

**Kyoto Peacebuilding Center
In association with
Global Peacebuilding Association of Japan,
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present

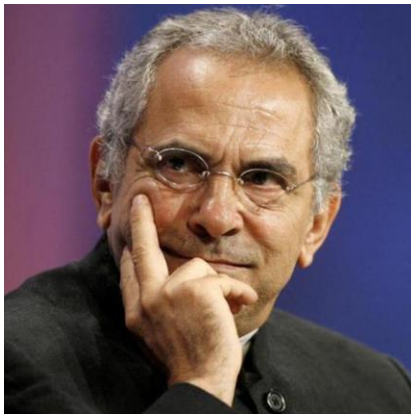
Online Discussion Meeting on

**New Paradigm for
the Future of Global Governance**

12 January 2024

Report compiled by Maciej Witek

Part I Opening Message



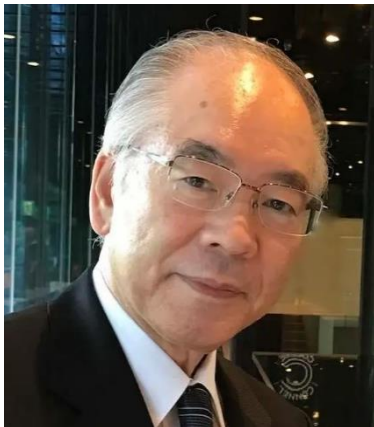
José Ramos-Horta

President of the Democratic Republic of Timor-Leste

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

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

Part II Panel Comments



Mr. Takahiro Shinyo

Mr. Shinyo shared his opinion that the world is becoming more and more disordered. This situation might have started in 2020 when a pandemic occurred, killed so many people, and also the two wars in Ukraine and Gaza. We are now entering the age of war; international war is possible, so we should be prepared. The United Nations Security Council cannot solve this at all or at least cannot solve it effectively. Mr. Shinyo noted that keeping the balance of power among big nations is very important, and he hopes that this traditional way of keeping the world in balance will function. Hopefully, in the future, depending on the situation, economic dependence will also help the balance of power to function. We must celebrate the 100th anniversary of the United Nations and exert every effort to maintain the kind of stability that is the key to making dialogue possible among the major powers. But at the same time, Mr. Shinyo noted that the reform of the Security Council should be realizable. We should not envision with illusion; we should not hope that great things will happen. We have already had more than 30 years of history of the reform process, and there is no reform at all. The reason is that we have hoped a bit too ambitiously, and after having seen the malicious situation in the world, we have to conclude that the enlargement of the permanent members should not be the case anymore. We should either abolish the permanent membership or reduce the number of those members. And we should try to find solutions that make everyone win but not punish anybody; this is the key to success. We should create a new forum for cooperation not only between the Great Powers but also between the so-called global or middle-power countries and the Global South. This must be very effective

and crucial to the creation of a new type of multilateralism. Mr. Shinyo also stated that we should avoid any confrontation of the values between democracies and non-democracies. Nowadays, we have lots of non-democratic countries; that is the reality. And we should come to terms with those instead of just criticizing and excluding them. The fundamental values of human rights and fundamental freedoms are the only two things written in the Charter of the United Nations. Democracy does not appear in the Charter. There are different types of countries, and everybody has the right to decide their future of political system, whether it be democratic or non-democratic. We should also avoid the attitude of so-called “binary bias” to compel us to choose either A or B. The world is not that simple.



Mr. David Chikvaidze

Mr. Chikvaidze noted that it was ironic that at the end of the first quarter of the twenty-first century, the world found itself facing increasingly complex, interlocking challenges: a vicious war in the middle of the European continent, the Middle East on the brink of a number of local wars, a climate crisis wreaking havoc around the world, over 50 armed conflicts threatening millions, dire poverty in large parts of the world, record refugee flows, rampant inequality both among and within countries, sky-high debt, threats to the rule of law, the methodical and deliberate dismantling of disarmament commitments, attacks on the media and civil society, and much more. It could be argued that since the disappearance of the so-called bipolar world, the international community had not yet managed to define what arrangement would provide to the world the strategic stability that it sorely lacked. This was most evident at the ‘top’: the relationships within the triangle of the most powerful nations were deeply dysfunctional and unstable, which in and of itself was enough to engender instability throughout the world. Add to that several medium powers that were becoming unpredictable regional players, increasingly willing to use force to further their own interests. Geopolitically, the world was witnessing a landscape of great asymmetries and fragmentation at all levels – political, economic, and security. This was a pivotal moment in human history, which only occurred maybe every other century. A new social and economic paradigm was emerging. In the absence of any visible effort on the part of the nation-states to moderate their narrow-interest-based policies and actions, the UN Secretary-General kept coming up with wide-ranging, comprehensive, and far-reaching proposals, reports, and initiatives to stimulate multilateralism. The latest such initiatives were the ‘Our Common Agenda’ and the ‘New Agenda for Peace’, leading into the Summit of the Future next September. Mr. Chikvaidze noted that the original 1992 Agenda for Peace was an upbeat document presented at an optimistic, albeit brief, moment in history by the then-Secretary-General. The New Agenda for Peace was being presented at a very difficult moment in human history, when past achievements in practically every area of the peace and security agenda were being dismantled or, at best, disregarded. This multi-faceted crisis was in dire need of long overdue measures, primary among them – governance reform. At the turn of the twentieth century, the need for a new form of governance emerged, that of governance outside and among the nation-states. And the international community has been struggling to come up with the right formula for over a century. The default intellectual approach was to look at global

institutions like the United Nations and the Bretton Woods System and propose significant reforms, with the stated objective of adapting them to today's world and future challenges. Among the most prominently mentioned key areas for reform were more equitable representation in decision-making, particularly in the UN Security Council and international financial bodies like the IMF and World Bank, to reflect the changing global economic landscape and give more influence to emerging economies. Fair enough. Yet, the international community did not have the luxury of viewing the global institutions as entities unto themselves that exist in some 'third dimension' whose reform alone would fix the problem. In reality, they were all run and financed and were serving the member states that had created them. So, in reforming governance, the international community needed to do so in a holistic manner. If, as the saying goes, charity begins at home, well, so does reform. Mr. Chikvaidze summarized by emphasizing three issues: there was an abundance of politicians in all countries but an absence of leaders in the world today, leaders whose actions would provide grounds to call them statesmen/women. He also stressed that an underestimated but devastating factor was pervasive corruption at every level in many nation-states. If there were politicians who broke financial laws, they would break other political laws, as well. Finally, Mr. Chikvaidze stressed that Artificial Intelligence (AI) increasingly needed to be not only factored in but managed and regulated by Human Intelligence (HI), which was the one that had created and was perfecting it. But this had to be done while constantly keeping in mind another concept: HN – Human Nature, which had not and would not change and which was at the core of many problems. Lastly, Mr. Chikvaidze addressed an issue raised by previous speakers, that of the dysfunctionality of the Security Council. He expressed support for the need to reform the Council, however, the mere increase of the permanent membership wielding the power of the veto did not seem a practical solution: if the current five permanent members wielding veto power consistently failed to agree, how realistic was it to hope that 10 members would be more successful in finding common ground? Mr. Chikvaidze suggested that a major restructuring could be the answer. One proposal was to consider making the membership of the G20 plus the African Union, the permanent members of the Security Council, but without the veto, and another 14 rotating members for a total of 35, which would be a manageable figure and representative of the world. The G20 included many of the countries that were mentioned in different proposals for permanent membership. Of course, the proposal would need much fine-tuning. It was currently considered unrealistic, given its breadth, but how many unrealistic ideas had humankind implemented when it considered them useful? The other criticism was that without the veto, the Security Council would have no teeth. The power of the veto exists today, yet even with these perceived 'teeth,' the body was ineffective on the most contentious issues. So, the key, in Mr. Chikvaidze's mind, was to return diplomacy to the center of the Security Council's work, in search of a majority of votes, whether a straight majority or two-thirds majority, and make that the binding decision, necessary for the implementation of any Security Council resolution.