, youth policy, support for the elderly etc.)

Mr. KOMIZO concluded by emphasizing that the realization of the abolition of nuclear weapons requires the leadership of politicians and the cooperation among a broad range of civil society. The leadership of politicians is led by the voices of a wide range of civil society across different positions, and their driving force is the testimony of the atomic bomb survivors and their appeal for peace.



Mr. Minoru GENDA, former major general and professor at National Defense Academy

The next speaker, Mr. Minoru GENDA, former major general and professor at National Defense Academy, pointed out that as IT evolves, "airborne flying weapons with artificial brains" and "human-shaped robots" may get equipped with nuclear weapons. Mr. GENDA suggested that the defense policy of the Japanese Ministry of Defense and the Self-Defense Force could be a model for disarmament, which stipulates "Don't target potential enemies", "Adopt exclusive defense policy", "Set defense expenditure at the level enabling sustainable economic growth", and "Maintain war capability by improving the organizational efficiency while reducing

military force".

1. Today's measure for nuclear weapon carrier

If IT continues to evolve at the current rate, there is a fear that "airborne flying weapons with artificial brain" and "human-shaped robots" will be equipped with nuclear weapons, and it is possible that they will be used anywhere. The first characteristic of a self-maneuver vehicle is "fire & forget". The second characteristic is "low cost". The third is "multiple". The fourth is "precision". In the market, these are called robots, or usually drones. The next vehicle is a cruise missile, which flies from across the sea and hits everywhere. Actually, these weapons achieve economic goals more easily than political goals. A single shot will bring a catastrophic collapse to the world economy. The current reality is that one missile shot is strategic. There is a possibility that tactical nuclear weapons will be used in the future battlefield, which will be unmanned where unmanned aircraft are fighting.

2. Self-Defense Force as a model of disarmament

Only limited group of countries such as developed countries have adhered to international treaties while other countries may even not recognize the treaties themselves. Under such circumstances, Japan should more actively promote the peace concept of Article 9 of the Japanese Constitution. Japan is the first country in the world to start disarmament irrespective of the existence of threats. As a result, Japan has never been in war for 70 years after the World War II. This means that no Self Defense Force (SDF) personnel got injured, or died in the war, and Japan's defense policy was successful.

The features of Japan's defense policy are as follows:

(1) Civilian control

The idea of civilian control that the command of the Self-Defense Force is controlled by the Prime Minister, a politician elected by the citizens, is the democracy's basic principle that sovereignty resides in the people, and it forms the core of Japan's defense policy.

(2) Exclusive defense policy

The concept of peace in the Japanese Constitution was the background for the adoption of the exclusive defense policy which stipulates "Focusing on defense only in case of invasion". And SDF has become a defense force that does not target a specific potential enemy. By appealing to the world about its exclusive defense policy, Japan has established the image of a peaceful nation which will not invade other countries.

(3) Defense budget of 1percent of GNP

In 1976, the Miki Cabinet decided on a policy of "Keeping the defense expenditure below GNP1%". The 1 percent was a low ratio of GNP, standing at 102th among other nations globally, but successive cabinets have inherited this policy. With this policy, Japan has invested 99% of GNP

in the economic field and has become an economic superpower. As a result, the yen has got stronger, and Japan's defense expenditure ranks eighth in the world in dollar volume. This fact should be an outcome from the wisdom of the Japanese government.

(4) Reduction of military force

The capacity of the Ground SDF was 180,000 personnel at the time of its establishment, but in 2016 it was reduced by 30,000 to 150,000. The Ground SDF reduced its military force through synergy effects of widespread IT adoption, operation outsourcing, organizational streamlining and integrated operations, and transformed itself from a "quantity to quality organization". It is difficult to reduce expensive weapons, but it should be possible to transform from a "quantity to quality" organization through organizational streamlining and to reduce military force while maintaining the war capability.

(5) Deterrence of invasion

The significance of the SDF existence, which is derived from the exclusive defense policy, is "deterrence of invasion". The capability of SDF coupled with the presence of US forces by the Japan-US alliance has deterred the invasion. The mission of SDF is to deter invasion. The fact that Japan, as a non-nuclear and lightly armed nation, has never been invaded for 67 years since the restoration of its sovereignty in 1952 is proof that Japan's defense policy has been appropriate and that deterrence has worked well.

As discussed above, the defense policy of the Japanese Ministry of Defense and the Self-Defense Force could be a model for disarmament, which stipulates "Don't target potential enemies", "Adopt exclusive defense policy", "Set defense expenditure at the level enabling sustainable economic growth", and "Maintain war capability by improving the organizational efficiency while reducing military force".



Mr. Ken INOUE (Former Democracy and Governance Director for UN)

Mr. Ken INOUE, former Democracy and Governance Director for UN and currently a JICA Senior Advisor, questioned the validity of the criticism of nuclear weapons' inhumanity when used against civilians. He argued that recent nuclear weapons can be used exclusively for military purposes by downsizing and precision guidance. Mr. INOUE also made the following

comments and recommendations regarding future disarmament efforts. Nuclear deterrence has been effective for more than 70 years, although the effectiveness will not last forever. Therefore, it will remain as a necessary evil unless mutual distrust among nuclear states is eliminated. In order to eliminate mutual distrust, there is no choice but to establish the World Federation in the end which

this study group is aiming for. However, if it takes too much time to realize that vision, there is no choice, for the time being, but to promote confidence building among nations. To that end, Japan should take the initiative for: (1) Promoting disarmament of conventional weapons, (2) Informing people of the inhumanity of nuclear weapons through school education and citizen education throughout the world, and promoting the abolition of nuclear weapons as a universal norm, (3) Reducing the influence of corporations on military expansion and nuclear weapons by appealing to them about the ESGD investment norm that adds D (disarmament) to ESG (environment, society and governance), (4) Establishing a security framework in Asia, which engages all nuclear states and would lead to the World Federation, and aiming to establish a regional integrated organization based on mutual dependence and mutual trust like the Asian Union.



Mr. Tadanori INOMATA, former Ambassador to Costa Rica and advisor to Office for Global Relations of Nagasaki University stated that the scope of the disarmament should include both traditional and advanced weapons that could threaten not only national safety but also human security, as the Secretary-General António Guterres claimed in New AGENDA for Development in June last year. With the new approach to

conflict prevention through elimination of the root causes, disarmament should deal with not only nuclear weapons, conventional weapons, firearms, small arms, and biological and chemical weapons, but also the abolition of new military preparedness such as DDR in PKO missions and LAWS (Lethal Autonomous Weapons System) which relies on drones and AI.

Amid international exchanges/trades and transcendental urbanization across the world through deepening globalization, wars would cause immediate and enormous human and financial damage. The ultimate security to be pursued is not national security based on confrontation, mutual distrust and balance of power, but demilitarization of the defense system based on human security.

The indispensable condition for promoting disarmament is the mutual understanding among non-state actors that human disasters such as war and nuclear disasters in Fukushima and Chernobyl have caused not only physical damage but also inhumanity by loss of people's and community's livelihood. Therefore, it is essential to foster a culture of peace among people which has been advocated by the United Nations Charter and the Earth Charter. Mr. INOMATA also said that non-transparent security by military experts and technocrats would hamper global governance in pursuit of universal peace, because it focuses on national interests.

In addition, Professor Tatsuro KUNUGI, former Assistant Secretary-General of the United Nations and member of the Board of Directors of the United Nations Association, and Ms. Shukuko

Koyama, Associate Professor of Waseda University, former staff at United Nations Institute for Disarmament Research (UNIDIR) and former ILO Crisis Response Specialist also made comments.



The Chair, Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA, stated, "In conclusion, climate change and disarmament are, in the same way, the common challenges for humanity as a whole". Ambassador MINE said that nuclear weapons are inhuman and must be stopped. Ambassador KOMIZO and Dr. INOMATA discussed nuclear weapons and climate change in a similar way. And Ambassador ABE raised the question of what Japan can do. The cause of disarmament and climate change is manmade and not physical such as weapons and typhoons. Therefore, these global issues should be tackled by shifting from the current state-centered principle and building a global human society in which global governance is more effectively implemented. Japan achieved the abandoned domain in the Meiji Restoration and now has formed a stable, and socially equal and just national community. Based on this experience, Japan should be able to advocate the global governance to the world."

Lastly, Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, secretary-general of the Global Governance Advisory Committee, made a closing remark.

Chapter 4

Parliamentary Diplomacy

Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Chair of the Subcommittee on Parliamentary Diplomacy, Former Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General

Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA noted that global challenges such as pandemics of infectious diseases, environmental pollution and climate change, conflicts and terrorism, widening gaps between rich and poor, financial and energy problems could not be handled effectively by UN agencies which are based on the sovereign state system. It was becoming necessary to transform the UN System by establishing a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly as the preliminary step for creation of the

World Parliament which has been advocated by the World Federation Movement for many years.

The United Nations Parliamentary Assembly is composed of parliamentarians from both ruling and opposition parties according to the power ratio in each member state's parliament, in order to reflect the voices of citizens from all countries and regions of the world. The member parliamentarians can, through a secret voting system, make decisions based on a supranational standpoint, not on their own countries' interests. The function of its General Assembly will be gradually enhanced so that it can independently monitor the activities of the United Nations.

In promoting parliamentary diplomacy, it is also an urgent task to carry out a set of parliamentary reforms in parallel which would set the dates of parliaments in advance and would excuse parliamentarians from plenary sessions for parliamentary diplomacy. Below is the list of issues to be tackled right now to promote global governance toward the establishment of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly.

Recommendation 1. Establish a United Nations Parliamentary Assembly.

The Inter-Parliamentary Union should utilize its status of the UN General Assembly observer to strengthen its monitoring function on UN activities. The sub-committee supports the World Federal Movement to appraise the performance of the European Parliament, look to the establishment of the World Parliament, and propose the establishment of a UN Parliamentary Assembly.

Recommendation 2. Appoint an experienced Minister as the Ambassador and Permanent Representative of Japan to the United Nations

The United States and other countries appoint officially elected parliamentarians and state governors as the United Nations Ambassadors to work on global issues. The US ambassador reports directly to the President of the United States. Japan should also strengthen its presence at the United Nations by appointing cabinet Ministers and former Governors as UN Ambassadors.

Recommendation 3. Active promotion of Parliamentary Diplomacy

It is necessary to increase the number of politicians who support the establishment of the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly by actively utilizing the parliamentary diplomacy such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union Conference, the Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum, the Japan-EU Parliamentary Conference, and inter-party exchanges such as the International Conference of Asian political parties. For that purpose, it is an important task to promote the international cooperation for project implementation and consolidate the supporting system, referring to the operations of foreign

political foundations.

Recommendation 4. Activation of the Parliamentary Union

In order to activate the global parliamentary alliance, the networks and information of experts, corporations and researchers, in addition to the information of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and diplomatic missions, should be utilized to deepen understanding of each country's problems and global issues, and should be applied to policy formulation. In addition, each parliamentarian should get engaged in consistent international cooperation in various fields to build sustainable relationships across different languages and borders.

This subcommittee has explored the possibility of promoting diplomacy through legislatures' parliament in addition to through the executive government based on the recognition that it is becoming impossible to effectively deal with global issues through diplomacy based only on sovereign state system, such as global environment destruction, climate change, conflict, terrorism, widening gap between rich and poor, financial and energy problems, as well as pandemic due to the spread of COVID-19. The first informal meeting was scheduled to be held on March 26, 2020, but the face to face meeting was canceled due to the concern over the spread of COVID-19. Instead, Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA, the chairman of the subcommittee, sent a draft proposal to each member and solicited their opinions.

On April 3, Mr. HASEGAWA consulted with Mr. Kenichi SUZUKI, member of the subcommittee, Osamu SHINOHAMA, Secretary-General of the World Federation Parliamentary Committee of Japan, and Masakuni TANIMOTO, the Deputy Secretary-General of the Committee, regarding the modality of the proposal based on the opinions from each member. After exchanging views with Mr. Keizo TAKEMI, a member of House of Councilors, Professor Takaaki MIZUNO, a former Bureau Chief of the Asahi Shimbun New York Branch and currently a Professor of Kanda University of International Studies, and Mr. Wolfgang Pape, a researcher at the Centre for European Policy Studies, all the opinions were compiled as subcommittee's recommendations on "Parliamentary Diplomacy" on April 8. Below are the views, analysis results and suggestions from each subcommittee member, which were compiled in the recommendation.

Discussions in the Subcommittee and views of Subcommittee members



Views of Keizo TAKEMI, member of the House of Councilors, the Diet of Japan

Mr. TAKEMI is currently Chairperson of the Subcommittee

on Governance for Infectious Diseases and Special Committee on Global Health Strategy of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and WHO Good Will Ambassador. He has served as Deputy Minister of Health, Labor and Welfare and Deputy Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs and conducted research at Harvard University and has been engaged in Parliamentary Diplomacy himself. Mr. TAKEMI explained that the spread of COVID-19 cannot be solved by one country alone, and requires multilateral cooperation. He pointed out the difference between war contingencies and infectious disease contingency; while war contingencies limit the cooperation only among allies since enemies fight with each other, infectious disease contingency requires the collective measures while protecting democracy and personal privacy as much as possible. Recognizing the importance of international organizations, Mr. TAKEMI also encouraged the appointment of more executives as well as more financial contributions from Japan to the international organizations.

As COVID-19 spreads to Asian countries, a conference call was held on April 24 by the WHO West-Asia Pacific Parliamentary Union with representatives from 30 member countries. At the conference, Mr. TAKEMI, as a chair, emphasized that the measures against COVID-19 could not be fulfilled by one country alone, and cooperation among governments is indispensable. Thus, he proposed that parliamentarians representing each country's citizens should collaborate and support the measures together. Mr. TAKEMI stressed the need that WHO as a catalyst should play an important role in supporting the collaboration.

At the Budget Committee of the House of Councillors on March 9, 2019, Mr. TAKEMI discussed how Japan has demonstrated leadership toward achieving the Universal Health Coverage (UHC) which is a part of the United Nations Sustainable Development (SDGs). He pointed out that Japan has contributed to the promotion of testing of multidrug-resistant bacteria (AMR) against infectious diseases such as Ebola, SARS, and MARS, and the promotion of "preparedness and prevention" against potential international crisis. Mr. TAKEMI also pointed out the need to wisely access and use information as well as to send more accurate information overseas. When sharing information internationally, a network of knowledge should be built in cooperation not only with the United States but also with China and Southeast Asian countries.

Views of Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA



Mr. HASEGAWA, Chair of the Commission on Global Governance expressed a view that while US President Donald Trump had shown a tendency over the last few years to focus on bilateral diplomacy under the slogan of "America First" and downplayed multilateral diplomacy, multilateral diplomatic negotiations by all actors that make up the multilateral and international community are becoming indispensable in a rapidly globalizing situation to deal with global

issues including infectious diseases such as COVID-19, environmental pollution and climate change, conflict and terrorism, widening gap between rich and poor, and financial and energy problems. It was necessary for the international community to work together, because these problems cannot be solved by negotiations only between nation states and their solutions require participation of legislative bodies, local governments, private organizations, companies and citizens.

In order for Japan to make contribution in a new Global Society and gain an "honorary position" as stipulated in its Constitution, it should regard the factors causing a global crisis such as COVID-19 similar to the "black ship" that came to Japan at the end of the Tokugawa Shogunate, and bring about a change in the governance structure of the global society just as the Meiji Restoration changed the governance structure of Japan. To that end, it is necessary to make a paradigm shift that can recognize factors which could put not only Japan but also humanity as a whole in a crisis situation, the examples of which include the spread of COVID-19 and the destruction of global environment.

The Article 73 of the Constitution of Japan stipulates that the Cabinet handles diplomatic relations under the Prime Minister's command, while the Ministry of Foreign Affairs headed by its Minister is in charge of the diplomatic relations under the Ministry of Foreign Affairs Act. However, it became necessary to bring together all Japanese wisdom to deal with global issues. For that reason, Mr. HASEGAWA advocated that legislative bodies and civil society groups in addition to the executive branch would develop multilateralism.

This subcommittee then conducted online opinion exchanges among politicians and experts who have already been involved in parliamentary diplomacy, about how Japan's diplomacy could bring together the creativity from all fields and sectors in Japan.

Views of Dr. Mieko Nakabayashi, Professor of Waseda University, former member of the House of Representatives (member of the Subcommittee)



Dr. Nakabayashi has served as a professional staff for U.S. Senate Budget Committee for ten years and as a member of the House of Representatives in Japan, and she is knowledgeable about US-Japan parliamentary diplomacy. Dr. Nakabayashi made below comments.

Parliamentary diplomacy inevitably faces the challenge of accumulating institutional knowledge due to frequent turnovers of

parliamentarians (as in any country). The strength of the United Nations is its capacity to ensure continuity irrespective of staff turnovers since its executive branch plays the central function and has binding power. If it is difficult for parliamentarians to play a stable role for a long period of time, it may be necessary for political parties and other institutions to share staff and prevent frequent replacement of the staff.

Also, parliamentary diplomacy tends to become ad hoc socialization. In order to go beyond that, it would be necessary to create sustainable and coherent projects. Unless there is international “cooperation” as subcommittees or projects (of course conducted in English) to which parliamentarians could devote their time and energy, it would be impossible to build a real relationship across borders, which is not just a token.

Dr. Nakabayashi thinks that the process in which parliamentarians develop projects themselves through online meetings, rather than relying on the staff, is important for building relationships, and there should be minimum regulations, rules, and bindings. Of course, there shall be various obstacles and restrictions to obtain the commitment from parliamentarians, but it may be one of the primary objectives of parliamentary diplomacy to overcome these obstacles.

Views of Professor Takaaki MIZUNO, Professor at Kanda University of International Studies and former New York Bureau Chief of the Asahi Shimbun



After graduating from the Johns Hopkins University Graduate School of Advanced International Studies, Mr. MIZUNO has served as correspondent for the Asahi Shimbun Hanoi and Washington bureau and as a New York Bureau Chief. He is now a professor at Kanda University of International Studies. Mr. MIZUNO mentions that the greatest merit of “parliamentary diplomacy” is that it provides a platform for politicians who are directly facing with citizens to exchange views with each other beyond the boundaries of governments and bureaucracy. On the premise of avoiding double diplomacy, parliamentary diplomacy could provide a room for discussion on the themes that are difficult to address from "position of the government" or from "position of the diplomat", and the issues that need domestic public supports to protect "national interest" from broader perspectives.

Parliamentary diplomacy has played a major role in bilateral relations such as in Japan-US negotiations. However, the issues facing Japan in the 21st century, such as anti-virus measures, climate change, nuclear disarmament and non-proliferation, will increasingly focus on multilateral negotiations centered on the United Nations.

Parliamentarians need to be aware of their responsibilities to the citizens who have elected them, and to deepen citizens' understanding that global issues would directly affect life of each

individual.

View of Ms. Akiko Horiba, Senior Researcher at Sasakawa Peace Foundation, and Part-time Lecturer at Tokyo Institute of Technology (Subcommittee member)



Dr. Horiba, who has been working and managing programs of inviting foreign ministers, governors, and parliamentarians to Japan mainly from Southeast Asian countries and has conducted exchanges and dialogues with parliamentarians and experts, made below proposals.

Since the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAAP) can be a hosting venue for the future General Assembly of United Nations Parliamentarians, Japan should actively get involved in ICAAP, for instance by hosting it and building a network of politicians across Asian region. As an example of a new diplomatic approach through active participation in ICAAP would be to aggregate the knowledge and connections of ICAAP executives and politicians who have close connections with the North Korean leadership and to promote North Korea policy by making full use of these various routes in order to solve the abduction issue. In addition, Dr. Horiba points out on below points which she believes should be discussed at the Council of Subcommittee on Parliamentary Diplomacy.

Touching upon the current global situation where more and more countries have been strengthening authoritarianism and staying away from democratization, Dr. Horiba emphasized the need for reiterating the importance of strengthening the network of bipartisan parliamentarians since the information and networks only of ruling parties and governments are not enough to understand the internal situation of a country. In addition, the networks and information not only from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and embassies, but also from external experts are essential for activating the bilateral parliamentary association. It should be stated in the proposal that various actors are required to share wisdom in collaboration with companies, researchers, and NGOs. It is also necessary to proactively utilize all networks of the Diet member caucus and hold preliminary study sessions to increase understanding of the current global situation and efforts of each country. Dr. Horiba thinks that understanding of the problems of each country and global issues will eventually lead to the establishment of the UN Parliamentary Assembly and the Global Citizens' Conference.

In parallel with the promotion of parliamentary diplomacy (both bilateral and multilateral), it is necessary to reform the operation of the Diet in Tokyo, including predetermination of the dates of the Diet. It has been often the case that the Diet members could not go abroad and missed the timing due to scheduling restrictions. In other words, it should be possible in Japanese context as in other countries to agree in advance at the beginning of the session except in an emergency, on the time

allocation for questions, the schedules of committees, and the bills to be discussed, and avoid the confrontation over scheduling. Not only for promoting the Parliamentary Diplomacy but also for making the Diet open to the citizens and promoting work style reform of bureaucrats, it is necessary to change the system where the schedule of the committee is not confirmed until the last minute.

The difficulty of taking a leave of absence due to the restrictions imposed by each political party has also hindered parliamentary diplomacy. It is necessary to encourage political parties to recognize that they should not disregard diplomacy just because it does not contribute to election outcomes, because we cannot live daily lives without cooperation with the world. Also it is necessary to help political parties to recognize that a country cannot solve global issues alone and to promote their understanding of the features and importance of parliamentary diplomacy which the Ministry of Foreign Affairs only cannot assume all the expected roles (For example, political parties should understand the need the Diet members may need to be absent from plenary session to attend parliamentary diplomacy). With various reports going around on situations in other countries regarding COVID-19, the modality of operation of the Japanese Diet has been questioned. It should be re-examined including the appropriateness of requiring attendance at a plenary session even when it has no agenda for discussion.

COVID-19 has more than ever triggered the discussion on the need for the UN Parliamentary Assembly and eventually the World Parliament. The United Nations, an aggregation of sovereign states, cannot handle all the global issues such as protection of refugees from infection living in a poor and densely populated environment, acceleration of vaccine development on a global scale, and containment of the COVID-19 induced economic depression. Therefore, Dr. Horiba thinks it is important for the legislature to discuss the World Federation concept during the post-corona period.

The view of Dr Wolfgang Pape, Researcher at Center for European Policy Studies, Brussels



Chance for Opening towards Omnilateralism

The UN, at the highest level of global governance, has impressively grown its membership from 51 nation in 1945 to 193 today. But like with the democracies in the world, growth seems to be only in numbers and not in strength and efficiency. As the often un-“United Nations” prepares this year its 75th anniversary, for about a century attempts to shape a global order have come and gone under the much marketed brand of ‘multi-lateralism’, notably through its strongholds in the League of Nations and the UN.

However, how far have they managed to build a truly common global order?

The current multi-lateral ‘World Order’ is not in reality shared by all people(s), let alone equally. Rather, it is an order basically limited to governance by sovereignty-claiming nation-states shaped by the norms of the Westphalian System of 17th century Europe. Some major nations are

withdrawing even from this merely multi-lateral system, increasingly walling themselves off or challenging it with alternatives and exploiting the void of 'Westlessness.'

Most 'nations' -- as now historic aberrations imposed on the world by western colonialism in the past -- still claim sovereignty with their monopoly of violence within their borders. Narrow-minded national politicians deny the high interdependence through globalization of their economies (albeit current 'slowbalization' more in favor of growing regionalization). The limitation to the nation leaves a widely unruled global market outside and across the borders to the 'multi-national' corporations -- in particular the politically crucial media-mighty American GAFA and Chinese BATX -- in a 'winner takes all rivalry.'

In fact, nowadays various developments of global society have significantly chipped away authority from the nation-states as the core polity of governance. Instead, there is a dire need for decision-making at wider continental and even global levels. Besides the worldwide interdependence through trade and finance, just think of transnational terrorism and even pandemics, the digital 'death of distance' in communication, Cyberspace with the Internet and the Outer Space to be discovered, traffic on the High Sea and the mining of the Deep Sea, global common goods like the climate and environment, supra-nationality for enduring peace like in the EU, etc. Increasingly conscious of these wide-ranging issues, more and more -- notably younger -- people realise that global problems call for global solutions beyond borders, which individual nations cannot achieve on their own. Through the incapacity and lack of cooperation amongst nations, a vacant space has opened up to address this interdependence. It opens up a path to broader inclusion than under merely multi-lateralism, a path towards a comprehensive omni-lateralism.

However, the current system omits major non-state stakeholders from civil society and various other legitimate groups from taking their responsibility in decisions for the common global good. Hence amendments to enhance global governance need to not only better weigh votes amongst the present nations (cf. huge China unlike tiny Nauru). They also have to further open the current system of only nations' votes to voices of wider groups: for an omni-lateral participation by all accountable stakeholders concerned. These voices today are most vociferous amongst the younger generations, still denied votes in national and global decisions. To move the global order from a merely multi- to an openly omni-lateral one, it also has to include the non-Western world in deeper and wider engagement with its best practices and proven values.

Thus, under omnilateralism global governance will for instance not be limited anymore to linear thinking in Christian anthropocentrism, but also open to Buddhist comprehension of cycles for life. More social elements of Islamic banking to fight inequality could find consideration as well as African experiences of reconciliation in order to overcome the polarization of our societies. Regional integration on all continents (EU, ASEAN, AU, Mercosur etc.) and pooling national sovereignty should serve as stepping-stones towards supranational cooperation at higher level governance.

Learning from the failure of the League of Nations and now the weakening of the UN, the people(s) and their politicians ought to open the path towards a global stakeholder democracy, omnibus, namely by and for all, in omnilateralism.

Parliamentary Diplomacy case study analysis and suggestions

◆ Yukihiro TSUNAI, Former Chief Researcher at Research Office of Foreign Affairs Committee of House of Representatives, and Director of Research Office of Economic and Industrial Committee (Subcommittee member)



Mr. TSUNAI assisted Diet members with various parliament diplomacies such as the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) when he was serving for the House of Representatives Secretariat. He made following proposals:

1. The need to distinguish between “parliamentarian diplomacy” and “parliamentary diplomacy.” "Parliamentarian diplomacy" is a free activity on an individual level and is not different from NPOs. On the other hand, international level activities led by each country's parliament, should be called "parliamentary diplomacy".
2. International inter-parliamentary organizations
They include IPU, European Parliament, Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Enlarged Debate on the Activities of the OECD at the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, Assembly of the Western European Union (AWEU), Nordic Council (NC), Benelux Inter-parliamentary Consultative Council (IPCB), North Atlantic Assembly (NAA), Commonwealth Parliamentary Association (CPA), Assemblée Internationale des Parlementaires de Langue Française (AIPLF), African Parliamentary Union (APU), Arab Inter-Parliamentary Union (AIPU), Latin American Parliament (LAP), Asian Parliamentarians' Union (APU), ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Organization (AIPO), Committee of Members of Parliament of the EFTA Countries (CMP), Andean Parliament (AP), Central American Parliament (CAP), ACP–EU Joint Parliamentary Assembly, Amazonian Parliament (AP), the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe Parliamentary Assembly (OSCE-PA), Southern African Development Community Parliamentary Forum (SADC-PF), Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum (APPF), the Asian Parliamentarians Meeting on Population and Development (APMPD), the Asian Forum of Parliamentarians on Population and Development (AFPPD), Baltic Assembly (BA),

Maghreb Consultative Council (MCC), CIS Inter-parliamentary Assembly (CISIPA), Parliamentary Assembly of the Black Sea Economic Cooperation (PABSEC), Parliamentary Association for Euro-Arab Cooperation (PAEAC) and Parliamentary Union of the OIC Member States (PUIC). Since the composition of the delegation dispatched to these International Parliamentary Assemblies usually reflect the faction composition of each state's national congress, the Assemblies represent the member states' parliaments and the public opinions (The national representative is an essential element of parliamentary democracy).

3. International Parliamentary meetings to which the Japanese Diet members have been dispatched

The meetings include those of IPU, D7 Speaker of House of Representatives, Speakers of Eurasian Countries' Parliaments, EU-Japan Inter-parliamentary, Japan-China Parliamentary Exchange Commission, Asia Pacific Parliamentary Forum, and OECD Global Parliamentary Network.

4. History of Parliament Diplomacy

In 1889, 96 Parliamentarians of nine countries including the United States, United Kingdom and France gathered to establish the first ever permanent international parliamentary organization, the Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU) (renamed to its current name in 1905).

(Legal relationship between IPU and United Nations)

On July 24, 1996, "Cooperation Agreement between the United Nations and IPU" was signed between UN Secretary-General Boutros Boutros-Ghali and President of the Inter-Parliamentary Council, Dr. Fathy Sorour. The liaison office was opened at the United Nations Headquarters in New York. In June 1997, IPU signed a cooperation agreement with the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization.

(Parliamentarians Meeting at UN General Assembly)

The IPU, in collaboration with the United Nations, set to convene parliamentarians who are attending the UN General Assembly as members of government delegations, regardless of their membership to IPU, to exchange views, as well as to have direct discussion with high-ranking United Nations officials involved in specific issues. The first meeting was held during the 34th

United Nations General Assembly in 1979, as "Parliamentarians Meeting at UN General Assembly" (attended by 60 parliamentarians from 31 countries, including UN Secretary General, Kurt Waldheim). Since then, it has been held annually while increasing the number of participants, and has become an important forum for exchanging information between parliamentarians and the United Nations. In particular, as part of support activities celebrating the 50th anniversary of the United Nations, the IPU held the "IPU Special Council Meeting commemorating 50th Anniversary of the United Nations" at the United Nations General Assembly Hall in New York from August 30th to September 1st, 1995. Also, from August 30th to September 1st in 2000, the World Presidency Conference was held at the United Nations General Assembly Hall in New York with 143 chairs and 29 vice chairs of the Parliaments of 136 countries.

(Special meeting with UN specialized agencies)

Since it first co-sponsored the International Parliamentary Conference on Population and Development in 1979 with the United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA), IPU has set in place simultaneous and interactive activities with the United Nations by holding international parliamentary meetings in the 80s on various issues with various UN specialized agencies.

(IPU Council President's speech and Parliamentary Day)

The IPU Council President made speeches along with the leaders of various countries at "World Summit on Social Development" in Copenhagen in March 1995, the "4th World Conference on Women" in Beijing in September of the same year, and at the "World Food Summit" held in Rome in November in 1996, to convey the message of the global parliamentary community. Since then, these initiatives have become a custom and IPU has organized Parliamentary Day during the meeting sessions to appeal to each country to dispatch their parliamentarians. IPU aims at making it a custom that parliamentarians would be kept informed and actively involved in the meetings.

5. World Parliament as the highest form of "parliament diplomacy"

(The essential difference between the United Nations General Assembly and the International Parliamentary Assembly)

As a general rule, statements of government representatives at intergovernmental meetings are strictly bound by a predetermined government decision or authority delegated by the government. On the other hand, in principle, the representatives at the inter-parliamentary meetings can freely speak based on their beliefs. When dispatching a legitimate delegation of Parliament to the inter-parliamentary Assembly, the Parliament predetermines the total number of delegates and the

allocation of the number of delegates for each party is determined based on the power ratio. However, each party is given autonomy to decide on whom to be dispatched, and they are not appointed directly by the Parliament. And each parliamentarian is expected to take responsibility for his or her statement.

(Need to impose restrictions on the external activation of national power)

Need to monitor government and the effectiveness of international law (especially for abandonment of war) both through parliamentary international cooperation and domestic monitoring system.

(Establishment of the World Parliamentary System to make the United Nations a World Government/Grant of democratic legitimacy)

"Founding the World Parliament in the form of the International Assembly, where legislative bodies of all democratic countries have the rights to cast a vote."

The Memorandum "International Organization and Future Missions of the Inter-Parliamentary Union" submitted by the British Parliament to the IPU Council in Geneva in September 1945 advocated for the necessity to grant a parliamentary principle to the UN. On November 23, 1945, in the House of Commons, British Foreign Minister Ernest Bevin advocated as his personal opinion for the establishment of the World Parliament directly elected by the people of all the countries in the world, and for the replacement of what was previously called international law with world law. On 5 March 1949 in London, 10 countries, including the 5 Brussels Treaty members plus Denmark, Ireland, Italy, Norway and Sweden, signed the European Council Covenant, which gave birth to the "European Council", the first international organization in history with a parliamentary organization. On September 10, 1952, the European Parliament was held as "Joint Assembly" of the European Coal and Steel Community.

Kenichi Suzuki, Deputy Director of Political Party Secretariat (Subcommittee member)



Mr. Suzuki, knowledgeable about the international exchanges of political parties from his experience as the UK Labor Party Fellow and with the Japan-China Exchange Consultation Organization, made proposal on how to tap into one of the effective tools for parliamentary diplomacy, the International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP).

IPU and ICAPP have been engaged in parliamentary diplomacy in a global and bipartisan way. Unlike the United Nations, they feature deep discussions and resolutions because of the involvement of the opposition

party members.

The UN Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) campaign seeks to bring such characteristic as parliamentary function to the United Nations. The World Federation Movement is also aiming to establish UNPA as a core member of the campaign. This is because UNPA is positioned as a milestone toward the realization of the World Parliament (WP) that the World Federation Movement has proposed for many years.

How can UNPA be realized? With that question in mind, Mr. Suzuki made a proposal on how to strengthen parliamentary diplomacy by paying special attention to IPU and ICAPP and reflecting on how to be engaged with and tap into them.

1. Background of the UN Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) campaign

UNPA campaign started in 2007, and the Association of World Federation Movements has been participating as its core member. Why is there a need for UNPA in addition to the United Nations General Assembly (UNGA)? Supra-national thinking is essential to tackle with global challenges such as adaptation to climate change, nuclear non-proliferation and financial market stabilization. However, at the United Nations, which is an aggregation of sovereign states, member states make decisions based on national interest even at the expense of those of other countries. In addition, the UN is an aggregation of government representatives and agencies of member states, and does not have a parliamentary function to monitor its execution. Therefore, discussions at the UN are unlikely to reflect the minority views. The campaign started to solve these problems at the UN.

2. From the United Nations Parliamentary Assembly (UNPA) to the World Parliament (WP)

The Association of World Federation Movements has a vision to gradually evolve the UNPA. It proposes to establish UNPA with an advisory function either by UN Charter Article 22 or by establishing a new multilateral treaty, not by amending the Charter at the initial stage. UNPA shall be composed of the members of ruling and opposition parties from member states. By adopting a secret ballot system, the elected parliamentarians shall be encouraged to cast their votes at the Assembly from a supranational point of view and not from their own interests. In the long run, it is envisioned to constructively dissolve UNPA to be replaced by the legislative body of “World Parliament” (WP), which elects legislators by direct elections by world citizens through the revision of Article 109 of the UN Charter. The WP, as an independent body of the United Nations, shall check UN activities, budgets, and personnel affairs.

3. World Parliament (WP) envisioned by the World Federation Movement

WP shall be based on a bicameral system composed of the National Assembly and the People's Assembly. The National Assembly shall be composed of government representatives from each of

the constituent countries, which has already existed as the current UN General Assembly. The People's Assembly shall consist of parliamentarians directly elected by the people of each member state, which has not been realized yet.

4. Inter-Parliamentary Union (IPU)

The main purpose of IPU, which has a history of more than a century as a pioneer of parliamentary diplomacy, is to strengthen the capacity of the parliaments to check the administration of each member state and to monitor their diplomatic activities. Although it has gained an observer status for the UNGA and has deepened relations with the United Nations, there is no prospect of it taking a function to monitor United Nations activities.

5. International Conference of Asian Political Parties (ICAPP)

ICAPP was established in 2000 at which any ruling or opposition political party can participate regardless of the ideology as long as they have maintained a certain number of seats in the National Assembly. Established just 20 years ago, it has grown into one of the largest fora for political dialogues in Asia. It has been engaged in regular exchanges with political parties from Latin America and Africa, and has started regular interactions with European parties from 2018, and with North American parties from 2019. It has been aiming at building networks with political parties from all 5 continents in the world.

Mr. Suzuki made proposals on the following points for formulating recommendations which aim at strengthening parliamentary diplomacy including establishment of UNPA.

- 1) IPU should strengthen the function of checking UN activities based on its observer status for the UN General Assembly.
- 2) Since ICAPP may serve as a hosting venue for the UN Parliamentary Assembly in the future, Japan should actively participate in it and increase the number of domestic political parties supporting the establishment of the Parliamentary Assembly.
- 3) In case a bill is discussed regarding ICAPP's request for an observer status at the UN General Assembly, the Japanese government should be encouraged to continue to support it.
- 4) Japan should host ICAPP repeatedly to build networks among politicians throughout the Asian region.

5) Establish a bipartisan team made up of parliamentarians from two countries whose “common language” is English in order to activate the bilateral parliamentary alliance with national parliaments.



Mr. Osamu SHIOHAMA



Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO

Osamu SHIOHAMA, Secretary-General of the World Federation Parliamentary Committee of Japan, and Masakuni TANIMOTO, the Secretary-General of Global Governance Advisory Committee, convened the Subcommittee members and collected related materials.

Chapter 5

International Solidarity Tax (Innovative Fund Generation Mechanism)

Mr. Takehiko UEMURA, Chair of Subcommittee V, Professor of Yokohama City University



Global issues have become synonymous with the crisis of human survival. COVID-19 has been spreading from China to all over the world and its infection rate has been accelerating. Due to the rapid increase of patients, medical systems have been collapsing all over the world and international cities such as New York and London have been closed. If this situation is extended for a longer period of time, its impact on the world economy will be immeasurable. Regarding global warming, the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change (IPCC) announced in 2018 that if the current situation continues, the average temperature of the earth will have increased by 1.5°C by 2030 at the earliest, compared to the pre-industrial era. This means that human beings would enter into a new state where it is unclear whether humans could survive unprecedented extreme situations due to huge typhoon, flood, high wave, sea level rise, heat wave, droughts, food shortages, and the spread of infectious diseases.

On the other hand, a growing global gap between rich and poor, persistent poverty, and uncontrollable conflicts will cause a "negative synergistic effect", which would further advance the crisis of human survival. And there is little time left to avoid this crisis. International collaboration and cooperation must be promoted to solve these global issues which require a huge amount of money as financial resources. The required amount is estimated to be about 400 trillion yen per year for developing countries alone, and development of drugs for infectious diseases and improvement of medical system would also require substantial resources. On the other hand, the total amount of ODA by developed countries is about 17 trillion yen, and is estimated that, the financial shortage will be 280 trillion yen per year, even with the financial assistance to developing countries by emerging China in recent years, mobilization of funds within developing countries, and introduction of private funds.

Global tax is the means to mobilize resources to solve these global issues and to reduce negative impacts of globalization. This will mean the introduction of a new global tax system, which will consist of the following three pillars. ① The national tax authorities around the world shall share financial account information (the measures against tax havens) ② To impose and collect innovative taxes that transcend national borders (international solidarity tax) ③ To transform current global governance that lacks democracy, transparency and accountability by developing such tax systems as above.

If global tax is realized, the problem of international tax avoidance through tax havens will be

resolved in the long run, and the negative impacts of globalization will be contained such as speculative financial transactions, arms transactions, and large energy consumption. As a result, theoretically, tax revenues of nearly 300 trillion yen will be generated which could be mobilized as financial resources to solve global issues. Furthermore, it is expected that the transparency, democratization and accountability of global governance will be promoted, which will become the foundation for realizing the World Federation.

In order to generate the necessary funds to overcome the crisis of human survival, reduce the negative impacts of globalization and create more desirable global governance, the Subcommittee on International Solidarity Tax strongly urges the introduction of international solidarity tax as global tax and makes the following recommendations.

Recommendation 1. Introduction of solidarity tax on airline ticket

As has been well recognized by the international epidemic of COVID-19, infectious diseases spread worldwide through international transportation. In this sense, “air ticket solidarity tax”, which taxes on international air tickets and uses the tax revenues for infectious disease control, would make its purpose commensurate with the burden imposed. In fact, 10 countries such as France and South Korea have already introduced this tax system. In Japan, although a bill has been considered with the aim of introducing the tax system, the Government of Japan should immediately introduce and implement a solidarity tax on airline tickets that will tax about 1500 yen for first class, 1000 yen for business class, and 500 yen for economy class for the time being.

Recommendation 2. Introduction of global tax on currency transaction

Mr. Taro KONO, Former Foreign Minister, recommended that financial resources necessary to resolve global issues and achieve the SDGs should be generated by exchange transaction tax. There were criticisms against this proposal arguing that if Japan introduces the tax independently, the money would flow to other financial markets. "Global currency transaction tax" could be a measure to avoid this situation. This is a low rate tax imposed at the time of clearance at the multi-currency simultaneous settlement bank (CLS), which can be imposed on all major currencies of the world at once. The tax revenue is expected to be about 3 trillion yen, and the Japanese government should introduce this as soon as possible.

Recommendation 3. Introduction of digital solidarity tax

The international digital industry, represented by the so-called GAFA, is making huge profits in the world, but is not paying the tax commensurate with the profits. In order to tackle the situation, OECD is currently leading the review on the international tax rules imposed on such digital industries. On the other hand, EU countries have started to impose new tax on digital services. The

“Digital Solidarity Tax”, which applies a part of the tax revenues from such a digital industry to solve global issues and achieve the SDGs, can be a timely tax. The Government of Japan should be involved in the discussion on digital taxation and advocating the allocation of the tax revenues for measures to solve global challenges.

Recommendations 4. Introduction of other international solidarity taxes

In addition, penalty taxes should be further considered in the future which are imposed on activities and entities that have negative impacts on global society. The penalty taxes would include “Global Carbon Tax”, which contains CO2 emissions and allocates the tax revenue for application of renewable energy, “Tax Haven Tax”, and “Arms Transaction Tax”.

Recommendation 5. Application of tax revenue and future prospects

The tax revenues should be used to solve global challenges and achieve the SDGs. While each country shall impose and collect taxes during the initial stage of the introduction of international solidarity tax as a global tax, in the future, international organizations should be in charge of taxation, collection and allocation of the tax revenues. The Subcommittee requests the Government of Japan to take advantage of this momentum, reform the current global governance, advance the discussion with the long-term view toward the realization of the World Federation in the future and start introducing and implementing possible taxes step by step.

International solidarity tax: Discussion meeting held on March 11, 2020

Chair, Takehiko UEMURA, Professor of Yokohama City University

At the beginning of the session, the Chair (Mr. Takehiko UEMURA, Professor of Yokohama City University) gave an overview on international solidarity tax, including the reason why international solidarity tax is the key to overcoming global issues such as poverty, conflict, environment, and health problems. The overview was followed by the discussion on relevant international solidarity taxes to be recommended. The Council was attended by Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and Executive Secretary of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement, Mr. Akira SATO, Member of House of Representatives from Liberal Democratic Party (LDP), and former Minister for the Cabinet Office, Mr. Shu Sakurai, Member of House of Representatives from the Constitutional Democratic Party (CDP), Mr. Tetsu Asano, Parliament Member from National Democratic Party (NDP), and Takashi Shinohara, former Senior Vice Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries.



Source: NHK

With the spread of COVID-19 infection, life of people has been endangered, and their lives have been threatened and becoming unstable around the world. Countries such as Japan, China, the United States, and Europe, which have financial resources, are able to afford countermeasures to overcome this crisis. On the other hand, many developing countries are suffering not only from fragile health and medical systems but also from lack of funding to deal with COVID-19. In addition, as the wealth gap widens globally, there is a need to compensate for the huge financial shortages in many countries due to poverty, climate change and conflicts. Under these circumstances, Mr. Taro KONO from LDP, advocated international solidarity tax as a means to bridge the financial gap when he was Foreign Minister. Based on Mr. KONO's proposal, the Global Governance Advisory Committee raised the international solidarity tax as an agenda for discussion on March 11, 2020.

This meeting was attended by Mr. Akira SATO, Parliament Member from LDP, former Deputy Minister for Cabinet Office, and former Chairperson for Committee on Security of House of Representatives, Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA, Parliament Member from CDP, former Minister of Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology and Executive Secretary of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement, Mr. Takashi Shinohara, Parliament Member and former Senior Vice Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries, Mr. Shu Sakurai, Member of House of Representatives and former JBIC official, Mr. Akihiro Ohata from NDP, former Executive Secretary of the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement, and Mr. Tetsu Asano, Mr. Ohata's successor and Member of House of Representatives.



Mr. Akira SATO

Parliament Member from LDP, former
Deputy Minister for Cabinet Office



Mr. Masaharu NAKAGAWA

Member of House of Representatives, former Minister of
Education, Culture, Sports, Science and Technology



Mr. Takashi Shinohara

Member of House of Representatives, former Senior Vice
Minister of Agriculture, Forestry and Fisheries



Mr. Shu Sakurai

Member of House of Representatives,
CDP



Mr. Tetsu Asano, Member of House of
Representatives, NDP

Mr. Takehiko UEMURA, Chairperson of the Subcommittee on International Solidarity Tax (Professor of Yokohama City University), Mr. Tetsuji Tanaka (Member of the Subcommittee, Member of SDGs Resource Procurement Expert Committee of Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and Representative of Global Solidarity Tax Forum), Mr. Chika Mochizuki (Member of the Subcommittee, Professor of Ritsumeikan University) attended the meeting. Professor Takehiko UEMURA argued that while the disparity between rich and poor, environmental destruction, conflict and the resulting negative synergistic effects among these issues have been threatening the survival of human beings, the global issues have finally become synonymous with a crisis of human survival as COVID-19 infection has been expanding. Professor UEMURA clearly articulated that in order to overcome this crisis and achieve the SDGs, a huge amount of fund will be required, which is estimated to be 400 billion yen per year for developing countries alone. On the other hand, the total amount of ODA from developed countries is about 17 trillion yen, and there will be the funding shortage of 280 trillion yen even with development assistance funds from emerging countries such as China, the mobilization of funds within developing countries, and the introduction of foreign private funds. Professor UEMURA expressed his view that the only way to fill this gap would be to implement global tax. In particular, he explained about international solidarity tax that levied on assets and activities which cross borders, such as airline ticket solidarity tax, global currency transaction tax, financial transaction tax and digital solidarity tax which have been promoted in Europe. Professor UEMURA said that international solidarity tax will not only generate funds, but also suppress negative global activities through tax policy effects, bring democracy, transparency and accountability to global governance in the long run, and eventually contribute to the creation of the world federal government.

After that, there were active debates with participants and more in-depth discussions on such issues as the cost of drug development, manufacturing, and storage, the potential and limit of private funds, the taxability of financial transactions, the policy effects of international solidarity tax in addition to generation of fund (especially the need for Bads taxation), the importance of the potential of global governance reform, and how to achieve international solidarity tax (importance of lawmaker-initiated legislation and education). Since there is a word limit in the report, all participants agreed to leave the decision to the Chair on its content.



Mr. Tetsuji Tanaka, Member of SDGs Resource
Procurement Expert Committee of Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Mr. Chika Mochizuki, Professor of Ritsumeikan
University (Specializing in Tax Law)

Associate experts from other Subcommittees also attended the meeting including Mr. Ken INOUE (JICA Senior Advisor and former Director and Chief Governance Advisor for UN Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste), Mr. Wataru Inoko, Member of the Board of Directors of Japanese Association of Religious Organizations, Ms. Mio SATO, Representative of IOM Tokyo, Mr. Taro MIYAKOSHI of the Japan Association for UNHCR, Mr. Masayuki IMAGAWA, General Manager of Takeda Pharmaceutical Group, Mr. Keiichi TANABE, Associate Professor of Tokai University and former UN PKO Mission Officer, Mr. Masashi CHIKAHIRO, Associate Professor specializing in Theory on Global Finance at Ehime University, Mr. Michio KSNSRI, Member of Civil Society and Global Solidarity Tax Forum.



Mr. Ken INOUE, JICA Senior Advisor



Mr. Wataru Inoko, Member of the Board of Directors
of Japanese Association of Religious Organizations



Mr. Masayuki Imagawa, General Manager of
Takeda Pharmaceutical Group



Ms. Mio SATO, Representative of IOM
T



Mr. Eitoku Tanaka, General Manager of
International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of
Foreign Affairs

Mr. Keiichi Tanabe, Professor of Tokai University
and former UN PKO Mission Officer



Mr. Masashi Chikahiro, Associate Professor
specializing in Theory on Global Finance at Ehime
University

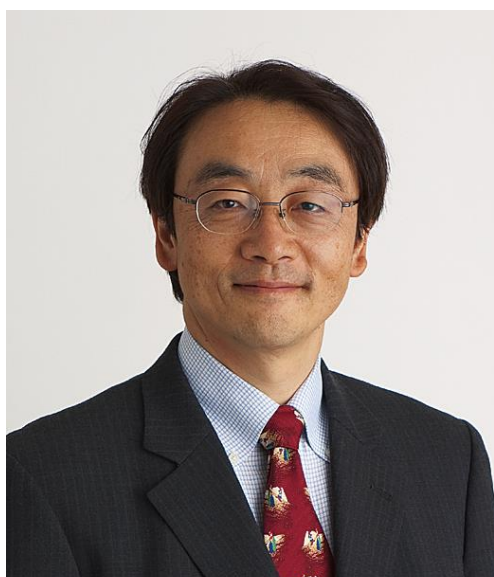


Mr. Susumu Kuwahara, Councilor Ambassador,
International Cooperation Bureau, Ministry of Foreign
Affairs

Chapter 6

Rule of Law

**Co-Presidents Mr. Yasunobu SATO, Professor of Tokyo University Graduate School
Mr. Ken INOUE, Senior Advisor on Governance and Democratization, Japan International
Cooperation Agency (JICA)**



Mr. Yasunobu SATO



Mr. Ken INOUE

Informal meeting on the "rule of law"

Chair: Mr. Yasunobu SATO, Professor of Tokyo University Graduate School, Mr. Ken INOUE, JICA Expert on Democratization

The Subcommittee recognizes the limitations of the sovereign state system under to the rapid progress of globalization and has been seeking to establish a new “rule of law” that supports global governance. The Subcommittee makes below recommendations based on 3 perspectives; 1. Compliance with International law, 2. Coordination among domestic laws, and 3. Development of transnational law (Cross-Border Law)

Recommendation 1. Japan should lead international cooperation in system design and enlightenment toward promoting compliance with international law.

The effectiveness and fairness of law enforcement should be ensured by expanding and

strengthening power of international judiciary, such as the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, promoting the international arbitration and mediation and making sanctions procedures transparent against international law violation. And the participation of weaker nations and non-state actors in the formulation and ratification of international laws such as new treaties should be promoted.

Recommendation 2. Coordination for harmonization of each nation's national laws

The international cooperation should be enhanced in civil and commercial dispute resolutions and criminal justice by strengthening trainings for domestic judges, lawyers, arbitrators, mediators, governments, and legislators on international law and comparative law research. Also, major domestic legislation, administrative norms, and precedents should be translated in foreign languages and transmitted internationally. Japan should play a leading role in international cooperation for preventing corruption by ensuring transparency and developing human resources when supporting legal system development, promoting civil society participation, ensuring fair and equitable law execution, promoting independent judicial systems, and approving and executing international judgments, arbitration and mediation agreements.

Recommendation 3. Promotion of development and synergy effects of cross-border laws that fill the gap between international and domestic laws

By supporting the establishment of a new code of conduct through major soft laws such as 2000 UN Global Compact, 2011 UN Guiding Principles on "Business and Human Rights", 2015 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and 2018 UN Global Compact on Refugees and Immigrants, and supporting the efforts to make it a hard law, Japan should lead the rulemaking for globalization through sustainable markets. The introduction of a complementary check and balance mechanism should be promoted by a network of multi-stakeholders from private, public, industry and academia to ensure the viability of these soft laws, as well as a regular reporting system to ensure accountability and a complaint procedure for relief of victims. In addition, the proposals should be announced on the concept of the next-generation-oriented "rule of law" which tackles global issues toward sustainable "human security" with consideration for next generations in the light of global environmental ecosystem and biodiversity, and the "rule of law" for the shift from centralized control to autonomous decentralized governance.

Members' views and discussion

During the meeting, the Subcommittee discusses the modality of Japan's diplomacy and international cooperation in order to realize the "rule of law" in the international community. To that end, by highlighting the Japan's past achievements and the remaining challenges in legal

development assistance, the Subcommittee discusses how to address these challenges from the perspective of Japanese judicial diplomacy and how Japan can contribute to the achievement of the goals set by SDG16+. The discussion is not about technical issues in each field, but on how to improve the Japanese ODA and the development cooperation by private companies and NGOs through judicial diplomacy, considering the current situation and challenges, from the governance perspective of SDG16 "to establish an effective, accountable and inclusive system at all levels". Not to mention the promotion of the rule of law (16.3), anti-corruption (16.5), highly transparent public institutions (16.6), inclusive participatory decision-making process (16.7), provision of legal identification (16.9) and guarantee of basic freedom (16.10) are all extremely important targets for establishing the rule of law, and there is no doubt that Japan's legal development assistance has achieved certain results. However, the traditional Japanese inter-governmental aids have mainly focused on the capacity development of government officials, and it is questionable whether these Japanese aids have reached the poor and ethnic minorities who have been in dire needs for legal assistance. Furthermore, it is necessary to consider how legal development assistance and judicial diplomacy should contribute to the achievement of the basic target of reducing all forms of violence (16.1).

The first rapporteur explained the significance of Kyoto Congress which was scheduled for April 2020 (14th UN Congress on Crime Prevention and Criminal Justice - Postponed due to COVID-19). The Congress is one of the largest international conferences held by the UN once every five years, and its session in Japan will have been the second time over the past 50 years. The overall theme of the Kyoto Congress is "promotion of crime prevention, criminal justice and the rule of law toward the achievement of the 2030 AGENDA (SDGs)." As the Political Declaration adopted at the previous Doha Congress (Doha Declaration) resulted in Goal 16 of the SDGs thereafter, it is expected that the Kyoto Congress will also adopt a powerful political declaration. Also, prior to this Kyoto Congress, a youth forum will be held where young people around the world will discuss similar topics who will bear the future of society. The significance of Kyoto Congress is as follows. ① Increase Japan's international presence in the field of crime prevention and criminal justice, ② Expected effect of increasing public interest in the field and contributing to the prevention of recommitment and the realization of a safe and secure society, ③ A great opportunity in the Olympics-Paralympics year of 2020 to have the Congress participants to experience "the world's safest country, Japan" and its culture of legal compliance, a contributing factor for its safety, and showcase them the maturity and the prevalence of the rule of law in the Japanese society.

As an effort to make the Kyoto Congress legendary, the strategic efforts have been made during a five-year preparation period by declaring 2020 as the "first year of judicial diplomacy". To this end, the Secretariat International Affairs Division was newly established first within the Ministry

of Justice to strengthen a command power function, and to strengthen the cooperation with the Ministry of Justice General Research Institute/United Nations Asia and Far East Institute for the Prevention of Crime and the Treatment of Offenders (UNAFEI) and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs/JICA. In addition, "judicial diplomacy" was stipulated in the outline policy of FY2018 and FY2019 in order to improve the efforts at the national level. The policy for FY2018 set forth "Promote comprehensively and strategically the domestic and international effort in the judiciary field, which is "Judiciary diplomacy" under unified diplomacy with full capacities from all corners of Japan" by claiming the strength of the Japanese-style judicial system as an important soft power and by collaborating with the United Nations and countries concerned to achieve the success of Kyoto Congress 2020". The policy for 2019 also clearly stated "In parallel with promoting efforts to establish rule of law in the international community through ODA, a response system of related ministries and agencies led by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs should be established aiming to effectively utilize the dispute settlement system including international courts." "In order to make Japan competent in international legal disputes, its international network should be enriched by training international legal personnel who has knowledge of international law and by considering dispatching them to international dispute resolution agencies. The preventive judicial functions should be enhanced for domestic and overseas legal disputes by actively participating in the formation process of international dispute resolution rules and strengthening the ability to deal with international courts. The success of Kyoto Congress 2020 should be achieved in collaboration with the United Nations and other countries concerned demonstrating the strength of the Japanese-style judiciary system as an important soft power. And in order to extend the effects of the Congress success, the domestic and international efforts in the judiciary field, "judicial diplomacy" should be promoted comprehensively and strategically under diplomatic unification with full capacities from all corners of Japan. In this context, human resources development and legal system development assistance shall be strengthened as international cooperation, and infrastructure development for further revitalization of international arbitration shall be promoted including strengthening the lawyer system for foreign laws."

The second rapporteur pointed out the following problems. First of all, regarding the contents of judicial diplomacy for the realization of the "rule of law, it should be recognized that the rise of China has turned the outcome of Japan's legal development assistance into suppressed democracy by rule by law, which is the opposite of the original intention of Japan's assistance. China has established the China International Commercial Court (CICC) and has insisted that cases should be settled by Chinese law under the jurisdiction of Chinese judiciary. China has admitted world-renowned practitioners including Anglo-American law experts into the CICC Advisory Committee to promote universalization and internationalization of Chinese law. At the same time, it

has attempted to make Chinese law one of the standards for international dispute resolution by teaching Chinese law to international students in China including Asian law students and government legal officials, as has been the case for Cambodians, and by having Chinese students study Anglo-American law in English at law schools in China. There is a clear intention to turn Chinese standards into international standards. Japan has tried to counter the Chinese attempt by establishing an international arbitration center for commercial disputes in Japan, but in reality, there are not many Japanese who have experience in international arbitration. Even if Japan can make a box, there is no content in it. Not only focusing on Japanese experts or Japanese law, a dynamic method is needed to invite internationally renowned experts to Japan. While China was among the first countries to sign the Hague Convention which governs the endorsement and enforcement of foreign judgments and the Singapore Convention which governs the enforcement of international mediation, it is not sure yet when Japan will sign these Conventions. Japan's judicial diplomacy led by the Ministry of Justice does not seem to have diplomatic consistency. It should not be the case that Japan has taken initiatives just for its short-term national interest, but, based on the recognition that legal systems and practices in international and trans-boundary dispute resolution are linked to a struggle for hegemony in the realm of international order and global governance, Japan should be actively committed to the development of these international laws and clarify its intention to take global leadership for their fair and equitable development.

When considering Japan's command tower as the implementing body for promoting the "rule of law", it is necessary to consider its concrete and specific strategy and policy. Until now, the Ministry of Justice has been the main body, but in the end, it is governing the domestic justice, and thus it is not sure how much international sensitivity it bears. On the contrary, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is not familiar with the specific technicality and practice of domestic law. Therefore, it is doubtful if the existing framework will function well. If it is expected as a command tower, it should be established as a more dynamic and independent institution by including foreign experts as a private sector. It should be independent from any ministry and there should be a mechanism which makes it accountable to the citizens. To reach that goal, the policy should be devised comprehensively and implemented consistently, not only committed to the market economy but also focusing on sustainability and professionalism especially by deploying a diverse range of human resources including experts in politics, economics, society, and history.

Legal development assistance is not only about system creation but should also take into account human resources development and legal culture for sustainability. Although the role of non-state actors is important, the participation of civil society has been weak which is vital for improving "access to justice at "grassroots" level". The rapporteur will collaborate with local lawyers who have been assisting victims. The complementary check and balance should be enabled through a multi-stakeholder network. What shall happen next in the market economy is that NGOs and

companies will voluntarily establish sustainable businesses, which will become an investment target, and unsustainable businesses will be excluded from the market. In Japan, in general, not only can courts execute law in a proper and fair manner, but also there is a rooted awareness among citizens to comply with the law. However, in reality, it is not always the case with other countries. A forensic sociological perspective and a wide and deep learning are required for reaching high legal awareness. On the other hand, it is becoming more and more important for Japanese legal professionals to understand and handle Anglo-American law in English, which is the global standard of international transactions. They will also be required to understand Chinese law in Chinese in the future. Whether one likes it or not, the strategic consideration will be required about how to work with China which will continue to rise and try to take in Anglo-American law. In order for each country to mediate civil and commercial disputes fairly and equitably, it is necessary to carry out full-scale research on comprehensive legal development assistance that takes into account corruption issues and the political backgrounds. In hosting the Kyoto Congress of United Nations Office on Drugs and Crime (UNODC), it is expected that Japan would lead the support to eradicate corruption, which is one of the world's structural problems. On the other hand, It is necessary to be deeply aware of the risk that the new legal system introduced may not function, or even worse, may become a hotbed of new corruption if there is no consideration for the consistency with customary laws including traditional dispute settlement methods used before modernization.

It is said that China is trying to establish the "rule of law", but there is no judicial independence because the judge is a member of the Communist Party, and its position is much lower than legislative and administrative officials. Although China has been learning Anglo-American law in English as a formality, it is doubtful if the China's court can be presupposed to be the same as the Japanese court because Chinese court does not enshrine judicial independence in the first place. However, China might be learning Anglo-American law to investigate from its own perspective the sustainability of power in a one-party dictatorship system. There should still be a room for Japan to cooperate with China because Japan, in the first place, accepted the ancient ritual system and Confucianism, learned and inherited the modern law from the West, and reincarnated and developed itself by learning the Anglo-American law in the post-war democratization.

The third rapporteur raised the following issues. There are four points to be raised as future challenges for the legal development assistance projects. First, it is a problem of delineating the standards for legal development assistance by GDP per capita of the ODA target countries. Supposing that the goal of the assistance is "good governance" and "establishment of rule of law" which require different standards from economic indicators, assistance should be provided for the development of a predictable "rule of law" system to improve the investment environment even for a country whose GDP has exceeded the prerequisite (In fact, Japan has been assisting China in the area

of intellectual property law). In particular, if Asian countries are facing the problem with “rule of law” even after having achieved economic development exceeding the GDP prerequisite, Japan should actively assist them instead of being a bystander.

The next challenge is about how to pass on the knowledge and experience gained through past assistance projects. Up until now, many legal experts, including long-term experts dispatched to the field, have been involved in the assistance projects, but usually, the connections with these experts have not been maintained after several years of project completion, and as a consequence, the experts’ experience and knowledge gained through the projects have not been accumulated. It does not seem that each project has systematically marshaled the information gained through past assistance projects including the methods of drafting laws and writing judgments, and teaching materials and educational methods for human resource development. For the future various assistance projects to multiple target countries, it is urgent and necessary to analyze the experience and knowledge of past assistance and systematically marshal them, develop a methodology for legal assistance or guideline for assistance, which explains how to provide effective assistance according to individual different conditions, and pass on the knowledge the future. In addition, the Ministry of Justice General Research Institute and JICA must secure human resources with expert knowledge about methods of legal development assistance (including interpreters who are familiar with legal terms).

The third issue is that Japan does not have a commanding tower which oversees all legal assistance projects. Japan has been providing various legal assistance to various target countries, but there has been no consistency in policy and no clarity on assistance needs and priority on which decisions of personnel deployment are based. JICA should have been in charge of planning and coordination, but it seems that the related decisions have been made on ad hoc basis. A command tower will be necessary to make concrete plans and effectively implement diversifying and changing assistance projects. Furthermore, the command tower should be given the role of formulating a strategy for legal development assistance projects, including reviewing the goals and philosophies of the assistance projects and proposing the measures for realizing the goals, in addition to the role of managing the planning and implementation of operations which lay the foundation for future assistance projects including evaluating past project performance, systematically marshaling the knowledge and experience from the past projects and passing them onto the future projects. The command tower will integrate the governance of the overall legal assistance projects.

Lastly, it is necessary to formulate a strategy for Japan's legal development assistance. Legal development assistance projects have been diversified and various types of assistance have been implemented based on the request of assistance recipient countries thus not always consistently. In addition, under the Japan’s Official Development Assistance Charter since 2015, it may be possible that Japan’s assistance conflicts with interests of assistance recipient countries under the name of

contribution to securing national interest. Under these circumstances, in order to continue legal development assistance projects while securing domestic and overseas trust, Japan must establish a legal development assistance strategy based on the knowledge and experience gained from the past projects. First, the comprehensive strategy for the legal development assistance projects should define the overall objectives and goals and approaches. And then, under the comprehensive and overall strategies, an individual assistance (project) strategy for each target country should be formulated with different objectives and approaches depending on socio-economic development status (poorest or middle-income countries, agricultural or commercial and industrialized countries) and governance structure (socialist countries or republics). When formulating a comprehensive strategy for the legal development assistance projects, it is necessary to consider its consistency with the Official Development Assistance Charter. In order to promote sustainable legal development assistance projects in the future based on the principle of "good governance," it is indispensable for the command tower of Japan's legal assistance projects to establish a distinctive Japanese legal development assistance strategy based on the knowledge and experience gained from the past assistance projects and to supervise project implementing entities so that they can carry out projects in accordance with that strategy.

Based on the reports by above three rapporteurs, the following points were confirmed. During the period between the Meiji Restoration and the postwar era, Japan established its laws by referring to continental law and Anglo-American law. The Japanese laws are different from Western laws in that Japanese laws are established based on the learning from various other countries. As a result, the Japanese-style legal development assistance does not claim its own legal system as absolute. The Japanese assistance is based on a relative perspective that is has gained through its own trial and error experience. While assistance by European states, the United States and international organizations tend to be short-term, Japan's assistance has been based on the principle of "closes up with the other party" aiming for creating changes on the field from a long-term perspective. However, under the current trend which encourages Japanese companies' overseas expansion, there is a concern that Japan's close-up assistance for legal development is changing, and that Japan may also be imposing unsolicited assistance.

Judicial diplomacy was raised as one of the means to realize the "rule of law", and in particular, various opinions were raised regarding how Japan should develop its legal development assistance based on its experience over the past 20 years. The importance and urgency of creating a command tower to formulate a comprehensive strategy as an all-Japan effort and the importance and urgency of human resource development to execute the strategy were confirmed. However, the ultimate goal of "rule of law" is not just creating laws and enforcement agencies, but also realizing the safe and secure lives for people protected by the law. It is necessary to develop strategies and human

resources based on the SDG16+ philosophy of aiming for a free and fair world in which no one is left behind.

Participants also made the following comments and recommendations.

- For the success of Kyoto Congress, Japan should work in partnership and cooperation with the United Nations and other countries concerned to tackle domestic and international efforts in the judiciary field under diplomatic unification, and as an all Japan effort.
- Kyoto Rules should be compiled at the Kyoto Congress, and it should be addressed by the entire society, including the youth.
- An independent command tower as all-Japan effort should be urgently established. The command tower should preferably be a committee of the Diet, which is the highest authority of national power across ministries, in order to link legal development assistance to such diplomatic strategies as the free and open Indo-Pacific initiative.
- It is more important for Japan to take a soft approach of judicial diplomacy based on the principle of "closes up with the other party" prioritizing the long-term needs of the partner country, than such short-term national interests as those of Japanese companies.
- To that end, efforts should be made to enhance coordination capacity to match the policies of the Japanese government with the needs of the partner countries (including citizens and non-state actors).
- In advancing judicial diplomacy, it would be a good exit strategy for assistance to engage local lawyers from aid recipient countries so that they will play an active role as coordinators to fill in the gap between ideals and reality on the ground.
- Japan should consider deploying prison officers as well, which has become possible by the amendment of the Act on Cooperation for United Nations Peacekeeping Operations and Other Operations.
- The capacity building assistance for the military in the judicial field, not as military assistance, should be considered as part of judicial diplomacy in terms of strengthening civilian control, from the perspectives of PKO and peacebuilding assistance, and from the perspective of actual situations in developing countries.
- The international arrangements should be promoted against new crimes arising from globalization.

- Not only a so-called hard law with binding force in the dichotomy of domestic and international laws, which faces a limitation in the sovereign state system, but also the development of a soft law as a code of conduct that complements the hard law should be considered in order to fill the gap between the implementation and effectiveness of the hard law.
- To promote legal development assistance for so-called "access to justice" so that vulnerable members of society and victims of development can be supported by the judiciary, strategies should be formulated based on the needs at the grassroots level.
- Human resources development in the field of legal development assistance should include curriculum not only on Anglo-American law but also Chinese law. The research should be done for realizing the "rule of law" in China, and the possibility of cooperation with Chinese lawyers should also be explored.
- Other donors' assistance strategies and their past record of assistance should be investigated, analyzed, and summarized for future collaboration in assistance projects for "rule of law" and democratization.
- Even in the case of JICA project implementation, it is important to actively insert the legal aspect into the projects to raise the legal awareness of assistance recipient countries.
- At the same time, Japan should also learn from other countries, including assistance recipient countries and should sustain efforts to strengthen its own rule of law.
- The effort toward public-private partnerships should utilize the expertise and networks of Japanese expatriates.
- In order to advance the rulemaking process, Judicial Symposium on Intellectual Property, which Japan has sponsored since 2017 in a multilateral framework, should be continued every year.
- At the annual Rule of Law Forum in New York, Japan should make statements more actively to establish the "rule of law" for international peace and contribute more to its realization by leading the process.

The main purpose of this informal meeting is to improve Japan's ODA on legal development assistance for developing countries by discussing its achievements and challenges. Since the world order is still an extension of the sovereign state system since Westphalia, it is important to establish domestic laws and "rule of law" in each sovereign state through institutional reforms. Especially by assisting developing countries suffering from weak rule of law to establish domestic "rule of law"

comparable to that of developed countries, it will lead to building the foundation of the "rule of law" in the international community which is a collective body of sovereign states.

However, in the international society under the sovereign state system, the international law which regulates the relations among states is so-called Law of Nations. In other words, under the principle of equality of sovereignty, the "rule of law" in international law is in a different dimension from that of the national law of each state. Even if each state aims to establish the "rule of law" within the framework of domestic law, once it crosses the border, it is outside the jurisdiction of each state, and cannot be applied to interstate conflicts without the consent of the parties concerned. This issue has also been pointed out in a diplomatic problem over the Treaty on Basic Relations between Japan and the Republic of Korea, which was caused by the differences in judgments between the two countries' judicial agencies. While Japan has acknowledged the universal jurisdiction of the International Court of Justice (ICJ) based on its Constitution's international cooperation principle, many countries, including Korea, have not yet acknowledged it. As a result, the international dispute with China over the sovereignty of the Senkaku Islands and the dispute with South Korea over Takeshima have not been resolved by ICJ because the two countries have not agreed to bring the issues to ICJ's jurisdiction despite Japan's appeal. Developed countries such as the United States also often prioritize their own national interests and ignore international law unless it would be beneficial for them. As long as ICJ does not have practical power to execute judgements, it will not gain sufficient viability. Therefore, the international community is still dominated by the logic of power, that is, the superiority or inferiority of the diplomatic power of each state, and the discussion on governance would inevitably be influenced by the factor of military power. The International Criminal Court (ICC) based on the so-called Roman regulations that emerged as a trump card for peacebuilding by defining crimes of genocide, war crimes, and crimes against humanity, has not overcome its fundamental problems such as effectiveness and political neutrality. The content of the "law" in "rule of law" in the international law is not as clear as in domestic law, and there is always a concern of it being abused by international politics. Such limitations in the international law will not be overcome unless a centralized power mechanism such as the World Federation is established that restricts the sovereignty of each state.

In addition, there are still not many countries that have actually implemented the system in which the courts of each country approve and enforce the judgments by neutral third parties such as international arbitration, which has been applied in transnational commerce in the global market. Although a treaty on the approval and enforcement of foreign judgments and a treaty on the enforcement of international mediation have recently been established, the legal systems of each country are not well developed, and even if they are established, its practicality will not become realistic soon. This is because it takes a considerable amount of time in the first place to develop the soil of mutual trust and the human resources in an international community composed of diverse

values.

However, efforts have been made patiently led by the United Nations to develop international laws, including international criminal and commercial laws and to enhance their effectiveness. Japan has set it as its historical mission to advocate for UN-centered initiatives. Based on its constitutional mission, Japan has promoted the "rule of law" in international law to achieve non-militarily resolution of international conflicts. In particular, Japan has produced human resources who are globally active in this field, such as Ms. Sadako OGATA and Mr. Hisashi OWADA. Needless to say, the refinement of the concept of "human security", which is a pillar of Japanese diplomacy, has been shared with people all over the world as part of the UN SDGs subsequently ratified, and a new normative consciousness has been rising.

The recent developments in international law has progressed as the United Nations and others have adopted a code of conduct as a so-called soft law without legal binding force and have established a reporting system to make it effective and a procedure of a complaint system. Moreover, the governance by a so-called horizontal network has been developing based on the monitoring by so-called multi-stakeholders including civil society and private companies. The development of the so-called transnational legal system as a customary law, which is neither domestic nor international laws, seems the key to the rule of law in the future international community.

Human beings are now facing the common crisis of COVID-19 pandemics. The governance system appropriate for a global society as a human community and the innovative evolution of the three-dimensional legal system of international laws, domestic laws, and cross-border laws that normalizes, institutionalizes and validates the governance system are required. "Rule of law" as an institutional guarantee to prevent the abuse of power is essential for the development of a free, democratic, safe and secure society in which no one is left behind. In this regard, Japan's concrete efforts and commitments are expected.

Overall recommendations

Based on the discussions, analysis, and perspectives from the above informal meeting, recognizing the limitations of the sovereign state system under the rapid progress of globalization and looking for the construction of a new "rule of law" that supports global governance, the Subcommittee has made below recommendations from the three perspectives: 1. Compliance with international law, 2. Coordination among domestic laws and 3. Development of transnational law.

Recommendation 1. Japan should lead international cooperation in system design and enlightenment for compliance with international law

Effectiveness and fairness of law enforcement should be ensured by expanding and strengthening the power of international judiciary, including the International Court of Justice and the International Criminal Court, promoting international arbitration and mediation and by making sanctions procedures transparent against violation of international law. In particular, the support is necessary for promoting the participation of vulnerable countries and non-state actors in formulation and ratification of new treaties and other international laws.

Recommendation 2. Coordination and cooperation for harmonizing national laws of each state

The international cooperation should be enhanced in civil and commercial dispute resolutions and criminal justice by strengthening trainings for domestic judges, lawyers, arbitrators, mediators, governments, and legislators on international law and comparative law research. Also, major domestic legislation, administrative norms, and precedents should be translated in foreign languages and transmitted internationally. The Japanese government should play a leading role in international cooperation for legal system development assistance in collaboration with private sectors. The assistance should include preventing corruption by ensuring transparency and developing human resources, promoting civil society participation, ensuring fair and equitable law execution, promoting independent judicial systems, and approving and executing international judgments, arbitration and mediation agreements.

Recommendation 3. Promotion of development and synergy effects of cross-border laws that fill the gap between international and domestic laws

By supporting the establishment of a new code of conduct through major soft laws such as 2000 UN Global Compact, 2011 UN Guiding Principles on "Business and Human Rights", 2015 UN Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs), and 2018 UN Global Compact on Refugees and Immigrants, and supporting the efforts to make the code of conduct a hard law, Japan should lead the rulemaking for globalization through sustainable markets. The introduction of a complementary

check and balance mechanism should be promoted by a network of multi-stakeholders from private, public, industry and academia to ensure the viability of the soft laws. A regular reporting system to ensure accountability and a complaint procedure for relief of victims should also be introduced. Based on the above initiatives, Japan should formulate the concept of the next-generation-oriented "rule of law" which tackles global issues toward sustainable "human security" with consideration for next generations in the light of global environmental ecosystem and biodiversity, and should lead the discussion toward the realization of "rule of law" which promotes the shift from centralized control to autonomous decentralized governance.

Note: The above transcript is based on the record of the discussion in the 7th meeting of "Study Group on Japan's Development Cooperation and Peacebuilding: Toward Realization of SDG16+ for Rule of Law and Democratic Governance", titled "Judiciary Diplomacy toward Realization of the Rule of Law" (September 20, 2019). The Study Group was initiated by two co-chairs, Mr. Ken INOUE, a JICA senior advisor on democratization, and Professor Yasunobu SATO at Tokyo University. The transcript was summarized by extracting some arguments from the Study Group meeting which also deemed relevant for the record of the Subcommittee informal meeting by the discretion of the Professor SATO. In other words, it can be understood that the Subcommittee's informal meeting was jointly hosted with the Study Group based on the collaborative relationship and the overlapping objectives between the two entities. However, since the Study Group is held in accordance with the so-called Chatham House Rule in order to secure free discussion, the speakers are not specified in the record. Moreover, the participants at the Study Group were not informed and did not agree in advance that the content of the discussion content may be used as the discussion at the Subcommittee meeting as well. Therefore, the above transcript was compiled, edited, and developed by Professor SATO at his own risk with understanding of Mr. INOUE.

Part IV

The international community in the post-COVID-19 era and the role of Japan

The Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement

Content of discussion at the Assembly on May 12, 2020

Mr. TAKEMI, Chairperson of the Subcommittee on Governance for Infectious Diseases and Special Committee on Global Health Strategy of the Liberal Democratic Party of Japan and the UHC Goodwill Ambassador to the World Health Organization (WHO) expressed his views on the importance of international cooperation.



LDP, Mr. Keizo TAKEMI, Member of the House of Councillors

Mr. TAKEMI, serving also as a chair of the WHO Federation of Western Pacific Diet Members, reported that 30 countries participated in the meeting in April and discussed that all countries must cooperate and members of the Diet must be responsible for facilitating international cooperation to deal with common problems such as infectious diseases, roles of members of the Diet, and contingencies such as infectious diseases and war. Mr. TAKEMI emphasized that launching a concrete framework for cooperation would contribute to future global governance.

Regarding what Japan could do to promote global governance in the Post-COVID-19, Mr. TAKEMI referred to Mr. IBUKI's explanation of "ideal and reality" that should be seriously taken into account

in formulating what should be done given the complex situation of the world.

- Mr. Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Chairperson of Global Governance Promotion Committee, and former Special Representative of the United Nations Secretary-General

Mr. HASEGAWA mentioned that humans, unlike other animals, have evolved significantly over the last tens of thousands of years. And now with the progress of science, the economic development of human society has been making rapid progress. However, in a global society that is rapidly advancing and globalizing in all fields, the political system still remains based on national sovereignty. It is clear that the self-centered Westphalia sovereign state system has been unable to effectively deal with the rapidly increasing global crisis and challenges.

Mr. HASEGAWA argued that among countries where the political system has not evolved, the Japanese people have made twice major transformation in their mindset. The first transformation took place about a century and a half before when, with the arrival of the *Kurobune* (Black Ship), Japan built a centralized state through the Meiji Restoration from a cluster of 260 independent clans. The second transformation occurred when Japan adopted its new constitution after the Second World War, by which Japan became a member of the international community and pledged to respect the freedom and dignity of human beings and obtain a “honorable position” in the international community through international cooperation based on mutual trust, not on force in order for all peoples of the world to be equally free from fear and want and to ensure their safety and survival. As a result, when the Great East Japan Earthquake happened, Japan received overwhelming compassion and support from the international community.



Sukehiro HASEGAWA, Chair, Commission of Global Governance

Mr. HASEGAWA pointed out that the time had come when Japan exercise its leadership for world peace and security for the sake of the interest of entire world rather than for Japan's own stability and prosperity. Now was the time to strengthen fair and impartial international institutions, while at the same time, making full use of international institutions to strengthen coordination and cooperation in the international community. It is time to change ideas with a paradigm shift by knowing the other person and knowing yourself as Sun Tzu said. Mr. HASEGAWA believed that Prime Minister ABE was the only international politician who knows both the U.S. President, Donald Trump, and China's Head of State, Xi Jinping, and could initiate personal diplomacy between the two parties to stop the competition for hegemony for the sake of the world. It would be not only for the sake of the United States and China but for the sake of the United States, China and Japan, and the entire world.

Mr. HASEGAWA mentioned that the position of high officials in international institutions is weak. They are obliged to work in a fair and impartial position under the UN Charter, but they need to pay special care to actively engaged large donor countries. The question was “Were there any nations or politicians who were interested in WHO and its Director-General Tedros Adhanom Ghebreyesus before the COVID-19?” The United States and Japan should be more closely involved in the management of WHO.

Mr. HASEGAWA emphasized that what was needed now was elucidating not only on why the COVID-19 had occurred but also on why it had become a pandemic, and developing preventive measures as part of global governance so that the same situation would never emerge again. To that end, considering the competing interests shown in WHO by China and the United States, the United Nations (headquarters) should form a fact-finding mission and conduct investigations, and establish the COVID-19 Prevention Fund to contribute to the manufacture and distribution of vaccines and therapeutics. To that end, the Government of Japan should contribute to the fact-finding missions and preventive measures funded by the United Nations, with even just one-thousandth of the special budget Japan has created for its domestic measures against COVID-19. And Japanese professionals should contribute to the betterment of life of all citizens of the global society rather than only for the Japanese citizens.

Mr. HASEGAWA finally appealed to the Japanese Diet members and government officials to take the idea of making an international contribution to the welfare and benefit of the entire international community into the countermeasures against COVID-19 and other global challenges for the global solidarity and not just for the sake of Japan's immediate national interests.



Mr. Takahiro SHINYO, Chairman of the UN Reform Subcommittee

- Takahiro SHINYO, the Chairman of the UN Reform Subcommittee, Professor at Kwansei Gakuin University, Former UN Ambassador

In reporting on the seven proposals raised at the three subcommittee meetings on UN reform, Mr. SHINYO pointed out that since the majority of the participants are either researcher or those who have worked with the United Nations, the content of the recommendations is practical.

Mr. SHINYO argued that having celebrated its 75th anniversary, the UN is expected to become a more effective institution toward the 100th anniversary in the next 25 years. However, in reality, it reflects a world that has been fragmented due to the conflict between the United States and China. The Security Council has not been able to adopt a resolution due to a US-China conflict over WHO which has been involved in the handling of COVID-19 pandemic. While the United States has been avoiding the United Nations and multilateralism, China has seen a dramatic increase in its influence in international organizations having already secured the positions of secretary generals of four United Nations agencies.

Mr. SHINYO appealed for the discussion on the seven proposals regarding how to strengthen the United Nations under such circumstances. The proposal expects the establishment of Global Citizens' Council to be established where citizens' representatives can participate more actively, and the establishment of the United Nations Committee of Assembly Members by the legislative representatives, reflecting the idea of “We the Peoples” in the United Nations Charter in addition to the reform proposal of the Security Council. Mr. SHINYO pointed out that the Peacebuilding Commission needs to be upgraded to a board for innovative financing to achieve the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).

To conclude, Mr. SHINYO implied the possibility that Japan will take the initiative to convene three UN General Assemblies (the UN Special General Assembly after the end of the current pandemic, the UN General Assembly for Disarmament, and the General Assembly for the realization of SDGs).

- Mr. Yasuyoshi KOMIZO, Co-Chair for Disarmament Subcommittee, Member of the Sages Council for Substantial Progress on Nuclear Disarmament, Former Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna



Mr. Yasuyoshi KOMIZO, Co-Chair of Disarmament Subcommittee

Mr. Yasuyoshi KOMIZO, Member of the Sages Council for Substantial Progress on Nuclear Disarmament and Former Ambassador of the Permanent Mission of Japan to the International Organizations in Vienna said that there should be an unprecedented crisis awareness that this year is "100 seconds before the end of humankind" according to the "End of the World Clock", because of the increasing danger of nuclear war and climate change. In order to resolve these two global crises, cooperation of the entire international community beyond individual interests is essential, and nuclear disarmament requires a fundamental shift in thinking to transform a conflicting security environment into a collaborative one to this end, it is necessary that the civil society of the world should raise a broad trend of international understanding and international cooperation with the leadership of the politicians (especially the leaders of the nuclear powers).

Mr. KOMIZO pointed out that, based on this basic recognition, the disarmament subcommittee's recommendations (11 items) addressed not only the specific challenges of disarmament, but also the role of civil society in fostering a collaborative international environment that enables disarmament

with new ideas. It also called attention to the challenges that new technologies such as AI would bring to the armament management and disarmament.

Based on these remarks, Mr. KOMIZO summarized the recommendations which include encouraging multilateral nuclear disarmament negotiations based on the realization of the deadline extension of the US-Russia new START treaty, inviting international conferences to Hiroshima and Nagasaki, providing a forum for civil society discussion, and the necessity of embodying and disseminating internationally the concept of Article 9 of the Constitution of Japan.

- Mr. Taikan OKI, Co-Chair of the Subcommittee on Environmental Issues, Senior Vice Rector of United Nations University



Mr. Taikan OKI, Co-Chair

Mr. Taikan OKI, Senior Vice Rector of United Nations University, explained about 4 proposals as below, which are based on the principle that human beings cannot survive unless the global environment is healthy.

1. Promote global governance based on multilateralism in the new era
2. Realize environmental conservation and peacekeeping through democratic global governance
3. Promote synergies in problem solving through comprehensive global governance
4. Promote precise global governance through the participation of diverse stakeholders

The gist of the proposal is that it is important that the environment, economy and society can coexist.



Mr. Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair

- Kazuo TAKAHASHI, Co-Chair of Environmental Issues

Mr. TAKAHASHI mentioned that Mr. OKI's reports covered the key points regarding the report on Environmental Affairs Subcommittee. However, given the rapid development of COVID-19, he argued on three points which he believed would have been added as urgent recommendations if the Environmental Affairs Subcommittee had continued for another one or two months.

1. The system needs immediate change

The immediate action needed is the organizational reflection and recognition that the pandemic is demonstrating many aspects that human beings are disrupting the ecological balance. It should be proposed to the United Nations to establish Global Environment Council. The Council should receive reports not only on the environmental activities in a narrow sense such as the Convention on Climate Change, the Convention on Biological Diversity and UNEP, but also on the activities of 10-15 specialized organizations including WHO, food related organizations, and the organizations that have been reporting to the UN General Assembly. There is an urgent need to comprehensively verify those activities in relation to the global environment and strengthen the governance of those institutions. WHO reform should be seen as part of this initiative. The delay in WHO's initial actions was largely due to the trauma caused by the misadministration (criticism from the international community) by its former Secretary-General (China-Hong Kong), who had made a fuss by defining the 2009-10 new influenza as a pandemic, and the current problem is that the international community has not responded to the lack of a mechanism to correct the WHO's governance. From the perspective of Japan, it is also important to stimulate the momentum of the United Nations

reform with the trigger by the creation of the Global Environment Council.

2. Response to the second and third waves of COVID-19

In addition to the enhancement of medical systems including therapeutic agents and immunity, it is necessary to dramatically strengthen the response mechanism to the second and third waves of COVID-19 infection from abroad from the perspective of international cooperation. Toward that goal, it will be important to enhance support for emerging and least developed countries, centering support for grassroots globalists (cooperation between international NGOs and NGOs from developing country). The emphasis on grassroots is the origin of global governance, and Japan's commitment in this regard has great significance in the international community.

3. Turning point of civilization

Although, since the beginning of this century, there have already been signs that the global civilization has begun to enter into a turning phase, this pandemic will certainly boost that process. The global environment, the shift in values and thinking methods, and the consequent institutional transformation on a global scale will become important issues. Now there seems a demand for Japan to develop concrete activities from the perspective of making differences in this process and leading the international society in the future. Mr. TAKAHASHI reflected that this may be where the Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement can play a civilization role.



Mr. Ken INOUE, Co-Chair of "The Rule of Law" Subcommittee

Mr. Ken INOUE, Co-Chair of "The Rule of Law" Subcommittee, explained that this report was a compilation based on the results of the year-long joint research forum with Professor Yasunobu SATO of the University of Tokyo, entitled "Towards the realization of SDG16 for Rule of Law and Democratic Governance". Among SDGs, SDG16.3 refers to the Rule of Law, and it stipulates that all human beings, including those in power, are equal under the law, who must be protected by the law

and at the same time must obey it. However, in today's world, there are quite a few countries where rulers are abusing the law to govern with power, in other words, governing under the Rule by Law. In order to stop this tendency, Japan should actively promote judicial diplomacy through such mechanism as the Kyoto Congress, for instance, promote the rule of law at the national and international levels, and provide equal access to judicial justice for all. While the international rule of law is decided and implemented through international organizations such as the United Nations, Japan in the future should be more active to take initiatives in these international organizations and play a role as a rule-maker who establishes a rule in the international community.

Part 3 Events by Edogawa Ward and private organizations

Mr. Takeshi SAITO, Mayor of Edogawa Ward, explained about the Ward's initiatives to create a symbiotic society towards achieving SDGs recommended by the United Nations.

First, Mr. Saito explained that as COVID-19 measures, the Edogawa Ward has been providing life support that will not leave behind anyone especially patients, children and those in need of care, by providing medical services, facilities, and PCR testing at drive-through and converting hotels into isolation facilities. The Ward is also developing 60 businesses to establish partnership for SDG17. It has been focusing on the support for healthcare professionals. Secondly, The Edogawa Ward is working toward a rewarding society through sports activities for the aim of creating a conducive environment for the Paralympic Games and 22 sports games toward the goal of creating a symbiotic society. Thirdly, the Ward is working toward the coexistence of the environment and humans. As a waterfront town facing Tokyo Bay, the Ward has been working to create an enjoyable environment at Edogawa Seaside Park.



Mr. Hideo ONISHI, member of the House of Representatives, explained that the Edogawa Ward had

38,000 foreigners and is the second largest residential area for foreigners following the Shinjuku Ward and noted that the Edogawa Ward's assembly now has members of Indian nationals. He recognized the importance of the interactions with overseas, and has been giving the opportunity to 50 young people every year to visit abroad. Mr. ONISHI expressed his view that local governance is important for promoting global governance.



Mr. Hideo ONISHI, LDP, Member of House of Representatives



Mr. Noriyoshi MURAKAMI, the President of the Tokyo Girls Collection, explained that the company has been cooperating with UN agencies and government agencies to deliver messages to promote youth's social contribution. Mr. Murakami mentioned that in order to encourage more young people to understand important global issues, it is effective to deliver the message through fashion models. His company has been aiming for balanced social development through the harmony

among economy, society and environment. The company has been fighting against the COVID-19 and raising questions on the New Normal lifestyle in the post-COVID-19. Mr. Murakami expressed his willingness to participate in the SDG Workforce Conference to promote solidarity with the heart and mind and to contribute to Japanese and international societies.

The Secretary-General Masaharu NAKAGAWA concluded the meeting by stating that various insights and suggestions were shared during the meeting regarding COVID-19 and SDGs, and it provided the forum for contemplating on what the Japanese Diet members should do from a global standpoint.



Mr. Osamu Shiohama, Director for World
Federalist Movement of Japan



Mr. Masakuni TANIMOTO, Under Secretary for the
Japanese Diet Committee for World Federalist Movement